

Incunabula in Transit

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 62

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Incunabula in Transit

People and Trade

By

Lotte Hellinga



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Cover illustration: Decorative motifs incorporated in initials recur from about 1470 in Mainz incunabula. Monsters and the clowns with pointed hats shown here appear to be the work of an individual hand. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* II. 2, Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, 8 November 1471. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek Inc. f.42, fol [a]^{1a} (detail).

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Earlier versions of the following essays (in order of appearance) have been published as:

- 'Some Books Sold at Public Auction in 1429'. In T. Croiset van Uchelen *et al.* (eds.), *Theatrum Orbis Librorum. Liber Amicorum presented to Nico Israel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*. Utrecht, 1989, pp. 441–6.
- 'Four book auctions of the fifteenth century'. In James H. Marrow, Richard A. Linenthal, William Noel (eds.), *The Medieval book: Glosses from friends & colleagues of Christopher de Hamel*. 't Goy-Houten, 2010, pp. 261–9.
- 'Sale advertisements for books printed in the fifteenth century'. In Robin Myers *et al.* (eds.), *Books for sale: The advertising and promotion of print since the fifteenth century*. New Castle DE, London, 2009, pp. 1–25.
- 'Nicolas Jenson et les débuts de l'imprimerie à Mayence'. *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 118–22 (2003), pp. 25–53.
- 'Peter Schoeffer and the book-trade in Mainz: Evidence for the organization'. In Dennis E. Rhodes (ed.), *Bookbindings & other bibliophily: Essays in honour of Anthony Hobson*. Verona, 1994, pp. 131–83.
- 'Fragments found in bindings and their role as bibliographical evidence'. In David Pearson (ed.), *'For the love of binding': Studies in bookbinding history presented to Mirjam Foot*. London, New Castle DE, 2000, pp. 13–33.
- 'William Caxton, Colard Mansion, and "The printer in Type 1"'. *Le Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 2011, pp. 86–114, colour plates 6, 7.

- 'Wynkyn de Worde's native land'. In Richard Beadle, A.J. Piper (eds.). *New science out of old books: Studies in manuscripts and early printed books in honour of A.I. Doyle*. Aldershot, 1995, pp. 342–59.
- "Aesopus moralisatus", Antwerp 1488, in the hands of English owners: Some thoughts on the study of the trade in Latin books'. In Wolfgang Milde, Werner Schuder (eds.), *De captu lectoris: Wirkungen des Buches im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert dargestellt an ausgewählten Handschriften und Drucken*. Berlin, New York, 1988, pp. 135–43.
- [Co-author with Margaret Nickson] 'An early eighteenth-century sale of Mainz incunabula by the Frankfurt Dominicans'. In J.L. Flood, W.A. Kelly (eds.), *The German book 1450–1750. Studies presented to David L. Paisey in his retirement*. London, 1995, pp. 23–9.
- [Co-author with Margaret Nickson] 'A Caxton tract-volume from Thomas Rawlinson's library'. *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 72 (1997), pp. 17–26.
- 'The Bibliotheca Smithiana'. In Giles Mandelbrote, Barry Taylor (eds.), *Libraries within the Library: The origins of the British Library's printed collections*. London, 2009, pp. 261–79.

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Abbreviations

Abbott	T.K. Abbott, <i>Catalogue of fifteenth-century books in the Library of Trinity College Dublin and in Marsh's Library, Dublin</i> . Dublin, 1905.
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City.
BL	British Library, London.
BMC	<i>Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum</i> vols. I–X, XII, London, 1908–86; vols. XI, XIII, 't Goy-Houten, 2004, 2007. 13 vols.
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
BNU	Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire, Strasbourg
Bod-inc	<i>A catalogue of books printed in the fifteenth century now in the Bodleian Library</i> , 6 vols. Oxford, 2005.
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
BSB-Ink	<i>Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Inkunabelkatalog</i> , 6 vols. Wiesbaden, 1988–2005.
CIBN	<i>Bibliothèque nationale de France, Catalogue des incunables</i> , 2 vols. Paris, 1981–2014.
De Ricci (Mayence)	Seymour de Ricci, <i>Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence (1445–1467)</i> [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft 8–9]. Mainz, 1911.
Duff/Duff-Hellinga	E. Gordon Duff, <i>Fifteenth Century English Books: A Bibliography of Books and Documents Printed in England and of Books for the English Market Printed Abroad</i> . London, 1917. Repr. with supplementary descriptions, chronologies and a census of copies by Lotte Hellinga with the title <i>Printing in England in the Fifteenth Century</i> . London, 2009.
EBDB	Einbanddatenbank. Database held at Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
Gattermann	Günter Gattermann, <i>Inkunabelkatalog/Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf</i> . Wiesbaden, 1994.
GbJb	Gutenberg-Jahrbuch.
Goff	Frederick R. Goff, <i>Incunabula in American libraries: A third census of fifteenth-century books recorded in North American collections</i> , 2nd ed. New York, 1964.
GW	<i>Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke</i> . Vols. 1–8, Leipzig, 1925–40; vol. 8-, Stuttgart, 1968 – (in progress). Unless stated otherwise I have cited 'GW' from the printed edition. 'GW M' is only available from the online database.

HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.
Hodnett	E. Hodnett, <i>English woodcuts, 1480–1535</i> . London, 1935. Repr. with additions and corrections (London, 1972). [Bibliographical Society Illustrated Monographs 22 and 22a].
HPT	Wytze and Lotte Hellinga, <i>The fifteenth-century printing types of the Low Countries</i> . 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1966.
Hubay (Würzburg)	Ilona Hubay, <i>Inkunabula der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg</i> . Wiesbaden, 1966.
Hummel-Wilhelmi	<i>Katalog der Inkunabeln in Bibliotheken der Diözese Rottenburg-Stuttgart</i> . Wiesbaden, 1993.
ILC	Gerard van Thienen and John Goldfinch (eds.), <i>Incunabula printed in the Low Countries</i> . Nieuwkoop, 1999.
INKA	Inkunabel-Katalog deutscher Bibliotheken. Database held at the University of Tübingen
ISTC	Incunabula short-title catalogue. Database recording editions and surviving copies worldwide of all printing before 1501.
Jaspers	G.J. Jaspers, <i>De blokboeken en incunabelen in Haarlems Libry</i> . Haarlem, 1988.
JRL	Followed by figure: shelf marks in the John Rylands University Library, Manchester.
JRUL	John Rylands University Library, Manchester.
Kok	Ina Kok, <i>Woodcuts in incunabula printed in the Low Countries</i> . 4 vols. 't Goy-Houten, 2013.
Kyriass	Ernst Kyriass, <i>Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet</i> . 4 vols. Stuttgart, 1951–8.
Nolden (Trier)	Reiner Nolden, <i>Die Inkunabeln der Wissenschaftlichen Stadtbibliothek Trier</i> , 2 vols. Wiesbaden, 2015.
Oates	J.C.T. Oates, <i>A catalogue of the fifteenth-century printed books in the University Library, Cambridge</i> . Cambridge, 1954.
ÖNB	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.
Ohly-Sack	Kurt Ohly and Vera Sack, <i>Inkunabelkatalog der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek und anderer öffentlicher Sammlungen in Frankfurt am Main</i> . 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main, 1967.
PL	Public Library
Roos	A.G. Roos, <i>Catalogus der incunabelen van de bibliotheek der Rijks-universiteit te Groningen</i> . Groningen, 1912.
Sack (Freiburg)	Vera Sack, <i>Die Inkunabeln der Universitätsbibliothek und anderer öffentlicher Sammlungen in Freiburg im Breisgau und Umgebung</i> . 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1985.
Schwenke-Schunke	Ilse Schunke, Konrad von Rabenau, <i>Die Schwenke-Sammlung gotischer Stempel- und Einbanddurchreibungen: nach Motiven</i>

	<i>geordnet und nach Werkstätten bestimmt und beschrieben.</i> Berlin, 1979–96.
Sheehan	William J. Sheehan, C.S.B., <i>Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Incunabula</i> . 4 vols. Vatican City, 1997.
STC	<i>Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland, and of English books printed abroad 1475–1640</i> . 2nd revised edition by W.A. Jackson, F.J. Ferguson, completed by Katherine Pantzer. 3 vols. London, 1978–86.
SUB	Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek
UB	Universitätsbibliothek, Universiteits Bibliotheek.
ULB	Universität- und Landesbibliothek
VE-15	Falk Eisermann, <i>Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation</i> . 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 2004.
Walsh	James E. Walsh, <i>A catalogue of the fifteenth-century printed books in the Harvard University Library</i> . 5 vols. Binghamton NY, 1991–5.
Walther	Hans Walther, <i>Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum</i> . Göttingen, 1959.
WILC	Watermarks in Incunabula printed in the Low Countries. Database held at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library), The Hague.
WLB	Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart

I have followed the conventions of the BMC-volumes for collations (where given) and for indicating recto and verso pages in printed books with superscript a and b. For manuscripts recto and verso are indicated with superscript r and v. In transcriptions the two forms of r and s are not distinguished. In transcriptions supplied characters are indicated by italics.

Introduction

Incunabula, all printed within the confines of Europe, can now be found across the globe in thousands of collections. A list of 4830 holding institutions, libraries, archives, museums and others, 109 pages in length, was published in 2013–16 by the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* as vol. XII, 1, 2. Both the *Gesamtkatalog* and the ISTC database arrive at estimates that together these institutions hold 450,000 to half a million individual copies of incunabula – ranging from some truly monumental works to modest little items, pamphlets, broadsheets and any size in between. A much smaller number is held in private collections or circulating in the book trade, and presumably there will always be some awaiting detection. In addition we cannot but be aware that a large proportion of what once was produced is now lost. Although fragmented, its many parts widely distributed, this is a cultural heritage of great significance.

The present worldwide dissemination of early printed books reflects a succession of stages in the way they changed hands. First of all they passed from printers to buyers, many through networks that rapidly expanded in size and sophistication. The development of the earliest stages of the trade is a leading theme in most of the studies assembled in this book. In the final chapters I shall discuss some traces left by the second stage in the process of dispersal; this took place during the eighteenth century, as the guardians of books in ancient, often monastic libraries were persuaded to part with monuments of early printing. These were coveted by early book collectors, satisfying their antiquarian interest as well as contributing to the first serious attempts to trace and record the spread of printing. This form of collecting, and the trade in antiquarian books that rapidly grew around it, was a cultural phenomenon in itself, quite independent from the great secularization of ecclesiastical libraries in the Napoleonic era. Yet both contributed substantially to the formation of collections of incunabula in the national and other public libraries of modern times.

When mechanically multiplied texts were introduced in the middle of the fifteenth century, users and readers were ready to welcome them. This can be deduced from the fact that markets for printed books sprang into existence as soon as such items made an appearance. Only rarely can documents convey the immediacy of reactions to books being offered for sale, to the opportunity of acquiring them. On a few occasions in the 1480s we can see buyers in apparently orderly competition with each other, eager to lay their hands on books, in manuscript or print. This was at public auctions, where we can observe how literate communities dealt intelligently and respectfully with the inheritance

of previous owners. The keen interest of such buyers provides a background against which we may understand the reception of the new technique and its products: books were becoming more accessible, and owning them was no longer as exceptional as it had been. Chapter 1 shows sellers and buyers in action as an illustration of this general phenomenon that, more than 500 years later, is seldom observable.

Auctions in those early days, in so far as we know of them, were publicly announced. Early printers also soon found ways to interact with the public in order to sell the products of their presses. Their public announcements took the form of printed advertisements – handbills that might be nailed to a wall or handed out, undoubtedly with the intention of awakening urges to buy and own the fine new books on offer. A little later we see the emergence of elaborate stock lists to tempt buyers. In the small corpus of printed advertisements that survive from the early years, discussed in Chapter 2, we can read the words employed by printers to promote their wares. Once again we may catch something of the immediacy of transactions with an element of novelty: this was not the way in which manuscript books used to be offered for sale. When reading through a modern census of copies of incunabula, some of these locations are still testimony to the energetic sales drives of early printers.

There was also a new urgency in the methods for selling printed books. Printers needed to make a considerable investment before they could expect a return. The new production methods initiated a commerce-based cycle on a scale unknown in the world of manuscript books and readers. The production of hundreds of copies of a text, large or small, required significant investment, which in turn required returns that could only be achieved by selling the products of the press. Printers had to refine the art of balancing what they could supply with the demand they hoped to find. Many of the early printers (in modern times we would call them publishers) entered into formal or informal arrangements with colleagues elsewhere. Rather than competing they might work together, and thus succeed in trading over considerable distances. They devised ingenious ways to ensure that their books appealed to a large variety of sometimes distant readers. We can observe hubs for the book trade coming into existence, Mainz being an outstanding early example. Finding very different ways of making economical use of the invention of printing continued for decades. Detailed case studies in Chapters 3–10 attempt to unravel some instances of the printers' ingenuity; at the same time I hope that dissemination through the trade and networks instigated by printers can be seen as a constant theme in these diverse stories.

Another constant factor in the successful establishing of trade routes lies in personal contacts occurring in diverse parts of society – often with not much

more in common than the ability and desire to read and own books. In March 1455 Aeneas Silvius wrote to Cardinal Juan de Carvajal about seeing sheets of the Gutenberg Bible, commending its legibility and warning that it was almost sold out. He even employed the term 'wondrous' for the inventor of the new technique by which the Scriptures, or indeed any text, could be accurately reproduced in large quantities. Communicating this extraordinary news in such circles was bound to create demand among those with the authority to further its growth. It is not by chance that Aeneas Silvius's letter is the earliest report of an outsider on the existence of the Bible in print; as a much travelled career diplomat he was skilled in keeping well-informed of what was going on in the world.

A few years later, by now as Pope Pius II, he appears several times in the background of the story due to the activities of people around him, all constantly on the move as diplomats in the service of ecclesiastical or secular powers. Cardinals Nicolaus Cusanus and Juan de Turrecremata, Archbishops Diether von Isenburg and Adolf von Nassau, Antonius Haneron and perhaps Bishop Guillaume Fillastre seem to have been well aware of the potential power of the press, as were others at the summit of worldly power. The Emperor Friedrich III used the printing press as a medium for imposing his authority during some 30 years of his reign. Charles VII of France sent a spy to Mainz in 1458 – an initiative with unintended outcome, for thus he probably made a significant contribution to the development of printing type in the early years.

By the second half of the fifteenth century communications in the mercantile world were well organized and had a wide reach. The Hanseatic League in northern Europe and the London Merchant Adventurers are two well-known examples, as are the 'nationes' that housed foreign merchants in the main centres of commerce. Merchants such as Johann Fust, Peter Ugelheymer and many others not all known by name pioneered the trade in printed books, along with other merchandise, through trade routes that must have been familiar for generations. William Caxton has an important place in these ranks because, unlike Fust, he was among the first to produce books in the vernacular. As a Mercer based for many years in Bruges he served in diplomatic functions; with success came an increasing range of contacts. Eighteen months of exile in Cologne in the early 1470s brought Caxton close to the budding printing industry and the merchants taking part in it. Then, while in Flanders before finally settling in Westminster in 1476, he made interesting and creative use of his experience in Cologne, together with local scribes and fellow translators as well as a gifted printer, Johan Veldener. This famously resulted in the first books printed in English. Chapter 8 discusses whether Flemish scribes played an important part

in this enterprise and influenced the outcome of what appears an exceptional episode in the transition from manuscript to print.

These habitual travellers, diplomats, prelates and merchants were active carriers of the art of printing. But above all the book trade spread with printers themselves, beginning when they swarmed out from the birthplace of printing. When Gutenberg's Bible was completed, some of his workers left to set up printing houses in other places, and they in turn attracted new workers. This process accelerated when a short, violent conflict led to the 'fall of Mainz' in October 1462. The movements of early printers and their presses – to Bamberg, Strasbourg, Cologne and Basel – have long been well documented. So has been the fact that in due course printers crossed the Alps, meeting in Italy the renewal of scholarship and interest in the transmission of text. This famously led to a flourishing printing industry in Italian cities. Slower to emerge has been the realization that printers, after their migration to other parts, maintained lines of communication with their previous locations – lines that became routes for the trade in printed books. Similarly it is possible to establish that Wynkyn de Worde, even after decades in Westminster, maintained contacts with the small towns in Holland that he must have left as a young man. Chapter 9 suggests that the taste of the Dutch printers may be traced in some of his work; he certainly conveyed to English printing their strength in woodcut illustration.

All this activity can be reconstructed by building on the ever expanding and more accurate bibliographical record and on descriptions of collections. Archival documentation is rare, especially north of the Alps. Records of early ownership can serve as direct witnesses of the results of the trade, but they are of necessity defective and open up problems beyond the bibliographical disciplines, as discussed in Chapter 10. Only seldom can we allow ourselves to imagine that we glimpse individuals and their characteristics while they are conducting all this business.

The three studies concerning book trade in the eighteenth century can only give a taste of a different world. Incunabula had been forgotten for a long time; after a few decades the novelty of the invention had worn off. Printing became the medium for renewal, for publishing texts concerned with new spiritual, intellectual and political developments, as well as for uses in daily life. For about 200 years, from early in the sixteenth century, hardly anyone was interested in early printing – except for claiming the honour of its invention. By the end of the seventeenth century, as noted above, the earliest printed books came to be seen in a different light, and new values were attached to them. Texts previously considered old, if not obsolete, now became precious material relics of the past, 'typographical monuments', as Jan Willem Holtrop later called them.

The great collectors of the eighteenth century may remain to us as remote as the rulers of the fifteenth – and for that matter their contemporaries, the printers. But with the large scale of collecting came a more approachable second tier of those actively engaged in the trade: the scouts, the buyers, the tutors on the Grand Tour, at home the administrators and librarians who all played their part in creating the aristocratic collections of the eighteenth century. Fortunately some of their correspondence and notes have been preserved. From such sources we learn of the persistence of the travelling agents, how negotiations with monasteries might stretch out over years and that exchanges with modern books were effected, for the monks who parted with these early books were far from illiterate: they tended to value learning more than antiquity. Some characters emerge as larger than life, for instance John Bagford, listing in erratic spelling the bits and pieces he had squirreled away; the shady Mr Suttie and his lapses into gambling, the industrious and orderly Mr Noel, while Mr Humfrey Wanley, librarian of the Earl of Oxford, took the responsibility for his agents' actions very seriously. Later Alexander Horn and, of course, the persuasive villain Jean-Baptiste Maugérard, negotiated much to their advantage with cathedrals and monasteries in the German lands. The person of Consul Joseph Smith, however, to whom the British Library owes an outstanding collection of fine books, remains largely hidden behind the vastness of his collections. The voices in their correspondence and notes, whether formal or gossipy in tone, bring to life the process of transition from ecclesiastical to highly secular environments in which the old books found a new appreciation.

Book Auctions in the Fifteenth Century

Selling goods to the highest bidder by public auction shows that the seller is confident that there will be buyers, and that their bidding will be competitive. Demand is not in doubt. Thus finding that in the years 1481 and 1489 books were sold in carefully organized public auctions may be taken to indicate that lively interest was expected for these transactions. The four book sales for which I found records took place at a time when printed books were beginning to become more common. Two were by public auction. The surviving documents show that they were offered and bought on equal terms with manuscripts, a status soon to change when on the market manuscripts were outnumbered by printed books. Even in those early years, however, it is clear that books produced by printing were fully acceptable to readers.

As we shall see below, it was not by chance that the sales discussed here were held in the richest part of the Burgundian lands. It is an area well known for its extraordinary manuscript heritage associated with court and aristocracy. But the sales show that at a more modest level a lively and highly literate book culture existed. It was precisely the kind of environment in which printed books would readily find owners.¹

The fifteenth-century dukes of Burgundy are famous for presiding over a golden age in arts and letters, and in some circles they are also known as innovators in government administration and institutions. The expansion of their territories began in the fourteenth century. Their main innovations in governance came to be applied to the smaller dukedoms and counties they acquired through conquest and marriage, forming what amounted to a federal state. Its system of government was reflected in representation in early forms

1 I was helped on my way to the sometimes arcane literature where records of these sales were hiding by modern surveys of book ownership in the region: R.C. van Caeneghem and R. Feenstra, *Ouvrages de droit romain dans les catalogues des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux [...] et septentrionaux (XIIIe–XVIe siècle)*. Groningen, 1960; A. Derolez, *Corpus catalogorum Belgii. De middeleeuwse bibliotheekscatalogi der Zuidelijke Nederlanden 1: Provincie West Vlaanderen*. Brussels, 1966. [Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren 28, no. 61.] Frédéric Barbier, in the introduction to his essay 'Saint-Bertin et Gutenberg', *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 118–21 (2003), pp. 55–78, discusses several inventories of book collections belonging to churches and abbeys in the region and to canons of churches in Cambrai. Without further investigation it is not known whether the documents are records of sales of the books listed in the canons' inventories.

of parliament and even in a central department of finance, the *Chambre des Comptes*, to which government bodies were accountable.

This much can be learned from history books. But it is less well known that the dukes' innovations in governance also touched on the way in which some commercial transactions were conducted. Of particular interest for the history of the book trade is that we can observe in the Burgundian territories the development of auctions to the highest bidder, conducted formally under the supervision of local authorities. A few such auctions are sufficiently documented to permit us to understand the procedures by which they were conducted. These documents include records of collections of books, listed among a deceased person's possessions, but in the present discussion the focus is not on the contents of the libraries, fascinating as they are in their own right. It is rather on the methods by which they were sold, apparently publicly and under conditions that ensured fairness.

Namur, 1429

What is – to my knowledge – the earliest documented instance of such an auction took place in 1429 in Namur, in exceptional circumstances. The count of Namur, Jean III, had sold his county to the Burgundian duke Philip the Good, but was allowed to continue the *status quo* and reside there until his death.² When he died in 1429, leaving considerable debt, Duke Philip immediately took over. He ordered an inventory to be made of all chattels, to be sold by the 'revendeurs et priseurs' of Namur to the highest bidders, 'aux plus offrans'. The sale took place in the presence of witnesses, including notaries, church authorities from places as remote as Arras and Saint-Omer, and others. Among the furniture, clothes, kitchen utensils and equipment for jousting were also eight books – altar books as well as two copies of the *Roman de la Rose* and a copy of a *Chroniques de France*. The document concludes with a list of the prices paid for each item, but not the names of the buyers. The record of this auction was preserved in the Duchy's central *Chambre des Comptes*.³

The circumstances of the sale – the Burgundian take over of government – suggest an echo of the Roman practice of auctioneering 'sub hasta' the spoils of battle and conquest, or the possessions of fallen soldiers. Selling off an estate

2 The sale was briefly noted in *Messenger des sciences historiques*, 1884, pp. 484–85. I have discussed this event in some detail in 'Some books sold at public auction in 1429', in Ton Croiset van Uchelen et al. (eds.), *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber Amicorum presented to Nico Israel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*. Utrecht, 1989, pp. 441–46.

3 Now preserved at Brussels, Royal Archives, *Chambre des Comptes* 28580.

to the highest bidder probably became fairly common in the fifteenth century throughout the Burgundian territory, although the spread of this practice remains largely uncharted. The Burgundians consciously revived themes of antiquity, most famously the legend of Jason and the Golden Fleece. Awareness of a tradition from antiquity may have led to encourage a re-introduction of the practice of selling to the highest bidder, together with measures for ensuring that such sales would be conducted formally and in good order. From 1470 a few records of sales, preserved in ecclesiastical archives, even use the term 'per subhastionem'. In due course a number have attracted the attention of local historians, who published the lists of books in some of the inventories made before these sales. The documents they partly published record the settling of estates of canons of major churches, their last wills and testaments, the execution of their last wishes and the financial details of the sales of their goods. I shall discuss here three such documents, from Courtrai in 1470/1, Saint-Omer in 1481 and Mechelen (or Mechlin, Malines) in 1489. These cities are located in the most prosperous area of the Burgundian territories, in the duchy of Brabant and the adjoining counties of Flanders and Artois.

Mechelen, 1489

The auction in Mechelen, although neither the earliest nor the most spectacular, is best discussed first, because the procedures followed are recorded explicitly and meticulously in the document preserved in the archive of the Archdiocese of Mechelen-Brussels in that city; it thus helps to clarify much of what took place at the earlier sales.⁴ This sale was of the goods left by Johannes de Platea (or Jan van der Straeten), canon of chapters in Mechelen, Bruges and Bois-le-Duc (or 's-Hertogenbosch). He died on 3 March 1489 and must have reached a great age, having matriculated at the University of Cologne in 1423. While De Platea lay on his last sickbed, rumours spread that there was a large sum of money in his house. He therefore ordered an inventory of the contents of his house to be drawn up while he was still alive, in order to put the executors of his last will beyond suspicion. This inventory, copied in the final account of his estate known as the 'Computatio', includes a list of 69 books – a modest collection in relation to the contents of his house. This list, headed by the title 'Specificatio librorum domini testatoris', is of a worthy but not very exciting collection (see Fig. 1.1). Almost all the books are theological or canon law, but there is also a Mandeville, 'multum loquens de mirabilibus mundi, in papiro'

4 Archive Sint-Romboutskapittel, 431/2212. The document, including a list of the books, was published by G. Steenackers, 'La bibliothèque de Jean de Platea, chanoine de Saint-Rombaut à Malines, décédé en 1489', *Mechlinia* 6 (1928), pp. 177–83.

Spesificatio librorum dñi
testatore

Digestu nouu scriptu d' xgamen
gloriu et ligatu in asseribz

Textu kaymndi ad glo scriptu et
ligatu in asseribz

Chiridamus scripturaz d' p'p'io d'
p'p'io et ligatu in asseribz

Uno textu biblie m'p'p'io et ligatu d'
asseribz. q'libz d' duobz volumibz

Omelie diu'soz d' d'oz m' duobz
volumibz m'p'p'io et ligate

hystoria scolastica m'p'p'io
et ligata in asseribz

Postilla nicholai de liza sup' psal
terio ligata d' asseribz et scripta

prima et 2^a p' m'oralibz bti g'g'
sup' iob ligate et scripte d' p'p'io

Beal de g'p'olitoz p'toz m' forma
indij m' p'p'io scriptu et ligatu

Lib' de re'alind ad glo m' xgamen
scriptu et ligatu

Expositio sup' psalteriu p'p'io flo
ressu scriptu d' p'p'io

Derisones rote et d'gule Carthage
diu'soz pontificu p'p'io d' p'p'io

Quidda libellu ligatu d' asseribz iur
tulatu tabula ad aptanome mate
ne ad omes s'mones scriptu d' xga^{no}

Ad huc quidda libellu g'p'icero de vij
virtutibz fidei ad alijs scriptu d' xga^{no}

Quidda libellu scriptu iurip'p'io q'm
m' p'mina d' xga^{no} ligatu d' asseribz

Omelie diu'sales a p'p'io m'p'p'io ad
diu'soz p'p'io d' p'p'io h' d' asseribz

Bona vitiu scripta d' p'p'io

Am' p'p'io ad alijs o'menibz scriptu
d' xga^{no} scriptu p'p'io p'p'io h' d' m'g
ne p'p'io d' d' d' d'

Stella clericoz et de m'ndina
p'toz m' p'p'io scriptu

Legenda lombardica d' xga^{no}
scripta

Expo euangelioz diu'salind m'p'p'io
x'p'ian de agnoz d' p'p'io scripta

Expo euangelioz diu'salind f'us
p'p'io scripta d' p'p'io

Statuta synodalia leu's d' d'oz
scripta m' p'p'io

Ep'te dñi Clemeti p'p'io p'p'io
d' xgamen scriptu

Vocabularius iur' d' d' m'
p'p'io scriptu

Expositio samule kaymndi et
libri g'p'essionat scriptu d' p'p'io

Vita ihu ad meditationibz
m' p'p'io scriptu

Vocabularius p'p'io d' p'p'io scriptu

Ep'te b'toz iacobi petri et ioh'is
et iude ap'toz ad ap'p'ia scriptu
m' xgamen

Sermones de p'p'io dñi p'p'
m' p'p'io

Nam p'p'io Curatoz d' p'p'io
Sohloguind bonarieture ad alijs
scriptu m' xgamen

Contemplatio b'ti t'mard de p'p'io
m' p'p'io

Libellu de titut et d'g'ul sup' cano^{no}
et essetibz coind d' xga^{no} scriptu

Sermones b'ti Augustini ad 10
fres de h'emo ad p'p'io m'p'p'io d' p'p'io

Stella clericoz scriptu d' p'p'io

Textu samule kaymndi scriptu d' p'p'io

Sermones p' dñi scriptu d' p'p'io
xgamen

FIGURE 1.1 Inventory ('Specificatio') of books left by the late Johannes de Platea, Canon of the Church of St. Rombout in Mechelen, to be sold to the highest bidders, 1489.

AARTSBISSCHOPPELIJK ARCHIEF TE MECHELEN, ARCHIEF SINT-
ROMBOUTSKAPITTEL, 431/2212.

and a 'Dialogus creaturarum, cum figuris, impressus' – in all likelihood one of the four editions in Latin printed by Gheraert Leeu, or possibly the Cologne edition of 1481. Manuscripts and printed books are distinguished by the note 'Scriptus' or 'impressus' after the title. There are 59 manuscripts and only six printed books, while five items are not specified. Twenty-four books are on vellum, 34 on paper and 11 are not specified, including five of the printed books, which were probably paper copies. In the first 16 items the bindings are noted: 'in assaribus' (seven items), 'ligatus sine assaribus' (one) and four only as 'ligatus'.

On 7 April an auction was held of the contents of the late canon's house, in the *Computatio* headed as:

Vendita fuerunt bona mobilia quondam domini Johannis de platea ... per Johannem vander cammen, Johannem vander hooghe, et Judocum de have, venditores Juratos antiquariarum vestium opidi mechlinensis, plus offerenti ut moris est.

The three men who conducted the auction were officials appointed and sworn in by the city, elsewhere called 'prisarii', or in French 'priseurs'. The formulation 'to the highest bidder, as is the custom' are the crucial words, showing that this is indeed an auction as we know it in modern times.

The following day, 8 April, was set aside for the auction of the books, and there is further interest in their being treated separately. The reason for this appears from the addition of five words at the end of the heading in the *Computatio*:

Deinde octava die supradicti mensis Aprilis Venditi fuerunt per supradictos Johannem vander cammen et Johannem de hooghe libri supradicti quondam Johannis de platea plus offerenti ut moris est clero mechlinensi ad hoc convocato.

The sale was announced to the clergy of Mechelen. We may perhaps speculate that making it known when and where the sale was to take place was a condition imposed by the chapter. In 1454, in similar circumstances, the Council of the University of Leuven forbade the executors of the last will of Willem Bont, professor in canon law, to sell his library without the foreknowledge of the university. In *De Platea's Computatio* only moneys received are noted, not the buyers, so we cannot know whether the auction was confined to the clergy or whether it really was a 'public' auction, open to all. The account records the prices paid for 43 items, while the 'Residuum librorum' of 26 items was sold en bloc. The list with prices (in sols, deniers and stuvers)⁵ includes several uninformative

5 With the exception of Courtrai, where they are noted as 'par' for Parisian, the currencies are not specified in the documents. They may be either Parisian or Flemish.

items such as ‘Een cleyn boexken’ and ‘Item noch een boexken’, both with the price of 18^d. The list closes with ‘Somma omnium librorum’, a total of £8, 11^s, 8^d, 6st (Fig. 1.2). The prices seem low, with the highest price of 22^s 6^d being paid for a ‘Textus biblie in duobus voluminibus’. This compares with the *Dialogus*

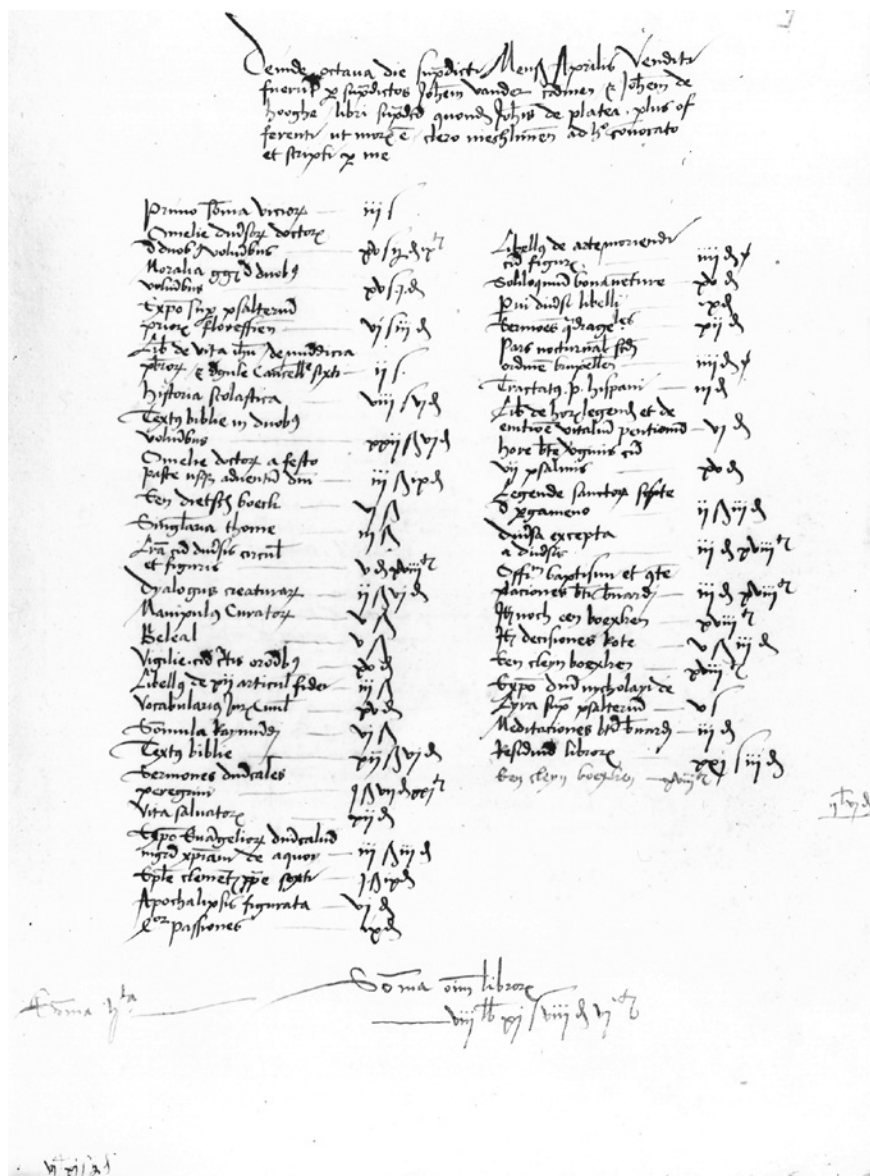


FIGURE 1.2 *Final account ('Computatio') with list of prices paid for the books sold to the highest bidders, Mechelen, 1489.*

MECHELEN, AARTSBISSCHOPPELIJK ARCHIEF TE MECHELEN. AS ABOVE,
FIG. 1.1.

creaturarum for 2^s 6^d, which can be identified as a small folio of either 104 or 74 leaves, depending on the edition, and a *Legende sanctorum* ‘scripte pergameno’ for 2^s 3^d. An *Apocalypsis figurata* (obviously a block-book and by then out of fashion) went for 6^d.

The expenses incurred in connection with the auction include a salary for the city officials and payment to a carpenter for building a little platform and then dismantling it. Small sums were also paid for the announcement of the sale of the goods and a separate one for the sale of the books, ‘Intimatio quod libri venderentur’.

Saint-Omer, 1481

The sale that took place in 1481 in Saint-Omer was a much grander affair,⁶ but it has many features in common with the auction in Mechlin. These include the inventories, the announcement of the auction, the fixed time for the auction of books, which took place over five days, the supervision and presence of functionaries – in this case the bailiff and a notary, charged with formal roles in the events, as well as a ‘huissier’ (the chapter’s usher) – and finally the detailed *Computatio* that relates the steps that were taken in the order in which they took place. This document lacks the crucial words ‘aux plus offrans’, but the circumstances and formal elements are so similar to what is recorded in Namur and Mechlin that it seems safe to assume that this was indeed also an auction to the highest bidder. There is one interesting feature in this document which is missing in the record of the auction in Mechlin: the buyer of each item is named, as well as the price he paid. This shows that the sale attracted many buyers, local lay people as well as clerics, and others from beyond the immediate environment of Saint-Omer.

Maître Jacques de Houchin, Canon of the collegiate church of Saint-Omer, died on 8 January 1480/1. He left a last will with detailed dispositions for bequests and legacies to individuals, and to various religious institutions. His will is fully copied in the account of the settlement of his estate, a document of 48 leaves preserved in the archives of the chapter, now in the Bibliothèque municipale et Archives of the City of Saint-Omer in the modern department of Pas-de-Calais.⁷ Jacques de Houchin was an erudite and very wealthy man,

6 O. Bled, ‘Une bibliothèque de chanoine au XVe siècle’, *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de la Morinie*, 32 (1884), pp. 265–81. L’abbé Bled included the inventory of the books, but not the list of buyers and prices that is part of the document as preserved.

7 Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale et Archives, 2 G, Archives capitulaires 472–77 1 (448–80), exécutions testamentaires ... de Jacques Houchin, chanoine.

with an opulent household. According to the inventory of all his goods made after his death, and including his bequests, his library consisted of 383 books.

The executor of his estate was a fellow canon, Maître Hughes de Mouchy. He employed a notary ('scriba') to draw up the final account, including the list of expenses incurred in the settlement, from which we can learn most of what took place. Immediately following Jacques de Houchin's death his possessions were sealed off by the bailiff of the chapter and Johan Bullot, the 'huissier', was posted on guard at a daily rate of pay. An inventory was made of the coins in the house and of the furniture, gold and silverware, precious clothes and other belongings. This took two days. On Monday 23 January and the three following days a public auction was held of these goods. The usher of the chapter also 'cried' at the auction –presumably meaning that he called out the bids – for four full days, for which he was paid 65^s. Among the precious goods are also listed the altar books that belonged to the canon, obviously held separate from his library. They included a breviary for the use of Rome, which fetched the very high price of £4, 13^s and 3^d, bought by Hughes de Mouchy.

When this auction was over the library, which so far had been untouched, was moved with permission of the bailiff of the chapter to the house of Maître Hughes de Mouchy, who was paid £7 for keeping the books in his house until their auction. It was therefore here that an inventory of the library was made. The work took two canons nine days; they were paid for the task, which they completed on 26 March, refreshed by 'a lot et demi de vin', duly recorded among the expenses. This inventory of books is copied in the document, followed by another small 'Inventarium litterarum' of 44 titles – apparently of books found among personal papers – that was added two months later on 23 May.

The canons divided their inventory of the library into seven sections, with the largest, the 'Libri theologie', containing 133 titles. It was followed by the 'Libri canonici et civilis' (30 titles), 'Libri poetarum et poematum, grammaticae et rhetorice' (47 titles), 'Libri medicine, cyrurgie et astrologie' (6 titles), 'Livres en françois de diverses materes' (6 titles) and 'Livres de musicques' (13 titles). Most of the books bequeathed in the will are not included in this inventory; presumably by then they had gone directly to the legatees.

The descriptions provided by the canons suffice for identifying most texts. They marked 31 books as 'impressus', but did not indicate imprints. 'Scriptus' is seldom added, except to note exceptional forms of script: 'in littera currente ytala', for example, or 'Scriptus in littera ytalica'. Some works are identified by 'incipit' and, in a single instance, by 'secundo folio'. An imperfection is noted: 'Aliqui sermones in uno grosso libro in pergameno cum primis foliis ruptis'. Only three bindings were noted, for example 'ligatus in corio nigro'. A Boethius, on vellum, is described as 'In pergameno, perpulcer', and there are occasional

further remarks commenting on quality: 'in pergameno satis vetusto', 'in papiro parvi valoris', 'in papiro satis veteri' or 'in pergameno satis pulcer'.

Only two items can now be identified beyond doubt as books existing to-day. Both are specified as printed books, bequeathed along with seven other books (presumably manuscripts) to the church, to be placed in the choir. They are 'Omnes epistole Hieronimi in uno grosso volumine impresso', which can be identified as the edition of St Jerome's letters printed by Peter Schoeffer in Mainz in 1470.⁸ The copy, illuminated in Mainz and in its original Mainz binding, is still present in Saint-Omer in the Bibliothèque municipale, now in a condition that might be described as 'perpulcer sed satis vetustus'. Even sadder is the condition of the second item, Gregorius I, *Moralia in Job*, which can be identified as the edition printed in Basel by Berthold Ruppel, c. 1472–4; it follows the St. Jerome in the same list of bequests.⁹ Both copies have traces of the attachment of chains on the lower edge of the upper cover of their bindings.

With its notes on condition, the inventory was undoubtedly made in preparation for the sale. However, this did not take place until almost six months later, on 17 September and the four following days. The documents do not explain the long delay. Perhaps all legacies had to be settled first. Most titles in the record of the sale can be identified in the original inventory, but some, indicated as 'ung vieux livre' or 'ung livre de theologie', make it impossible to match them precisely with the first list.

The records strongly suggest that the sale was made in public: an usher of the chapter (this time it was someone named Bondechon des groissellieurs) was paid for announcing the sale in several places, including the Abbey of St. Bertin, the ancient and important Benedictine abbey just outside the walls of Saint-Omer. But the news evidently reached wider circles.

The record of the buyers and prices is what makes this document such a lively record of the event. This section is headed:

Vendicio librorum facta fuit in domo habitacionis magistri Hughonis de Mouchy Anno dnj M^o. iiij^c. lxxxj^o die xvij^a mensis septembris presentibus

8 ISTC ih00165000, GW 12424. For the Mainz binding ('Kyrus 160') see Chapter 4 and its Appendix 1' p. 408–9. It may be tempting to connect this important book printed in Mainz with the fact that the first volume of the Gutenberg Bible, now in the Bibliothèque Municipale, was owned at an early date by the abbey of Saint-Bertin. But there is no indication, either in the Houchin document or in the Bible volume itself, that it had belonged to the canon. The decoration in this copy is qualified by Eberhard König as 'nicht bestimmbar', and it was certainly not carried out in Mainz. In the Houchin auction 'une belle bible' was bought by the Doyen de Dole for the very high price of £18.

9 ISTC ig00427200, GW 11430.

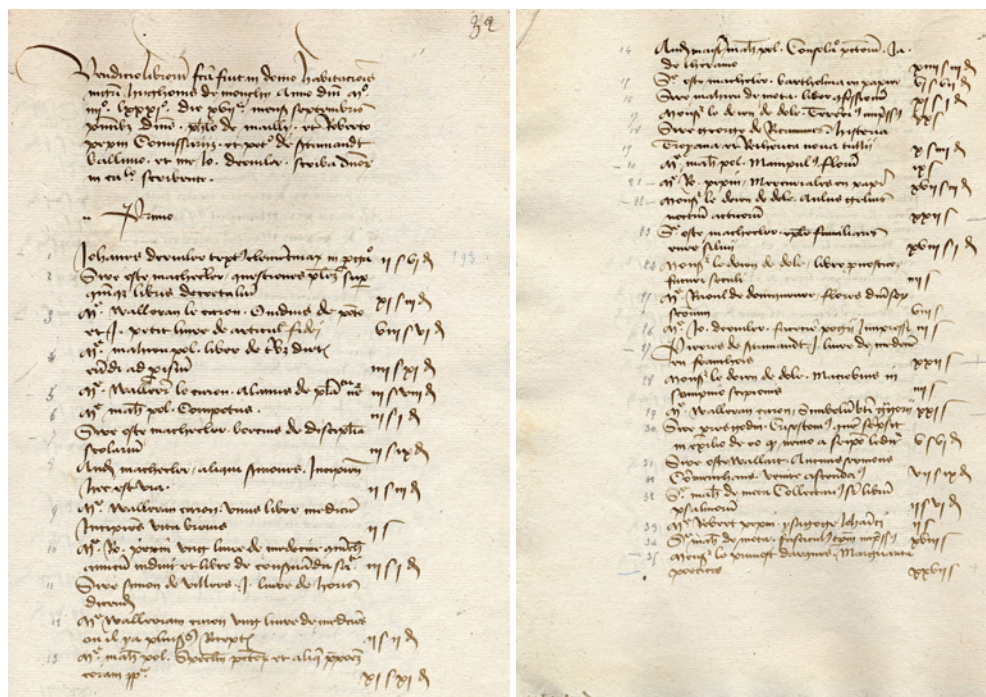


FIGURE 1.3 Two pages of the list of books of the late Canon Jacques Houchin with names of buyers and prices, sold at auction in Saint-Omer, 1481.

SAINT-OMER, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE ET ARCHIVES, 2 G. ARCHIVES
CAPITULAIRES, 472–47 I (1448–80), EXÉCUTIONS TESTAMENTAIRES.

dominis philippo de mailly. et Roberto pepin Commissarijs. et petrus de sancti amandi balliuo. et magistro Io. Deviller scriba dominorum in capitulo scribente.¹⁰

Magister Deviller, the scrivener (that is, the notary), recorded 40 successful bidders, some of whom can be recognized from information in the document itself (Fig. 1.3). The record of sales shows no particular order. Deviller himself was the first buyer on record, of a 'textus clementinarum in pergamento' (which in the inventory was specified as 'nudus absque glosa') for 2^s 6^d. He bought in all 22 lots, including a printed *Facetiae*, of Poggio (3^s), 'Invectiva tullij in varram' (22^d) and Virgil's *Bucolica* (3^s). Maître Hughes de Mouchy, who at the sale in January had bought two of the liturgical works, carried off only six lots. Maître Robert Pepin, one of the two canons who had made the inventory, bid successfully for 19 lots. Pierre de St Amand, the bailiiff of the chapter who was

10 Contractions expanded.

present *ex officio*, bought eight books, preferring those in French. He paid the high price of 22^s for a 'livre de medicin en franchois', and also bought an Ovid in French. One of the greatest spenders was 'monsieur le chantre', who spent £7, 12^s on only nine lots, but this did include £4 for the Boethius manuscript that had been described as 'perpulcer'. The prêtre Godin, also the legatee of a Gregory manuscript he had copied himself, bought seven books.

The greatest spender of all came from far away. He is not identified by name, but designated as 'le doien de dole'. The term 'doien' suggests a dean of a cathedral, and 'Dole' may therefore be identified as Dol-de-Bretagne, the coastal city in Brittany with the ancient cathedral of Saint-Samson. Another possibility is the village of Daule between Soissons and Reims, the site of a Praemonstratensian abbey – but the title of 'Doyen' seems less likely in this context. The city of Dole in the Jura seems too far away. In any case, it was the Doyen de Dol(e) who took home the fine Bible (the first item in the inventory) for £18, by far the highest price paid in the auction. He also bought 20 other lots, including a printed Valerius Maximus, which cost him 17^s. For classical texts the Doyen may have competed with another buyer, Monsieur le Prevost d'Arques, who must have come from the priory of Arques, not far from Saint-Omer. The prevost bought 20 lots and chose humanist texts by Petrarch, Poggio and Aretino, as well as classical authors. Perhaps he and the Doyen were buying for their respective institutions, as did Monsieur le prieur de Meppekerke, another priory in the area; he bought Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum* (13^s) and four other lots. Most of the 40 buyers seem to have been private persons, and on average they bought three to five works. Printed books were not noticeably cheaper than manuscripts. A printed *Fasciculus temporum* went for 18^s to Sire Mahieu de Mota (who bought seven other lots) and the Doyen spent 20^s on a printed Terence.

Sire Mahieu de Mota can be identified by the papers of his own estate, disposed of after his death in 1488/9; these are also preserved in Saint-Omer, as he was the vicar of the church.¹¹ But most of the buyers remain just names, even if they are evocative names for this region known as French Flanders: Raoul de Donquerce, Sire Jacques Brouck, Maître Tybaut – who bought a Leuven edition of the *Formulae epistolarum* of Carolus Virulus, or Maneken (6^s) and an expensive Laurentius Valla, *Elegantiae* (27^s) – and who from this preference appears to have been a schoolmaster. Maître Henricus Brenant was also probably a schoolmaster; he too bought a Laurentius Valla and an *Epistola nova* by Mathieu de Vendôme. Of the 40 named buyers, 29 remain at this stage utterly unidentified as historical persons. In conclusion, we may imagine strong local

11 Bibliothèque municipale et archives, Archives capitulaires, 2 G.476: 1464–98, Maisons mortuaires et exécutions testamentaires des chanoines Mathieu de le Mote, vicair.

interest in a highly literate community, for a collection that was important enough to attract some buyers from well beyond the immediate environment of the town.

Courtrai, 1471

Interest in some important pieces is what the auction in Saint-Omer has in common with the dispersal of a smaller collection of books in Courtrai (or Kortrijk) ten years before. In this case there is no indication that this took place as an auction to the highest bidder.¹² The collection consists of 26 books that had belonged to Edmundus (or Eamundus) Munerius, Canon of the collegiate church of Our Lady in Courtrai, who died on 10 March 1470/1. The account of the disposition of his estate was drawn up by the executors of his will, and is now preserved in the City Archive. They declare that first the 'mobilia' of the late canon were sold 'per subhastionem'. Subsequently there was a separate sale of silverware and jewellery. Finally the books are listed, with the prices they fetched and details of some of the buyers, nine of whom are mentioned by name. None of the works is specified as printed, and only five are noted as on paper.

Some of the buyers were local. A psalter, 'satis pulcer', was sold to Symon Vale who was, as we shall see, also actively engaged in the transactions and who was one of the heirs. Ludovicus Keest, one of the executors of the testament, was a vicar of the church; he spent £5 on a *Summa de vitiis* and 12^s for 'libello papireo'. His own testament is preserved, executed after his death in 1506; in this he expressed the wish that his books would be divided between the convent of the Minorites 'over Leye', the convent of Syon in Courtrai and the monastery in Damme, but that first each of his two executors should choose a book for themselves.¹³ Thus we can see how books in private hands were eventually further dispersed over religious houses.

A small Bible was sold to Brother Judocus, a Carmelite from Bruges (£18), presumably for his monastery. The prior of the Charterhouse near Béthune bought parts of the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas and other works for the spectacular total of £66. He may have felt confident that he was not exceeding his means, however, for the account reveals at the end that the Charterhouse was left a third part of the total value of the estate, which was £1523, 19^s.

12 *Testaments d'une centaine de membres du Chapitre de Notre-Dame à Courtrai 1328–1650*. Courtrai, 1922. [Cercle historique et archéologique de Courtrai.] The brief introduction is signed 'S.'. For the document regarding Edmundus Munerius see pp. 7–9.

13 *Testaments ... Chapitre de Notre-Dame à Courtrai* (see above, n. 12), p. 29.

And then there were two Burgundian grandees. Guillaume Fillastre, bishop of Tournai (protégé of Philip the Good and author of an extensive work on the Golden Fleece), was a frugal buyer.¹⁴ He bought six items that can be identified and ‘a few more’: Petrarch’s *De remediis fortune* (£3.3^s), Cicero, *De Officiis* ‘et quibusdam aliis’ (£3), Jean Gerson, *De consolatione theologie* ‘et quibusdam aliis’ (£3), an ‘*Epistola universitatis Tholosane regi Francie* – for the same price as the Petrarch (£3.3^s) and a smaller tract, noted as ‘*Summa prepositivi*’ (£1). Undoubtedly the grandest buyer – who also paid the highest sum – was the ‘*Domina ducissa*’, better known to us as Margaret of York, the spouse of Duke Charles the Bold. On her behalf her almoner Nicolas Finet bought a large breviary for Roman use, in two volumes, for £72, 1^d. Symon Vale, who bought the beautiful psalter, was apparently an intermediary in this transaction, for he was paid 40^s for spending two days in Ghent (where the duchess resided), ‘*apud dominum elimosinarium pro facto executionis*’. Godfridus Valee, who may have been his brother and who was a monk in the monastery of St. Stephen, received a legacy of £24.

The account of the expenses that concludes the document suggests that this small collection with a few spectacular pieces was sold through negotiations and private approaches, rather than as a public event; this was in contrast with the household goods, which were sold ‘*per subhastionem*’. Prices may have been negotiated and established by tact rather than public bidding – which only goes to show that nothing much has changed in the nature of the auction trade in 500 years and more. At the end of the account the main beneficiaries of the sale, the prior of the Charterhouse near Béthune and Symon Vale, both of whom were due one-third of the total, declared that they were satisfied, as they had every reason to be.

There is one more telling detail in the account of the expenses: the payment ‘*pro uno tonnello*’ in which a Bible, a breviary and other books were packed to be sent to Bruges to be sold on the market. The nearby city of Bruges, and in particular its market near the church of St. Donatian, was a centre for the book trade – an environment more conducive to sales than a single auction, especially for a small and diverse collection.

Courtrai, 1481

The concentration of trade attracted further trade. Ten years later, in 1480/1, Jean Bayart, another canon of the church in Courtrai, died, leaving a much

¹⁴ For Fillastre see below, Chapter 7, pp. 281–4.

larger collection of 120 books.¹⁵ Whereas his household goods were sold 'subhastionem plus offerenti' and a detailed inventory of the books was made, apparently with the intention of holding an auction, events then took a different turn. The books had guaranteed a loan made by the widow of the late bailiff of Bruges, Philippe de Chassa, of the sum of £50 Flemish. Her claim to the books was approved by the court in Courtrai and the widow arranged for them to be sent to Bruges in locked barrels, to be sold on the market. And that is the last we hear of them in the accounts in Courtrai.

15 *Testaments ... Chapitre de Notre-Dame à Courtrai* (see above, n. 12), pp. 10–17.

Advertising and Selling Books in the Fifteenth Century

The large majority of printed books that survive from the fifteenth century were sold through the book trade, but we have only vague notions of how they were sold. We may fill in our ignorance with romantic scenes based on the lower or primitive levels of marketing: we imagine fairs, salesmen travelling with their merchandise on their backs, colporteurs who sold cheap chapbooks, shouting out their wares in the marketplace, and inns where booksellers might periodically set out their stalls before returning to their wearying journeys on the country roads. All this with a touch of *Die Winterreise*, the more so as many of the earliest witnesses of the book trade are located in a German landscape. For all we know, at least some of these imaginings may have taken place, but for the fifteenth century there is very little hard evidence of transactions at this lower level. The evidence for the larger-scale business of the book trade is growing, however, for instance the study of Peter Schoeffer's development as a book dealer, demonstrated in Chapter 4 of this book.

Despite four centuries of incunable studies, surprisingly little is known about the early book trade. Much of that knowledge is not much more than a century old, as archival sources have gradually been brought to light and been connected with the history of printing and its dissemination. Of even more recent date is the realization that the invention of printing with movable type entailed not only further inventions and technical innovation, but also development of the art of publishing and the skills of marketing. When you have a warehouse filled with hundreds of delectable books that you have produced in a relatively short time, how are you going to find buyers for them? How do you defray your costs and get a return on your investment? This is precisely the situation faced by the first printers in Rome, Konrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz. It is famously set out in a letter Bishop Giovanni Andrea Bussi wrote on their behalf to Pope Sixtus IV, dated 13 November 1471 and printed in their great edition of the Bible with commentary by Nicolaus de Lyra. Sweynheym and Pannartz added up the number of copies of the texts they had multiplied in print in a period of just over six years. This amounted to the astounding total of 12,475 copies – and this was in the really early days of printing.¹

¹ Quoted in BMC IV, p. 15.

The Need to Advertise

Sweynheym and Pannartz's printed letter was not a sales advertisement – it advertised the printers' plight and pointed out the high quality of their wares, but did not offer books for sale. Colophons in early books often sing the praise of the book (and its printer) – sometimes in highly wrought, enigmatic Latin with punning allusions. Less common in those early days are preliminary texts by scholars or prelates commending the printer and the quality of his printing, as well as the accuracy of the text. In other books the printer himself may introduce the work with a prologue. William Caxton, for example, is famous for the long English prologues in which he certainly advertised the products of his press. Although Caxton clearly commended his books to readers and buyers, his tone is not overtly commercial, but this is open to interpretation. His prologues are mostly lengthy and wordy, and no instance is known of any of them having been separately distributed as advertisements for his books. Other printers very occasionally included short recommendations as a first or final page. There are, however, a small number of single sheets still extant that without doubt offer one or more newly printed books for sale. In contrast to the colophons of the same period, their wording is never enigmatic, for that would defy their purpose: to make the quality of what was on offer very clear to whoever was reading the announcement.

The advertisements surviving from the fifteenth century – just under 50 known at present – are the earliest witnesses of use of the printing press for retail purposes. The advertisements were multiplied in print to serve on multiple occasions, over a period of time and probably often in different locations. Their survival has been precarious. They are unspectacular single sheets of varying sizes, destined for strictly ephemeral use, produced as handbills to be stuck to walls in public spaces or handed out. Their modern equivalents are found on conference tables, but those of the fifteenth century are less eye-catching, at least to the modern eye; in limited space (most are printed only on one side), they provide in words what they lack in visual attraction. Only Gheraert Leeu, well ahead of his time, sought to attract viewers by the picture of a half-naked woman. Others, more restrained, usually stress the quality of the printing types in the books on offer, with the advertisement serving as a specimen. Further recommendations are that they are *printed* books, the place of printing a guarantee of high standards. Caxton alone draws attention to the price, without committing himself further than a reference to 'good chepe'. Elsewhere there is no mention of prices (they might be accommodated according to circumstance and demand); instead generosity is mentioned as a characteristic of the salesman, who is 'largus' or even 'largissimus' in Latin and 'mild' in Low German.

In the appended list (see pp. 393–404), I count 48 surviving advertisements (and one I rate as ‘dubious’) after eliminating a few that have been traditionally included, for there is a modest tradition of listing advertisements as a separate category. Konrad Burger compiled a collection of 32 illustrations of 31 items; he published this as an album in 1907, to which he added a very useful commentary.² At the time this included all the advertisements that were known. The largest collection of such sheets then was – and still is – in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. The second largest was later collected by Albert Ehrman for the Broxbourne Library, and was subsequently bequeathed by him to the Bodleian Library. This collection was the basis for the opening chapter of the work published in 1965 which, as ‘Pollard and Ehrman’, has become the classic study on the subject. Its authors also took into account items in other collections and Pollard added a complete list of the advertisements known to him, 45 in all, including a few of the cases that I have excluded.³

These two publications are the main studies enumerating incunable printers’ advertisements, but there are of course occasional articles with new finds. All can be found on ISTC, most with the search-word ‘advertisement’. There is also an important dissertation, published in German in 1987, by H.M. Winteroll, whose focus is not so much on the trade as on the books that were advertised.⁴ Taking a selection of the most important or striking books, Winteroll produced an in-depth study of the significance of these books in the publishing programmes of individual printers and the circumstances of their publication, providing valuable insight of what their appearance on the market implied and why and how the works were advertised. Whereas, in the opening chapter of *The distribution of books by catalogue*, Graham Pollard launched into an enthusiastic account of the early book trade on the basis of sources that had been published at that time, Winteroll’s study complements this by a focus on content.

2 Konrad Burger, *Buchhändleranzeigen des 15. Jahrhunderts. In getreuer Nachbildung herausgegeben*. Leipzig, 1907.

3 Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *Distribution of books by catalogue from the invention of printing to A.D. 1800. Based on material in the Broxbourne Library*. Cambridge, 1965. [Printed for presentation to members of the Roxburghe Club.] From their list I have excluded two items that, although surviving as single sheets, do not offer the relevant book for sale: no. 23, since it is a title page, and 43–44, which indicate printers sharing production costs, but are again not offering the work for sale.

4 Hans Michael Winteroll, *Summae innumerae: Die Buchanzeigen der Inkunabelzeit und der Wandel lateinischer Gebrauchstexte im frühen Buchdruck*. Stuttgart, 1987. [Stuttgarter Arbeiten zur Germanistik 193.].

Both Burger and Pollard listed the advertisements in chronological order of appearance. However, as is the way with incunable studies, dating of items and ascriptions to printers change over time, so Burger's – and for that matter Pollard's – list cannot be used without some amendment. However they are arranged, it is obvious that 48 advertisements can give only a glimmer of insight into the transactions of the sale of the at least 28,000 editions of books printed in the fifteenth century. These are the books that are known to us at the present time, leaving out of account those of which all trace is now lost. A chronological list of pre-1501 advertisements is appended below, pp. 393–404.

Advertisements of the Fifteenth Century

Some taxonomy, it seems to me, can usefully be applied, even to this small number. There is an obvious distinction to be made between advertisements that offer a single book and advertisements that include lists of books, stock lists of either printers or booksellers. Both kinds may or may not announce that they can be obtained in a particular place, usually an inn. There are also a few items that announce the imminent publication of a book, but are not yet offering it for sale. There is a curious symmetry when the two categories are separated, for in the list I compiled (see Appendix) there are 23 single-sheet items offering, or announcing, a single book and 25 items offering lists.

In the appended list the reader can see at a glance that the marketing of books with advertisements was a German invention, as printing with movable type had been earlier. Gutenberg and his business associate Fust seem to have considered that the invention itself was a sufficient novelty to intrigue buyers and sold his Bible without the help of advertising, or even a colophon; famously, he never printed his name. Eberhard König distinguished illuminators in copies of the Bible, often linking their styles to locations, and thus showed that the book was distributed over a wide area, from the eastern part of the German lands to London. Similarly his investigations reveal the distribution of the great Bible printed by Fust and Schoeffer in 1462.⁵ Some 15 years after the completion of Gutenberg's Bible we see advertisements coming out of the

5 Eberhard König, 'Die Illuminierung der Gutenbergbibel'. In W. Schmidt and F.A. Schmidt-Künsemüller (eds.), *Johannes Gutenbergs zweiundvierzigzeilige Bibel: Faksimile-Ausgabe nach dem Exemplar der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, Kommentarband*. München, 1979, pp. 71–115. *Idem*, 'A leaf from a Gutenberg Bible illuminated in England', *British Library Journal* 9 (1981), pp. 32–50. *Idem*, 'New perspectives on the history of Mainz printing: A fresh look at illuminated imprints', S.L. Hindman (ed.), *Printing the written word*.

printing houses of those who can be called his successors, first in Strasbourg and shortly thereafter in Mainz.

It seems to me that the lack of advertisements from any earlier date is not just a freak of survival: towards the end of the 1460s printing came of age. Before then a few printers, mainly in Mainz, Strasbourg, Cologne and Rome, had published large books and had found channels to sell them over a wide area – through the same kind of connections as had been employed by Gutenberg, Fust and their associates to sell the first printed Bible. But in the late 1460s printing surged ahead, and printing houses sprang up in many towns. This expansion meant that there was scope for joint trading, but also for competition. We shall see that the early printers in Strasbourg are strongly represented in the advertising of single books; it is with these that we see evidence of fending off the competition, whereas in the lists we begin to perceive a story of printers' co-operation and joint efforts. Some of the Strasbourg printers were less inclined to join others in marketing strategies than were printers in Mainz, Nuremberg, Basel, Venice and, later, Lübeck.⁶

I shall focus first on the single books. The appended list shows that for the years between 1469 and 1475 there are 11 items, all of them in German towns. In 1477 we get to an advertisement in a different geographical area, the single surviving Caxton advertisement. The 11 earlier advertisements are all of very substantial Latin works, representing major investments by their printers. There are a few that call for some comment. One of the earliest is particularly interesting. It is of Heinrich Eggestein's third edition of the Latin Bible, undated, but completed in Strasbourg not later than early in 1470 (Fig. 2.1).⁷ Paul Needham discovered that the Cambridge copy of Gutenberg's 42-line Bible was marked up in preparation for this Eggestein edition, and that before it was used in the printing house as printer's copy the text was amended for Eggestein by one or more scholars.⁸ In his advertisement the printer points out the scholarly work 'per viros elegantissimos artium humanarum imbutos' ('very distinguished men imbued with the humanities'), as well as indicating that the Bible was printed in the same type as his advertisement. He invites everyone who is interested to meet the salesman in the inn whose name he will note below – and the one surviving copy has the manuscript note 'In domo Johannis lüpolt'.

Ithaca and London, 1991, pp. 143–73. *Idem*, *Biblia pulcra: Die 48zeilige Bibel von 1462. Zwei Pergamentexemplare in der Biber Mühle*. Ramsen (Switzerland), 2005.

6 See the conclusions about Peter Schoeffer as bookseller, Chapter 4 below.

7 GW 4208, ISTC ib00533000.

8 Paul Needham, 'A Gutenberg Bible used as printer's copy by Heinrich Eggestein in Strassburg, ca. 1469', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9 (1986), pp. 36–75.

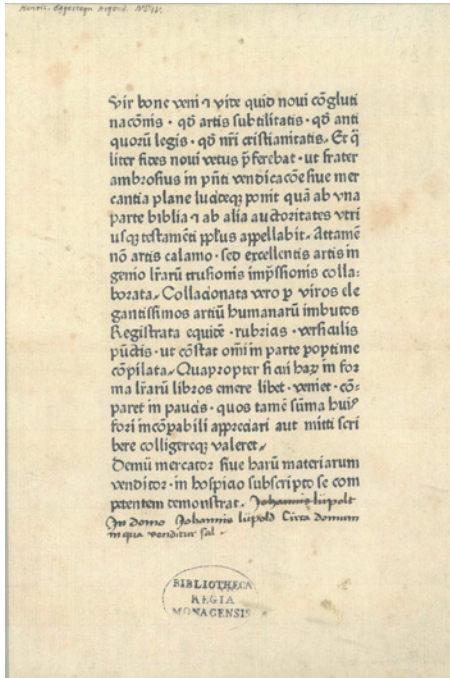


FIGURE 2.1

Advertisement, c. 1470. Heinrich Eggestein in Strasbourg advertises his third edition of the Bible in Latin, the text this time amended by distinguished scholars. The handbill could be used to direct buyers to various addresses. Here the manuscript note specifies the house of Johannes Lüpolt, near the house where they sell salt, thought to have been in Nuremberg.

MUNICH, BAYERISCHE

STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, INK E-25.

Here we have a small leaf with 22 lines of enthusiastic sales-Latin – not in particularly large type. Should we imagine a scene where a throng of punters all try to read this notice, nailed to the wall of an inn? We shall see that there are reasons to doubt this.

I only mention in passing the other Strasbourg advertisements: that of the great printer Johann Mentelin, offering a large theological work and an equally large antisemitic book, both of which, he assures his customers, ‘can be found in the inn noted below, along with a friendly salesman’; and the Strasbourg printer known only by his initials C.W., who offers a large Bible commentary and a handbook on confessions.

In Nuremberg in 1473, in Augsburg in 1474 and in Basel c. 1476, three printers offered the *Pantheologia* of Raynerius de Pisis. This was an enormous encyclopaedic work – all you might want to know about Christian doctrine. It was perhaps the largest book printed in the fifteenth century, with a text until then unknown in the German lands – a fact that the printers emphasized in their advertisements explaining the contents. Winteroll observes that they copied one another’s words, and that in this case there must have been issues of competition.

Another who worried about competition, and that more openly, was Peter Schoeffer in Mainz. This was not typical of him, for he entered into business partnerships with several printers.⁹ But not on this occasion. In the late 1460s he embarked on one of his largest publishing enterprises, the letters of St. Jerome. One of the most important works of patristic literature, this had already proved to be a very popular publication. By that time it had been printed in Rome in 1468 by Sweynheym and Pannartz, followed by an undated edition by Sixtus Riessinger;¹⁰ a competitor in Strasbourg, Johann Mentelin, brought out a different version in the late summer of 1469.¹¹ Sweynheym and Pannartz's second edition, which came out in 1470, was probably still in the making when Schoeffer issued his announcement. Schoeffer's edition was to be a different presentation of the texts, in an entirely different order and based on the collation of a large number of early sources found in the libraries of cathedrals, churches and monasteries. This editorial work was undertaken by Adrianus de Brielis, former abbot of the Abbey of St. Jakobsberg near Mainz. Adrianus de Brielis turned out to be an obsessive scholar – we know that because his obsession can be followed through more than 80 surviving copies of the Mainz edition. Each of these copies includes some 1,500 corrections which were entered by hand in the printing house; to complicate matters further almost half of the edition was reset, taking account of the manuscript corrections, and then further corrections were entered again by hand, uniformly, in the printing house.¹²

Obviously the production had all got a bit out of control, and from his long announcement of the book we can imagine Peter Schoeffer's blend of pride and despair. In a single sheet, in Latin, dated Mainz, 1470, he extols in 46 lines the superiority of the forthcoming edition over all the previous ones. He includes the details of why it is so superior by listing the contents and pointing out its user-friendly index, emphasizing that neither money nor labour was spared for its correction. Schoeffer then ends with warning that while this

9 See below, Chapter 4.

10 Paul Needham reversed the traditionally accepted order of the first Rome editions by showing convincingly that Riessinger's edition followed Sweynheym and Pannartz's of 1468. See his 'Sixtus Riessinger's edition of *Epistolae Hieronymi* (GW 12420): circa (not after) 1470'. *La Bibliofilia* 116 (2014), pp. 17–43, with reference to Edwin Hall, *Sweynheym & Pannartz and the origins of printing in Italy; German technology and Italian Humanism in Renaissance Rome*. McMinnville (Oregon), 1991.

11 GW 12420–3. Schoeffer's edition: GW 12424–5.

12 Lotte Hellinga, 'Editing texts in the first fifteen years of printing'. Dave Oliphant, Robin Bradford (eds.), *New directions in textual studies*. Austin (TX), 1990, pp. 126–49.

edition is expected to appear by Michaelmas of the year 1470 (a different, probably earlier version says 'in the course of this year'), customers should not be tempted to buy an inferior version printed elsewhere. There is no mention of any inns here – there was not yet a book to sell – but it seems to me that this large document was probably distributed to potential clients as a handbill, as may be the case with many other of the single sheets. For example, a list issued by Johann Zainer in Ulm has at the top a manuscript note 'Domino Matheo'.

There is only one instance where we can be certain that an advertisement was meant to be posted on a door or a wall. That was the advertisement in which, in 1477, William Caxton offered for sale the *Ordinale Sarum*, or *Sarum Pie*, a directory for the liturgical year for the diocese of Salisbury. This much-reproduced little document is remarkable for several reasons. In the first place it is written very engagingly in English, 'Late hym come to Westmonester', a literal translation of the 'Veniat' that features in most of the Latin documents of the German printers. When we look at all the advertisements produced in German towns, there is no doubt that Latin was the language of the book trade. Not until printers in Augsburg and Ulm, or later in Lübeck, offered books in German did the advertisements include a few words in a vernacular language. But Caxton uses English to advertise a Latin book, except that at the bottom he lapses into a Latin formula and adds 'Supplicio stet cedula' – 'Please leave this notice' – showing that it was to be displayed in public places where it might be torn down. He invites those interested in buying the book 'good cheap' not to an inn, but to his shop in the almonry in the precincts of Westminster Abbey, at the Red Pale, the name of the house. This suggests that the notice was displayed not in Westminster itself, but perhaps not too far away, for example among the booksellers at St Paul's Churchyard or in churches in the City of London. In the few words of his notice Caxton draws attention to the printing type of the *Ordinale*, 'after the forme of this present lettre'. A feature of many advertisements is that they show what the advertised books look like, or draw attention to the quality of the printing; very rarely they also show illustrative elements.

One example of this is the Erhard Ratdolt's announcement of his edition of Euclid, of 1482, for which he had invented the printing of planimetric figures. In a prospectus for the book that was printed before it was published, he included a number of these figures. Another is the notice that Gheraert Leeu printed in Antwerp in 1491, featuring his edition of the romance of Melusine. Here he included an appealing woodcut depicting a traumatic moment in the life of the mermaid, for sale at the inn noted below. Although Melusine is the star attraction, Leeu does not advertise this as the only book he offers for sale, but briefly mentions his other illustrated books, of which he had indeed reason to be proud. By this time advertisements for lists had become more common.

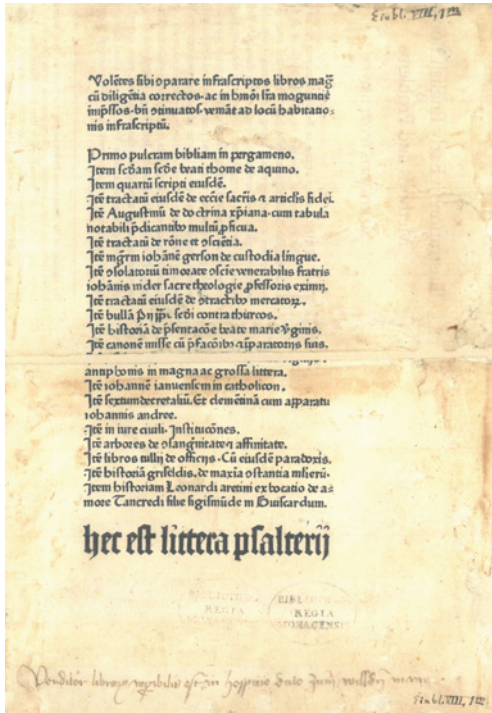


FIGURE 2.2

Stock list, 1470. Peter Schoeffer offers for sale a list of 20 titles, not all printed by himself although he recommends their printing types as 'from Mainz', presumably his own. The books are for sale at the inn 'Zum Wildemann.'

MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, INK S-207.

The earliest of the lists also very strikingly draws attention to an exceptional printing type. It was printed by Peter Schoeffer in Mainz and includes 20 titles of books, most of which we recognize as printed in partnership with Johann Fust or by Schoeffer alone (Fig. 2.2).¹³ The sheet is printed in the largest of Schoeffer's two text-types. But the eye is immediately drawn to the very large type at the bottom of the sheet that states 'hec est littera psalterij'; it is the type of Fust and Schoeffer's Psalter editions of 1457 and 1459. The title of the Psalter must have been on the one line, about halfway down in the list, that is damaged in the unique surviving copy of the document, but the following line reads 'antiphonis in magna ac grossa littera'.¹⁴ The list includes not only their very large books, but also tracts, several not printed in Mainz but in Cologne by Ulrich Zell. Having probably worked for Fust and Schoeffer before he moved to Cologne in 1465, Zell kept his business contact with the great Mainz firm,

13 The list does not include one of Schoeffer's major publications, the *Epistolae* of Hieronymus, dated 7 September 1470. We may therefore assume that it was issued before that date.

14 Since antiphones are mentioned, the psalter on offer is probably the *Psalterium Benedictinum* of 1459, the only one of the two editions to include them.

possibly at times acting as a branch office or an agent for them. In due course he may have become more independent, but initially there are clear indications that Zell printed some books commissioned by Schoeffer.

In the heading of Schoeffer's advertisement books are offered as 'printed in the present type, in Mainz', 'libros in huiusmodi littera moguntie impressos'. Here the advertiser is somewhat economical with the truth. Zell's Type 1, which he used for many years, is not strictly speaking the same type, but it is closely related to the Mainz text-type seen in the advertisement. Although the colophon of the *Catholicon* (the thirteenth legible item in the list) emphatically states that the book was printed in Mainz, its printing type is not that of the advertisement – nor, for reasons explained elsewhere, is it probable that it was printed by Schoeffer.¹⁵ We should not interpret this as deception on Schoeffer's part, but it may open our eyes to the possibility that a style of type associated with a place of printing would be part of its identity. It might serve as a special recommendation, but might also be considered as associating it with a place of printing, even if the work was not actually printed there. Other advertisements mention especially the printing types of Venice, but also those of Mainz, Nuremberg, Cologne and Basel to persuade buyers of the high quality of the product.

The Risks of Peter Schoeffer's Retail Business

There could not be a more telling demonstration of how defective the surviving advertisements are as a means of producing an image of the scope of the early book trade than this short list of Schoeffer. Among the fifteenth-century advertisements there are only three items relating to Schoeffer: the document announcing the Hieronymus edition, the list discussed above and, in 1472, an advertisement addressed to 'lovers of canon law', offering the printer's great editions of Gregorius and Gratianus. But from an ample and still growing body of different evidence it emerges that, along with his printing business, Schoeffer developed from the late 1460s a retail business. In this he sold not only his own books, but also others printed by the great printing houses of Venice, Basel and Nuremberg, and, on a smaller scale, by many other printers.¹⁶ There is fortunately also documentary evidence about the way Schoeffer operated with agents in towns as remote as Paris and Lübeck; he provided them with substantial deposits of his own books as well as those printed by others. The relations were complex, and nothing is more telling than when things went wrong, revealing the risks he incurred in his drive to expand his business.

¹⁵ See below, Chapter 5, pp. 131, 193–4.

¹⁶ See Chapter 4, pp. 89–102.

One example of the difficulties Schoeffer encountered began with incidents in Basel in April 1479, but it is only one of several protracted legal disputes.¹⁷ From archival documents we learn that Schoeffer worked in partnership with Conrad Henkis, who had married the widow of Johann Fust. Unlike that of Fust, Henkis's name never appears in the colophons of Schoeffer's books, and his share in the business appears to be confined to the bookselling part; in the legal documents around the trade their names regularly come up together. Clearly this was an arrangement that ensured that capital remained in Fust's family. In 1479 Schoeffer and Henkis became the victims of a confiscation. Apparently a rule or convention existed that when a citizen of Mainz defaulted on a debt the creditor was allowed to confiscate goods of another citizen of Mainz if these goods were kept outside the city, provided he gave advance notice to the authorities in Mainz. A certain Bernhard Inkuss, citizen of Frankfurt am Main, made avid use of this privateer-like system and seems to have been particularly keen to appropriate books. Documents preserved in the archives of the courts in Basel show him to have confiscated in April 1479 a chest of books belonging to Johann von Durlach, priest and teacher in the high school in Basel, because, so Inkuss claimed, the books belonged to a citizen of Mainz. A few weeks later he helped himself to a particularly rich haul, the 59 volumes deposited by Schoeffer and Henkis in Basel in the inn Die Sunne. It led to a protracted court case that can be followed in the abstracts of the sentences recorded by the Basel court in their 'Urtheilsbuch', in which the arguments of the various parties involved, including the innkeeper, are carefully detailed. In his defence Inkuss claimed to have given advance notice to the burgomaster and other civic authorities in Mainz. Thereupon Schoeffer made the surprising statement that he was not a citizen of Mainz, but of Gernsheim, while in August of that year he must have considered it prudent to become a citizen of Frankfurt; this did not prevent him from seeking in 1480 the protection of the Mainz archbishop Diether von Isenburg, whose plea to the court was to no avail.

The case was brought to the imperial court in Rotweil. The Basel court obviously did not like Bernhard von Inkuss and his ways. It goaled him for a while, but also tried in a letter to persuade Schoeffer and Henkis to accept a compromise, pointing out that the court had gone to considerable trouble and expense

17 See also Chapter 4, p. 123. The following is derived from the summaries of deliberations, sentences and other material recorded by the court in Basel, published by K. Stehlin, 'Regesten zur Geschichte des Buchdrucks bis zum Jahre 1500. Aus den Büchern des Basler Gerichtsarchiv'. *Archiv für Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels* 11 (1888), pp. 5–182, and 12 (1889, Section 11). [Publikationen des Börsen-Vereins der deutschen Buchhändler.], nos. 101, 103, 106, 110, 111, 113, 117, 147, 149, 151, 155, 158. Also Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim and Mainz*. Rochester, NY, 1950, p. 100.

in this case. A sharp note from the court requests the plaintiff's advocates to stop harassing them. By the summer of 1481 the books were still confiscated. The outcome of the affair – if there ever was any – is not known.

Among the Basel court's sensible actions and decisions is the instruction on 25 August 1479, early in the dispute, to draw up an inventory of the books deposited in Die Sunne. This inventory, included with the court papers, specifies whether copies are bound or not bound, printed on vellum or paper, and whether they are illuminated, but it also demonstrates that Schoeffer traded in this way in books not printed by himself. Here follows a full list of the books with identifications in tabular form.¹⁸

Inventory (1479) of the books deposited by Peter Schoeffer and Conrad Henkis at the inn Die Sunne in Basel.

Transcription after Stehlin:

Item sechs Clementin in Pergament ingebunden und illuminiert
 item xiiij Volumina parva, nit inbunden, in Papir
 item Prima Secunde Sancti Thome Item, dupliciter in Papir, nit inbunden
 item drij Sermones Sancti bernhardi in Papir, nit inbunden illuminiert
 item Sext in Pergament ingebunden und illuminiert;
 item drij Preceptoria in Papir, nit inbunden (also as 'Preceptorium Aurium Dei')
 item Augustinus de Civitate Dei, nit inbunden
 item drü Trattelin Tüsch, in Papir, nit inbunden (also as 'Drü tütsche Büchlin geistliches Stass.)
 item Albertus de officio Misse, dupliciter, in Papiro, non ligatum
 item drij Sext Dirdenden, nit inbunden
 item fünff Sext, in Papir, nit inbunden
 item vier Clementen, in Papir, nit inbunden
 item drü Decret, in Papir, nit inbunden
 item duo Exemplaria Hieronimy, eins in Papir, das ander in Pergamen, nit inbunden
 item ein Sext in Pappir, deficit unus Sexternus
 oyem ein alt Schwert
 item sechs Decisiones Rote, nit inbunden, in Pappir

18 One item, 'an old sword', is not included in the table. Transcription from K. Stehlin, *Regesten*, see above, n. 17, pp. 24–6 (no. 111). For references to a sequence of editions the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* is more convenient than ISTC.

These items can be identified as follows:

			Text identified as	Before 1479 printed by?
Item sechs Clementin	6	in Pergamen ingebunden und illuminiert	Clemens v, <i>Constitutiones</i>	Fust & Schoeffer, 1460, Schoeffer, 1467, 1471, 1476 (GW 7077–8, 7080, 7090).
item Sext	1	in Pergamen ingebunden und illuminiert	Bonifacius VIII, <i>Liber VI</i> <i>Decretalium</i>	Schoeffer, 1465, 1470, 1473, 1476. GW 4848, 4850, 4853, 4857.
item xiiij Volumina parva	13	nit inbunden, in Papir	not identifiable	
item Prima Secunde Sancti Thome, dupliciter	2	in Papir, nit inbunden	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa</i> <i>theologica</i> , Secunda, Prima pars	Schoeffer, 1471, ISTC itoo203000. Also Venice, Renner de Heilbron & P. de Bartua, 1478, ISTC itoo204000.
item drij Sermones Sancti Bernhardi	3	in Papir, nit inbunden	Bernardus Clareval- lensis, <i>Sermones</i> <i>de tempore et de</i> <i>sanctis</i>	Schoeffer, 1475, ISTC iboo436000.
item drij Preceptoria (in a deleted note also referred to as 'Preceptorium Aurium Dei')	3	in Papir, nit inbunden	Joh, Nider, <i>Praeceptorium</i> <i>divini legis</i>	ISTC records 12 edi- tions before 1479, incl. Strasbourg, Ruppel (1472), Cologne, Zell (3x) and Reutlingen, Michael Greyff, 1478 and 'not after 1479', ISTC inoo203000 and inoo204000.
item Augustinus de Civitate Dei	1	nit inbunden	Augustinus, <i>De</i> <i>Civitate Dei</i>	Schoeffer, 1473, ISTC iao124000. Also Wenssler, 1479, ISTC iao1241000.

			Text identified as	Before 1479 printed by?
item drü Trattelin Tüsch (in a deleted note also as 'Drü tütsche Büchlin geistliches Stass)	3	in Papir, nit inbunden	not identifiable	
item Albertus de officio Misse, dupliciter	2	in Papiro, non ligatum	Albertus Magnus, <i>De mysterio missae, sive Expositio decalogi</i>	Ulm, Joh. Zainer, 1473, ISTC ia00287000. Cologne, Joh. Gulden- schaff, c. 1477, ISTC ia00288000.
item drij Sext Dirdenden	3	nit inbunden, in Papir	Bonifacius VIII, <i>Liber VI Decretalium</i>	Probably not Schoeffer, but see GW 4849, 4851–2, 4854–6, 4858–62 incl. Eggestein (2), Jenson, Wenssler (1476, 1477, 1477).
item fünff Sext	5	in Papir, nit inbunden	Bonifacius VIII, <i>Liber VI Decretalium</i>	See above.
item vier Clementen	4	in Papir, nit inbunden	Clemens v, <i>Constitutiones</i>	cf. GW vol. VI, cols. 701–2, GW 7077–93, 18 editions, incl. by Eggestein, Jenson, Wenssler.
item drü Decret	3	in Papir, nit inbunden	Gratianus, <i>Decretum</i>	Schoeffer, 1472, and 7 others. GW 11351–8, incl. Eggestein, Jenson (1474, 1477) and B. Richel (1476).

			Text identified as	Before 1479 printed by?
item duo Exemplaria Hieronimy	2	eins in Papir, das ander in Pergamen, nit inbunden	Hieronymus, <i>Epistolae</i>	Schoeffer, 1470, ISTC ih00165000.
item ein Sext	1	in Pappir, deficit unus Sexternus	Bonifacius VIII, <i>Liber VI Decretalium</i>	see above
item sechs Decisiones Rote	6	nit inbunden, in Pappir	<i>Decisiones Rotae Romanae</i>	Schoeffer, 1477, GW 8201, also Ruppel, Wenssler, Richel, c. 1477, GW 8202 (printed before Schoeffer in Rome: GW 8200).

At first sight it would appear that this list is mainly of books printed by Schoeffer, sometimes appearing more than once. Yet the 13 small books and the three religious texts in German, which are not identifiable, do not appear to belong to his publishing programme as we know it. The Clementines, Boniface, Thomas Aquinas, Bernardus, Augustine, Gratianus, Hieronymus and the *Decisiones Rotae romanae* can all immediately be identified as texts printed by Schoeffer, but by 1479 they were also printed by others. This has to be taken into account, because some of the books in the list are certainly not printed by Schoeffer. These are substantial books, in Latin, the kind of solid books that tend to survive in large numbers of copies, and all evidence suggests that there is no reason to speculate about lost Schoeffer editions. Therefore we can be confident that Schoeffer did not print an edition of Albertus Magnus, *De mysterio missae*, nor of the 'Praecepta', which can be identified as the very popular *Praeceptorium divini legis* by Johannes Nider, 11 editions of which were published not later than 1479, none by Schoeffer. We may speculate which of the known

editions is more likely to have passed through Schoeffer's hands, the Cologne edition of the Albertus Magnus or the Ulm edition by Johann Zainer? Of the many printers who published the Nider, Georg Husner in Strasbourg and (especially) Michael Greyff in Reutlingen stand out as printers whose association with the book trade in Mainz is already established.¹⁹

Heading the list, the six copies of the Clementines and the one of the Boniface, all printed on vellum, bound and illuminated, are the most eye-catching and probably the most valuable items. Both were always in demand and printed many times. Both titles also appear lower down on the list, the Boniface three more times, the Clementines once. It is very tempting to assume that the later occurrences are of editions printed by others, while the bound and illuminated volumes are copies of Schoeffer's own editions of the works, printed in the 1470s.

Two or three other items are in all probability books produced by Schoeffer. We can be virtually certain that the two Hieronymus *Epistolae* are copies of Schoeffer's edition, especially since one is a vellum copy; one of the distinctive features of Schoeffer's edition is that a substantial number of copies were printed on vellum. But the two copies in the depot in Basel did not apparently have the fine Mainz illumination found in so many copies of this very large publication. The three copies of the 'Sermones Sancti Bernardi' are undoubtedly the *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* of Bernardus Clarevallensis, printed by Schoeffer in 1475, as other editions of his sermons did not follow until 1481. We cannot be quite so certain about the Prima pars Secunde of the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas; it was printed by Schoeffer in 1471 (following the Secunda secunde of 1469 and the Prima pars, printed c. 1470 by Ulrich Zell, but probably commissioned by Schoeffer). There was, however, a more recent edition of 1478, printed in Venice by Franciscus Renner de Heilbron and Petrus de Bartua. The version of the *Decisiones Rotae Romanae* that Schoeffer printed in 1477 was published at about the same time in Basel by Michael Wenssler and Bernhard Richel. It is impossible to decide which of the two versions figures in this list, although Wenssler had a particularly strong relation with the Mainz book trade. Even so, either of the two editions is possible.

The same can be said for the Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei*. By 1479 13 editions are recorded, but prime candidates for this list are Schoeffer's own, of 1473, or Wenssler's, fresh off the press, where it was completed on 25 March 1479. That leaves the Gratianus, *Decretum*, three copies of this colossal and indispensable book. Apart from Schoeffer's edition of 1472, this could be any

19 See below, Chapter 4 and Appendix.

of the later editions by others, notably those by Bernhard Richel of Basel in 1476 and Nicolas Jenson in 1477; both printers had strong connections with Schoeffer.

In the end we have to decide that only four of the 14 identifiable titles refer to works published by Schoeffer himself. Three are undoubtedly produced by others, and about the other seven we have to remain undecided. Despite all the uncertainties, we can conclude that this was a deposit of mainly very large and valuable books awaiting further transactions – whether as part of a wholesale operation, to be sent on, or as retail, to be offered for sale at the inn. It is beyond doubt that their loss was a significant blow for Schoeffer and Henkis.

As a mixture of books printed by Schoeffer and others of uncertain origin, they represent a network of trade connections.

Deposits of Books and Stock Lists

Peter Drach was certainly another of those printers who intended his books to be distributed widely, and he operated from Speyer as a book dealer in the same way as Peter Schoeffer did from Mainz. In a postscript to his chapter on fifteenth-century advertising and book trade in the *Distribution of books by catalogue*, Graham Pollard observes that he had just seen the extensive publication of the account book of Peter Drach.²⁰ Pollard noted that Drach had deposits of his books in an inn in Nuremberg; this made him qualify his image of the travelling salesmen, which had dominated his chapter and was based on the mention of inns as places where books were sold. As he came to appreciate, the deposits at the inns may have been more permanent arrangements, at least more than for a few days or so. This in fact becomes more likely as we gain further insights into the high level of organization of the book trade in which some of the largest printing houses took part. A list printed by Friedrich Creussner in Nuremberg, which includes 31 editions printed in Nuremberg, Augsburg, Strasbourg and Basel for sale in the 'locum subscriptum', may not be a record of what a travelling salesman carried about, as suggested by the caption to Pollard and Ehrman's illustration; it may rather have served for several deposits in various places. In some great centres there were locations where booksellers would be found, for example St Paul's Churchyard in London and the market near the church of St. Donatian in Bruges. Fairs undoubtedly played a role, and popular literature may indeed have been

20 Ferdinand Geldner, 'Das Rechnungsbuch des Speyrer Druckherrn, Verlegers und Grossbuchhändlers Peter Drach mit Einleitung, Erläuterungen und Identifizierungsliste'. *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 5 (1964), col. 1–196.

sold by itinerant pedlars. But at the same time the great entrepreneurs had found other models on which to conduct their business – although expansion could come at a high price, as we have seen with Schoeffer's misadventure in Basel.

As time passed the lists published by these great printing houses cum book-dealers tended to grow longer and become more detailed and organized. A list printed by Nicolas Jenson in 1478 or 1479 is arranged by subject; apart from his own publications it also includes work by his friend and compatriot Jacobus Rubeus and that of printers in Padua, Milan, Treviso and even Naples. It must be the stock list of the bookshop Jenson had in Venice. In 1484 Erhard Ratdolt, at that time in Venice, printed a similar list of 46 titles of books for sale, all printed in Venice, arranged by subject: Theology, Logic, Humanities and Poetry, Law, Astronomy and Geometry, and Medicine.

Lübeck the Centre of the Book Trade in the Baltic Region

The longer the lists or catalogues, the more need for such structural organization. In an advertisement issued c. 1478–9 by a bookseller in Lübeck, at the other end of Europe, we can observe a further development (Fig. 2.3). Again we

Uniuersis et singulis hanc cedulam visuris et lecturis liqueat quos inuauit Comēs enī luare decet)
scientiarū virtutūq; cultus. Omnes enim homines natura scire desiderant p̄ncipe philozophorū Aretotile teste in sue methaphisice p̄hemio. Quid enim prestantius scientiarū cultus? quarū codices impre-
sentiariū parui ut verius loquar nullius fere precij venduntur atq; compatione p̄modica estimantur. Quamobrem ne quempiāz lateat et venditoriū et codicum tituli hanc ipāz cedulam patenti huic loco inflgi conatus sū. quam quisq; inspicere potest. Ita bentur p̄tēa in loco infra scripto in littera impressa
Item vtriusq; iuris cū doctoꝝ et omniū lecturis
Item in sacra theologia
Item in arte humanitatis puta in poesi et arte oratoria
Item in gramatica pro puerorū educatione
Item in logica et ut in vñū dicaz in omni facultate theologica vtriusq; iuris ac ipsius excellentissime artis medicine Etiamq; in septem artibz liberalibz
Hec volumina habētur in littera ut dixi impressa diuersis in locis et litteris puta veneciana que cūctis excellentior habetur et in legendo plus delectabilis in corrigendo magis emendata
Item in littera Maguntinensi Nurenbergen Coloniensi Basiliensi ac pluribus alijs. omnia autez codicum patebunt ibidem. Et habebitur venditor largissimus.:

FIGURE 2.3

Stock list, c. 1478–9, printed in Lübeck. A bookseller, presumably in Lübeck, offers for sale books on Law, Theology and other subjects printed in Venice (the legibility of their printing types is especially recommended), as well as Mainz, Nuremberg, Cologne and Basel.

REPRODUCED FROM KONRAD BURGER, *BUCHHÄNDLERANZEIGEN DES 15. JAHRHUNDERTS*. LEIPZIG, 1907, NO. 28.

may note that it was written in Latin and not in the lingua franca of the Baltic coast, which was Low German. This sheet only specifies subjects, not titles of printed books: Theology, Law, Humanities, schoolbooks with Grammar and Rhetoric, and Medicine, stating that the books were printed in diverse cities and styles of printing types. The writer judges the Venetian books by far the best, for their printing and the quality of the text, but he also recommends the printing type styles of Mainz, Nuremberg, Cologne, Basel and several other cities.

Lübeck, a Hansa town, was one of the great centres of trade in Northern Europe and its port the gateway to the Baltic. Successive printers established themselves in the city from 1475 on, publishing in Latin and in Low German. The trade in books printed by others may have been as important as their production of printed books, but it is much more difficult to trace. There is no such clue for transit through Lübeck as Schoeffer offered for Mainz, but an accidental find led me into thinking that it existed. On a visit to Tallinn, in Estonia, I had the opportunity to examine the incunabula in the city's libraries and record them for ISTC. There are only a few incunabula in the National Library, but the library of the Estonian Academy has an interesting collection that consists of books with early local provenances, from the Latin school and from two church libraries; there is also a small collection in the City Archive in the old St. Olai church. Some cataloguing had been done in the distant past²¹ and it was rewarding to bring the record up to date. A relatively large number of the books were in contemporary bindings, a few identified as the work of binders in Lübeck, but most in heavy, blind-tooled, swine-leather bindings of local origin. A number of them had been bequeathed to the church by owners who wrote in their names and merchant marks, and could be identified as having belonged to prominent families in Tallinn. In all there is a substantial collection of 69 incunabula, most of which had been in Tallinn itself from an early date.

None of these books were very early, most dating from the 1480s and 1490s, and in most cases they were not rare at all. The combination of names of the earliest owners and dates of printing gave the impression that they had arrived in Tallinn no later than the end of the fifteenth century, or possibly early in the sixteenth. Ten of the books, most of them in Low German, were

21 T. Kirchhofer and O. Greiffenhagen, 'Verzeichnis der in zwei Revaler Bibliotheken und in Stadtarchiv vorhandenen Inkunabeln'. *Beiträge zur Kunde Est-Liv-und Kurlands* 7 (1910), pp. 64–85; G. Hansen, *Katalog des Revaler Stdtarchivs*, second ed., revised by O. Greiffenhagen. Reval (Tallinn), 1924; H. Weiss, 'Ergänzung zum Verzeichnis der in Reval vorhandenen Inkunabeln'. *Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands* 18 (1932/4), pp. 103–4. See also the volume of essays by Jüri Kivimäe *et al.*, *Die ältesten Estnischen Bücher in Tallinn (Reval)*. Tallinn, 2000. I am grateful to Dr Tiit Reimo for bringing these publications to my attention.

printed in Lübeck. That would surprise nobody, but of the others, all major works in Latin, 15 were printed in Nuremberg, 13 in Basel, ten in Cologne, eight in Strasbourg – but only three in Venice and one each in Mainz, Speyer and Paris. The variety, and especially the concentration of books printed by the great printers of the period in Nuremberg, Basel and Cologne, was enough to give a sense of the strength of the book trade penetrating into the far north. However, there was a further surprise in store. When I checked these books on ISTC in preparation for entering them on the record, I found with monotonous regularity that copies of the same editions as present in Tallinn (all of texts printed many times in the fifteenth century) were also represented in three or four other libraries in the Baltic area: in Copenhagen Royal Library (47), Uppsala University Library (37), Stockholm Royal Library (20) and St. Petersburg National Library of Russia (many of those in St. Petersburg were probably originally in the Lübeck City Library, which was transferred to Leningrad during or after the Second World War). Less frequently there were also copies in Västerås and Linköping in Sweden – but none in Tartu or Riga.²² Since none of these books is very rare, and the history of all these libraries is long and complex, further investigation will be required, but the coincidence should certainly be noted. Even more remarkable to my mind is the coincidence with the wording of the Lübeck advertisement as a witness of the book trade at that time, which explicitly mentions Nuremberg, Cologne and Basel.

The intensive surveying and cataloguing of early printed books which characterize the last half-century of incunable studies, coupled with the focus on provenance and copy-description, leads to a new understanding of the immense scope of the early trade in printed books. It was the motor that drove the intellectual expansion which was the consequence of the invention of printing, and the greatest printing houses of the period can be recognized as a driving force that worked through organized co-operation. The handful of still extant advertisements can be no more than an illustration of the inventiveness of those printers who found it was in their interest to encourage the market in printed books, whether their own publications or those produced by others.

22 The collection of incunabula in Tartu dates from the nineteenth century. See the catalogue Koostanud Olev Nagel (ed.), *Inkunaablid Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Teaduslikus Raamatukogus*. Tallinn, 1982 (with a summary in German). In Riga printed books were acquired from Lübeck as early as 1470 by the merchant Kord Romer, and later in the century sales are recorded by booksellers from Germany. After the Reformation incunabula from several monasteries were handed over to the newly founded public library. Although the parallel to other libraries in the Baltic area is not immediately evident, there were certainly substantial numbers of books printed in Strasbourg, Basel and Nuremberg in Latvian libraries at an early date. See Rūta Astra Jekabsone, *Incunabula Bibliothecae Rigensis*. Riga, 1993, p. 28.

Nicolas Jenson, Peter Schoeffer and the Development of Printing Types

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Introduction

Singing the praise of the invention of printing with movable type is a tradition almost as old as the first appearance of printed books. Early colophons promoting the books produced with the new technique often took the form of complex, punning prose or lyrical effusions. Read as early testimonies, such expressions long encouraged the view that the art of printing was the result of a single inspiration: that it came into the world as a perfectly formed accomplishment. Centuries later, the concept of a single discovery was countered by growing awareness of the experimental phases of Gutenberg's own work. But only in modern times has the invention come to be examined in developmental terms well beyond the individual achievements of Gutenberg.

In the early decades of printing books with movable type, stages in improvement, often interacting, can be distinguished. These were systematic and organizational as well as technical. They spread through the world of early printing, branching out as if by an organic process. This world was not a static environment, nor unconnected: people as well as books were on the move. Printed books were disseminated through the channels of a book trade that rapidly gained in extent and complexity in response to the mechanical multiplication of books. Sometimes documentary evidence can provide an image of a network of connections, either as a snapshot or over a prolonged period. The accumulation of data on early ownership, in so far as survival permits, is another route that brings us closer to understanding the early dissemination of printed books. Yet as noted above it was not only books that moved – printers travelled as well. Changes in their bases of operation tend to be carefully recorded in the bibliographies of incunabula. Harder to detect are the business trips undertaken especially by the most prominent and enterprising printers. And then there is the possibly unique case of a journey undertaken for what seems a blatant attempt at industrial espionage that I shall discuss in this chapter. It is through such manifold movements of people in the trade that we can understand how developments and innovations spread in the first decades after Gutenberg. The migration of printers from the Rhine area to Italy in the 1460s, followed by the significant improvement of the printing press that in the 1470s progressed in the opposite direction, northward from Rome and across the Alp, are examples of the routes technical knowledge could take. Like so much else, it was carried by people.

The composition of founts of type; simplification

In typography in the widest sense, encompassing layout, the presentation of texts in type and with metatextual materials, the developments in the early decades of printing are well recognised.¹ But in the stricter sense the development of printing types and their manufacture is another matter. How Gutenberg created and actually produced his founts of type remains a subject for vigorous debate. In recent years there is much less discussion about later developments, how and when it was that the technique apparently stabilized.² Yet, supported

1 Illustrated with a wealth of material by Henri-Jean Martin, *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre français: La naissance du livre moderne (XIV^e–XVII^e siècles)*. Paris, 2000.

2 In the 1920s some virulent discussion took place, provoked by Konrad Haebler's assumption that every printer could be identified by the printing types he used and the ensuing

by ever improving imaging technology, a new understanding of the production of early type is beginning to grow. It goes hand in hand with new insight into the dissemination of successful type among early printers through a specialized trade, as soon as materials of high quality became available.³

There is more than one way to judge the quality of type. For the reader it is the impression it makes on paper or vellum and the coherence of the words formed by it – in essence, its legibility. But for a printer investing in type it is no less significant that it is durable and apt to remain in use for a long time, and that its style permits its use for a diversity of texts. Bearing these characteristics in mind, a distinction becomes evident. Printing types produced in Venice in the early 1470s form on these points a telling contrast with many – but as we shall see not all – types used during the 1460s, as well as many founts used in the years thereafter.

Whatever Gutenberg's method of production was – not currently at issue – it resulted in very elaborate founts. These included many variant forms close to the traditions of script. Such graphic variations might occur according to the position of the character in a word or juxtaposition to other characters; they were achieved by abutting, ligatures and skilful kerning, as well as numerous abbreviations and contractions that were familiar to readers of contemporary script. When Gottfried Zedler analysed the fount of type of Gutenberg's 42-line Bible he distinguished just under 300 sorts (others might put the figure somewhat lower).⁴ The type was mainly used for what was to become one of

methodology. The reaction, partly building on observations by Gottfried Zedler and archival documentation, culminated in Ernst Consentius, *Die Typen der Inkunabelzeit*. Berlin, 1929. The debate remained confined to German-language publications. More recently a new debate was initiated by Blaise Agüera y Arcas, 'Temporary matrices and elemental punches in Gutenberg's DK type', in Kristian Jensen (ed.), *Incunabula and their readers: Printing, selling and using books in the fifteenth century*. London, 2003, pp. 1–12. This was countered by Christoph Reske, 'Hat Johannes Gutenberg das Gießinstrument erfunden? Mikroskopischer Typenvergleich an frühen Drucken', *GbJb* 2015, pp. 44–63.

3 I refer in particular to the progress made with optical comparisons of the earliest printing types by Christoph Reske, see above n. 2. For studies of later fifteenth-century printing types I am grateful to Claire Bolton and Riccardo Olocco, who kindly are sharing images and observations with me while their own work is in progress.

4 Gottfried Zedler, *Die sogenannte Gutenbergbibel sowie die mit der 42zeiligen Bibeltype ausgeführten kleineren Drucke*. Mainz, 1929. Zedler's Table of the types has been reproduced several times, including in Albert Kapf, *Johannes Gutenberg: Persönlichkeit und Leistung*. Munich, 1988, p. 159. Translated into English by Douglas Martin with the title *Johann Gutenberg: The man and his invention*. Aldershot, 1996, p. 160. Zedler (nor as far as I know anyone after him) did not investigate whether some of the variant forms were introduced in the course of printing as replacements for worn types, possibly produced from worn-out matrices.

the world's most famous books and probably some small Donatus editions. Later it came to be owned by Peter Schoeffer, who also used it to print an undeterminable number of Donatus editions, and also, intermittently over many years, as a display type for a few lines in a title or headings. Even as late as 1493 the type reappears in a quire of eight leaves as prelims to the *Missale Moguntinum*, when someone in Schoeffer's printing house must have happened to remember it was there.⁵ Its scant use after the printing of the Bible would appear to be a small return on the investment of time and money to produce it, although such considerations were probably not uppermost in the creator's mind. However, two types made in Mainz only a few years later signal a change in expectations of what use can be made of a fount after the efforts of creating it. These two early founts, Fust and Schoeffer's Types 3: 91G and 5: 118G, will be discussed in the course of this study, but in anticipation we may note that they remained in constant and intensive use as text- and commentary types for 20 years, from 1459 to 1479. Meanwhile very extensive founts destined to have only a short period of active use are not confined to Gutenberg's Bible type. Such founts are frequently encountered throughout the 1460s and 1470s, and are not exceptional in the decades following. But during this period, and dominating later, we can also see a different category of type coming into use, the number of distinct sorts in the type-case gradually becoming smaller, but the type remaining in use for a much longer time, often by more than one printer. This phenomenon can be observed in the analysis of the composition of type-cases published by the Gesellschaft für Typenkunde ('GfT'). It struck me first when I analysed in a similar way the founts of type used in incunabula printed in the Low Countries, published in the HPT – especially because, unlike the GfT, the chronology of type production and printing was central to the methodology of this work.

Four types, all used by two of the most prolific printers of the Low Countries, stood out by their simplicity and protracted use. It is surely no coincidence that these two printers, Johannes de Westfalia and Gheraert Leeu, are known as having had markets in their sight well beyond the Dutch-language area. The style of the types they acquired and used for many years has nothing in

5 The surviving fragments of Schoeffer's Donatus editions are listed GW 8718–22 (ISTC id00318500–318900), preceded by GW 8698–8717, printed in the type of the 42-line bible but without Schoeffer imprint. In 1486 the type appeared in the title (four lines) in the *Coronatio Maximiliani* (ISTC im00384000) and a list of the persons attending. The eight-leaf quire in the *Missale Moguntinum*, Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, 1493 (ISTC im00674500) is described by Gottfried Zedler, 'Die 42zeilige Bibeltype im Schöfferschen Missale Moguntinum von 1493' in *Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg Gesellschaft* v–vii, 1908, pp. 10–27. See Fig. 3.1.

common with the local scribal traditions. Tracing the source of their types proved to be revealing: they obtained them from Venice.

The work of the Venetian printers was from its beginning aimed at a wide-ranging market, which it reached through the rapidly developing book trade. The list of books printed in Venice that are known to have been sold in Mainz is just one example to illustrate the point.⁶ Although around 1473 a phase of over-production was no doubt perceived locally as a 'crisis', for outsiders the success of the printers in Venice was evident, providing an early incentive to match their standards in terms of both quality and style. It was not long before printers in Leuven and Antwerp hit on the idea that it was not necessary for 'Venetian' books to be bought and transported all the way from Venice. Users could be satisfied in a more convenient way. In 1473, only four years after the first appearance of printed books in Venice, Johannes de Westfalia, in partnership with Dirk Martens, purchased in Venice a 'rotunda' type of a very high quality, at that time obtainable only in that city.⁷ With that material the partners set up a printing house in Alost, a small town in the Low Countries where Martens was born.

When De Westfalia purchased this type – it is not evident whether he acquired punches or matrices, but he was obviously the owner – it gave him and his associate the opportunity to produce books that looked as if they were made in Venice. Martens boasted in one of his colophons '... qui venetum scita flandrensibus affero cuncta', while it is also worth paying attention to the wording De Westfalia used in the colophon of one of his earliest books: '... hac littera vera modernata, abscisa, et formata ...' (Fig. 3.1).⁸ The partners therefore decided at the very beginning of their careers to produce books that replicated the Venetian style, in fact entering into competition with the Venetian printers for the market in north-west Europe.

6 See Chapter 4 below, pp. 96–7.

7 For the early years of Johannes de Westfalia's activities as printer see HPT 1, pp. 14–17; for Gheraert Leeu *ibid.*, pp. 36–38. De Westfalia's Types 1: 89G and 2: 118G are reproduced in HPT 11, Plates 18, 19, 39, cf. 40, analysis of the founts Table 12 (83 sorts) and Table 16 (72 sorts); Leeu's Venetian types are 3: 64G and 5: 82 G (HPT 11, Plates 148, cf. 149, 150, 151, cf. 152, 153, analysis of the founts Table 64 (132 sorts) and Table 65 (121 sorts). All four types belong to the stylistic category designated by incunabulists as 'gothic', merely meaning 'not roman'; it is close to the style distinguished in palaeography as 'rotunda'. This style was developed as typography in Venice before it became universally popular as the appropriate style for legal and theological works of learning. In HPT we sought to distinguish this style as 'venetica'.

8 Martens printed these words in the colophon of the first book published by him alone, Baptista Mantuanus, *De vita beata*, Alost, 1 October 1474, ILC 341, GW 3315, ISTC ib00095900. Two months later Johannes de Westfalia's first sole imprint appeared with the recommendation of his type in the colophon: Petrus de Crescentiis, *Ruralia commoda*, Louvain (Leuven), 9 December 1474, ILC 645, GW 7821, ISTC ic00966000.

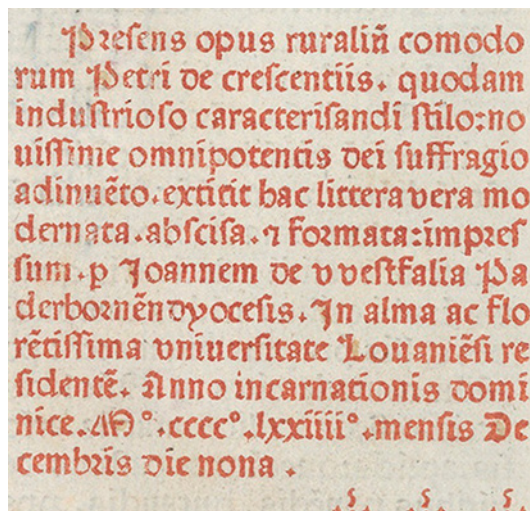


FIGURE 3.1

This type was made in Venice. Here it is seen in the first book printed in the university town of Leuven. Its printer, Johannes de Westfalia, expressed in the colophon (printed in red) his pride in this modern, sharply cut and cast fount of that new invention, type. He was to use it for many years. Petrus de Crescentiis, Ruralia commoda, 9 December 1474.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE
BIBLIOTHEEK, 168 E 38, FOL.
[U]5^b. (DETAIL).

Shortly afterwards De Westfalia moved from Alost to the university town of Leuven, leaving Dirk Martens to pursue his own, initially rather chequered career. De Westfalia continued to use the same type he had brought from Venice and added in 1475 a second one (Type 2: 118G). The lower case of this closely resembles the text type of Nicolas Jenson (Type 3: 106G), from whom he may have obtained the matrices, now cast on a larger body. Both types remained in use with hardly any change for over 20 years, at least until 1496, almost the entire period of De Westfalia's productive life that ended in 1499. He produced no fewer than 157 books in this Venetian style, almost all in Latin and aimed at the world of learning. It had been an exceptionally well-judged investment. The types were very suitable for printing Latin, including a number of the abbreviations and contractions that were still conventionally used in representing Latin texts. Nevertheless, Type 1 had no more than some 83 distinct sorts, including a set of capitals and punctuation marks; Type 2 had an even smaller bill, with 72 distinct sorts.⁹

A similar case took place just ten years later. The printer Gheraert Leeu worked initially, from 1477, in Gouda with types in a style closely related to the script of the Brethren of the Common Life in Holland, using them for a

9 De Westfalia used a roman type (his Type 4: 120R, HPT Plate 156) in a dated edition in 1483, and for only a few undated books. He probably acquired it also from Venice. BMC IX, p. 137, followed by HPT, noted its resemblance to the roman type of Florentius de Argentina.

publication programme mainly in the Dutch language. But in 1483, a year before he moved to Antwerp and probably when visiting Venice, Leeu purchased two Venetian types, obviously with the plan to address a wider-ranging market – in Latin – than had been possible from a remote small town such as Gouda. He presented his new types with pride, a direct challenge to the reader: ‘Can you see the difference from a Venetian book?’ is one way to paraphrase one of his colophons (Fig. 3.2).¹⁰ His founts were rather more extensive than those purchased by De Westfalia, but they share the characteristic of very long use. Leeu’s career ended with his sudden death in 1492; he had continued to use his Venetian types until the end of 1491. After his death they were taken over by the Delft printer Christiaen Snellaert, who used them for at least another five years.

The earliest printers in Venice and the interconnection of their types

These two examples, Johannes de Westfalia and Gheraert Leeu, should be sufficient to illustrate the profound influence that the Venetian book trade exerted at all levels and in all its many ramifications. They are indications that by the 1470s and early 1480s, even in remote countries, Venice was regarded as a source for high-quality matrices or as a place where punches for matrices might be procured, ensuring the long-term use of a typeface.

The purchases of types by the two printers in the Low Countries lead us to the small circle of typographers with whom the beginning of the commercial production of matrices and type, intended for sale to others, may be sought. The founts Johannes de Westfalia acquired can be traced to Nicolas Jenson and Bartholomaeus Cremonensis, and Leeu’s to Reynaldus de Novimagio.¹¹

10 The colophon of his editions of three travel stories issued together, featuring Marco Polo, Ludolphus Suchen and Johannes Mandeville [Gouda, 1483–4], ends with the words ‘... Quod opus vbi inceptum simul et completum sit ipsa elementa seu singularum seorsum caracteres litterarum. quibus impressum vides venetica monstrant manifeste (contractions expanded). ILC 1790, 1508, 124; ISTC ip00902000, il00364000, im00160000.

11 Bartholomaeus Cremonensis indicated in his colophons in verse that the types were ‘made by him’. See BMC v, pp. xiii, 207–8. This formulation is as valid for a punch-cutter as for a type-founder; he probably was the latter. For the interpretation of ‘De Novimagio’ as ‘from Speyer’ see Chris Coppens, ‘Giovanni da Colonia, aka Johann Ewylre/Arwylre/Ahrweiler: the early printed book and its investors’, *La Bibliofilia*, 116 (2014), pp. 113–19 (117). A connection with Speyer, where other early Venetian printers came from, is far likelier than Nijmegen; Coppens notes that Neumagen, on the Mosel near Trier, is another possibility.

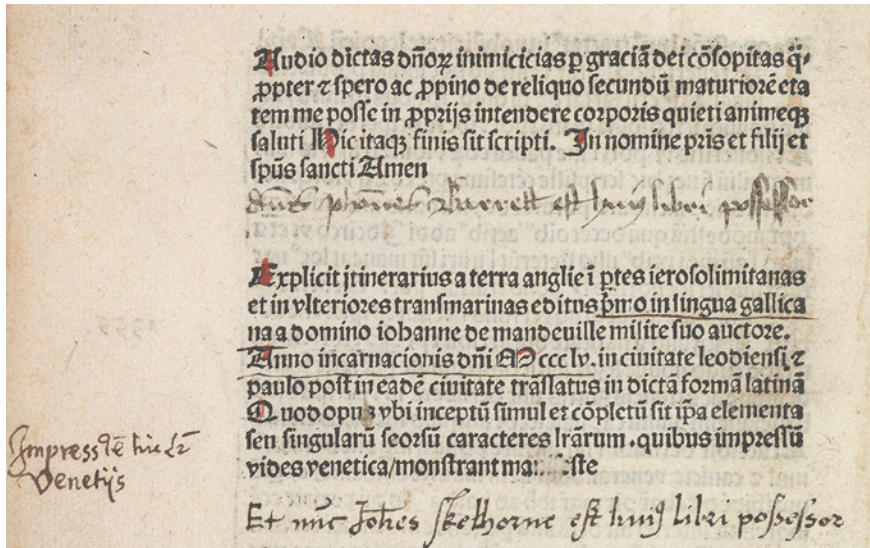


FIGURE 3.2 Gheraert Leeu obtained in Venice a high-quality printing type which was locally produced. On his return to Gouda in Holland he printed with it a set of three travelogues, beginning with the travels of Marco Polo and ending with those of Johannes de Mandeville. At the end of the set, in the colophon of Mandeville, Leeu declares that anyone can see that this is a Venetian book. One of the two early owners in England who wrote their names on the final page believed him, noting in the margin that the book was printed in Venice. Johannes de Mandeville, *Itinerarium* [1483]. THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, 150 B 37, FOL. H8^b.

The name of the latter indicates that he came from the town of Speyer, as did Wendelin and Johannes de Spira. In 1480 Reynaldus married Donna Paola, a 'matrimonial phoenix' (as Victor Scholderer put it); she had been widowed first from Johannes de Spira, her second husband, and subsequently from Johannes de Colonia, one of the merchants and financiers in this group.¹² Jenson called Johannes de Colonia his great friend and was in 1480 beginning a syndicate with him shortly before his death in 1480. This group of printers, to whom the name of Johannes Manthen has to be added, had all migrated from the banks of the Rhine, and together they were to have a distinct role in initiating printing and publishing in Venice. Their typography is no less interconnected than their family and friendship relations, and is still in need of further unravelling.

Nicolas Jenson stands out in this group. A good deal has been brought to light about the milieu he lived and worked in during the last ten years of his

12 On Johannes de Colonia see Coppens, 'Giovanni da Colonia' (see above n. 11).

life.¹³ He belonged to the confraternity, or *Scuola piccola*, of S. Girolamo in the district of Cannaregio, a neighbourhood in Venice where many of the foundries were situated. In his study of 1981 Martin Lowry presented a breakdown of the professional activities of the Scuola's members and found a considerable proportion of goldsmiths, jewellers and a few workers at the mint. Jenson may have felt at one with the workers in metal, and one inference may be that he honed his skills with the traditions of metalwork that were highly developed in Venice. As I shall argue below, this environment was probably a significant influence, but there are grounds to think that he had already been well versed in another tradition of working with metal. There would have been further reasons for Jenson to feel that the Scuola of S. Girolamo was the right confraternity for him. Cristina Dondi has observed that this scuola, which unlike some other confraternities was open to non-Venetians, had many members who were merchants from cities in Germany and the Low Countries, collectively known as the *Tedeschi*. It appears that S. Girolamo was the scuola of preference for the north European merchants.¹⁴ Jenson, a Frenchman, would have been in the minority. Or, we may surmise in view of his close associations with at least three German merchants, he may have considered himself as fitting in well with the group of *Tedeschi*.

One highly personal document survives to enlighten us about Nicolas Jenson the man and his business.¹⁵ In his last will and testament his own words allow us to ascribe to him feelings of trust and friendship with two prominent merchants of the German nation, Johannes de Colonia and Peter Ugelheymer. These apparently long-standing connections suggest that Jenson had established contacts in the Rhine region in Germany before he moved to Venice, along with other printers, all from the same region. In Chapter 4 I shall discuss his intense contact with Peter Schoeffer in Mainz through the book trade in the 1470s. This offers another motive for investigating whether there might have been antecedents in Mainz, and for tracing the scarce documentation about

13 Martin Lowry, 'The social world of Nicholas Jenson and John of Cologne', *La Bibliofilia*, 83 (1981), pp. 193–218. *Idem*, *Nicholas Jenson and the rise of Venetian printing in Renaissance Europe*. Oxford, 1991. Cristina Dondi, 'Printers and guilds in fifteenth-century Venice', *La Bibliofilia*, 106 (2004), pp. 209–265.

14 Lowry, see above n. 13, p. 201; Dondi, see above n. 13, pp. 239–242.

15 Venice, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Atti Notaio Girolamo Bonicardi n. 263. Text in Carlo Castellani, *La stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio Seniore*. Venice, 1889, p. 85 sqq. H. Monceaux, *Les le Rouge de Chablis*. Paris, 1896, with parallel translation into French (translated into English by Pierce Butler, *The last will and testament of the late Nicolas Jenson*. Chicago, 1928); also in Martin Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson* (see above n. 13), pp. 228–34.

Jenson in the years before he emerged in Venice. One document in particular needs evaluating.

The document in question has long been known. Its transmission is defective and complicated, and therefore sometimes considered problematic, and it has even received short thrift from Jenson's most recent biographers. In the analysis of its diverse sources that follows here, I have attempted to trace its origin and found that its significance lies in clarifying where and how Jenson acquired his exceptional skills and technical experience, and what influence it may have had on others. The context of these sources reveals the background that led Jenson to his extraordinary achievements.

Nicolas Jenson and Peter Schoeffer

From about 1467 Peter Schoeffer developed links for his trade in printed books with printers in Strasbourg, Basel, Speyer and especially in Venice.¹⁶ The image that can be built out of the investigation of Mainz bindings and illumination offers a strong indication that a large number of books were sent from Venice to Mainz to be sold on, and that among the Venetian printers whose books were sold in Mainz between 1470 and 1480, Nicolas Jenson surpassed all others.

It is remarkable how the activities of two prolific and successful printers, Schoeffer and Jenson, seem to run in parallel during the decade 1470–80, ending only with Jenson's death. Both concentrated on large works in folio format, partly the same legal and theological texts for which the demand was inexhaustible, and both stand out for the quality of their presentation and their typography, as well as the care for the illumination and decoration of part of the copies after they had left their presses. For both ample documentation exists for this decade – not only their books, which were widely marketed (most of which are preserved in many copies), but also in some legal documents and contracts, and in the case of Jenson his last will and testament. This document provides a great deal of information about his family, friends and professional relations; it reveals that at the end of his life he was sufficiently well-off to make many generous bequests. For his work there are a few valuable specifics: the valuation of the equipment in his printing house, the fact that he employed someone to run a bookshop in Venice. Jenson must have realised that the punches for the types he designed and manufactured were his greatest legacy of all, for he made well-considered special provisions for them, trusting them to his 'dearest friend' ('compater') Messer Peter Ugelheymer – not a

¹⁶ See Chapter 4 below, pp. 97–100.

printer but a merchant of Frankfurt am Main. By the time of his death his most original design, his roman type, was already used by at least 15 printers, ten in Venice and five outside, presumably sold by him either as cast type or matrices; after his death there were at least 11 more in the fifteenth century.¹⁷ His other designs were not taken up quite as widely, but were nevertheless influential achievements, both technically and aesthetically.

Yet there is also a strange reticence in this voluble testament: although it mentions his place of birth – Sommevoire in the diocese of Troyes – it fails to include any reference to the years preceding his final decade. It is as if after his birth and youth in France there was no life before he established his successful business in Venice. There is no form of acknowledgement of the course of events that had taken him from the north-east of France to those productive final years, at last lived in the public eye. Even as a successful businessman in Venice, Jenson did not identify himself with his place of origin, as so many of his contemporary colleagues and associates did: 'de Spira', 'de Colonia', 'de Argentina'. So, for that matter, did Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz in Subiaco and Rome, all indicating their origins in the regions of the Rhine.

The Decree of Charles VII transmitted in multiple sources

There is, however, some documentary evidence, defectively transmitted, that may be understood as indicating an early connection of Jenson with printers in Mainz. It may be understood as marking a crucial turning point in his life, and may even be taken to suggest that at some point the paths of Peter Schoeffer and Nicolas Jenson crossed; this would explain the later business connection. At issue, therefore, is to evaluate the documentary traces that are left, and then to consider what such a connection may imply.

The documentary evidence begins with a royal command or decree issued by a king of France that does not survive as an original document, but is transmitted in several later sources. Some of these sources give it a date in October 1458 and it would therefore have been issued by King Charles VII, who died in July 1461. Several versions exist in still extant documents and, since it is also quoted from no longer traceable documents, evaluating the tradition is not straightforward. The different versions have been quoted in a variety of contexts, most of all in the biography of Nicolas Jenson, to a lesser extent in the

17 Private communications by Riccardo Olocco, April and July 2016, based on his current research. I am grateful to Mr Olocco for sharing with me the results of his survey of the spread of Jenson's printing types.

history of printing in France, the history of the French Mint (the 'Monnaie') and lastly, in connection with Johannes Gutenberg and the spread of early printing from Mainz. As a historical text it has been warmly accepted as proof of Jenson's influence, but also dismissed as uncertain – 'à vrai dire assez mal établie'¹⁸ – or even as a fiction to serve political ends. For now, may it suffice to state here that most historians based their judgement on only part of the evidence, mainly on a source from the middle of the sixteenth century, BnF ms. fr 5524(2). An important exception is Karl Dziatzko, who in 1889 published an extensive analysis of the four sources known to him,¹⁹ but whose main interest in the tradition was the mention of Gutenberg's name in one of the versions. He regarded this as the earliest documentary evidence of Gutenberg as the inventor of printing.

Any original document issued on behalf of the king and sent to the authorities at the Mint must have existed among documents pertaining to the Monnaie de Paris and the Chambre de la Monnaie. Over the centuries the archives of these institutions have partly disappeared through fire and other disasters. We therefore have to depend on what was copied, serving a variety of interests. The fact that the original was transmitted in multiple sources has eluded most of the historians who have commented on it. The present study will analyse the forms and contexts in which the documents that were accessible to me have survived. Determining the context of each document is crucial, for in each case it has to be recognized as the filter through which the surviving forms of that distant decree has to be interpreted. One context is organizational, the Chambre de Compte in France, and the Monnaie de Paris; another is technical, the technique of striking coins and medals as practised in Paris.

At present five sources for the decree are known and, although they must all have derived from the same royal command, dependence appears to be direct

18 R[aymond] B[lanchet], 'Cinq siècles de typographie officielle', introduction to *L'Art du livre à l'Imprimerie Nationale des origines à nos jours*. Paris, 1951. Exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale. In the introduction Blanchet seemed to accept fully the authenticity of ms. fr. 5524 (2) (which was exhibited) as a witness for Jenson's mission, but in the catalogue entry he expressed more caution through the words as quoted.

19 Karl Dziatzko, 'Beiträge zur Gutenbergfrage'. *Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten* 11. Berlin, 1889, pp. 41–55. Dziatzko's analysis of the documents was supported by observations on the use of language by the well-known romanist G. Gröber. Dziatzko combined the occurrence of Gutenberg's name with the date when the royal command was issued, 1458, and considered it therefore as the earliest mention of Gutenberg as inventor. However, Gutenberg's name is only found in a later copy of the document, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, and cannot be taken as an early witness. See below, p. 59.

between only two of them. I have not been able to trace two of the sources, one of them probably the earliest, to a present location, but this does not mean that they are no longer extant. The independence of several of the sources from each other makes it likely that a decree had indeed been issued – they have significant elements in common – but at the same time it makes it impossible to establish precisely the original wording. Taking the common elements as a basis, we can be reasonably certain that a decree issued on 4 October 1458 contained the royal command to send one of the expert engravers active in one of the royal mints to Mainz with the mission to investigate the new invention of printing books. Furthermore, that on the recommendation of the généraux of one of the mints an engraver named Nicolas Jenson, who was familiar with the art of punch-cutting, was sent to obtain (discreetly) information on what seemed to be a new application of this technique for the production of books.

For what is probably the earliest witness to the royal command we have to rely on the observation of Claude Gros de Boze. He reported it in 1743 to the Académie Royale des inscriptions et belles lettres, of which he was a member.²⁰ In a commentary on Michael Maittaire's *Annales typographiques* he corrected some of Maittaire's conclusions regarding the chronology of early printing. His corrections on later much-discussed problems, such as the relation of Johannes Mentelin to Johannes Gutenberg, the date of printing of Nicolas Jenson's *Decor puellarum* and the beginning of printing in Venice, based on wide-ranging observations of documents and copies of books, are evidence of sensible judgement that has been sustained by subsequent generations of scholarship. Gros de Boze, head of the Cabinet de Médailles of the Bibliothèque du Roi, proved himself to be a discerning observer and interpreter of documents. He should therefore be taken seriously when he informs his readers (quoted in full):

Il [i.e. the author of the report] doit cette observation [on Nicolas Jenson's skills] à la note marginale d'un ancien Manuscrit sur les Monnoyes de France, depuis Philippe Auguste jusqu'à Louis XI, sous le regne de qui l'ouvrage paroît avoir été fait & écrit. À côté de l'empreinte des premières Monnoyes de ce Prince, il y a de la même main:

Qu'ayant sçu qu'il y avoit à Mayence gens adroits à la taille des poinçons & caractères, au moyen desquels se pouvoient multiplier par impression

20 [C. Gros de Boze], 'Observations sur quelques endroits des Annales typographiques de M. Maittaire', in *Histoire de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 14. Paris, 1743, pp. 236–7.

les plus rares Manuscrits, le Roy curieux de toutes telles choses & autres, manda aux Généraux de ses Monnoyes y dépêcher personnes entendues à ladite taille, pour s'informer secrètement de l'art, & en enlever subtilement l'invention; & y fut envoyé Nicolas Jenson, garçon saige, & l'un des bons Graveurs de la Monnoye de Paris.

The note is described by Gros de Boze as 'marginal', while his text has many differences in wording when compared with the other sources. He dates the manuscript to the reign of Louis XI (1461–83), and we should assume that a scholar of his experience would not have mistakenly assigned this dating to a manuscript of a much later period such as c. 1559–60, the only explicit date that can be attached to any of the still extant documents. It should also be noted that the period covered in his source ends with Louis XI, while all other sources end with the reign of Henri II. This suggests an earlier date than that of the others. I have not seen any later reference to this manuscript.²¹ But his assignment of the note to the reign of Louis XI is contradicted by the other sources, for they date the command in the year 1458, when Charles VII was still king.

In his report, Gros de Boze then finds corroboration of the royal command in another manuscript, at that time in the possession of the learned bookseller and collector Pierre-Jean Mariette. In his opinion, based on script and style, this was written at a much later date than the manuscript he first quoted. In the Mariette manuscript the note with words to approximately the same effect as in the previous one was written 'à côté' (marginal again?) the coinage of Charles VII and refers to the year 1458. Gros de Boze summarizes the note as follows, without indicating which part may be a transcription:

Il y est dit que Charles VII. informé de ce qui se faisoit à Mayence, demanda aux Généraux de ses Monnoyes une personne entendue, aller s'en instruire; Que ceux-cy lui indiquèrent Nicolas Jenson Maître de la Monnoye de Tours, qu'il fut aussi tôt dépêché à Mayence; mais qu'à retour en France, ayant trouvé que Charles VII. étoit mort, il étoit allé s'établir ailleurs.

21 In the catalogue of Claude Gros de Boze's collection (1753), in the section 'Traitez des Poids, des mesures & des Monnoyes Anciens', item 2233 is 'Jean-Baptiste Haultin, Les figures & empreintes des monnoyes de France, avec des notes MSS. Paris 1619'. Perhaps this is a very imperfect description of what is now Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 4071, the collection beginning with the engravings of Haultin that was part of the collection of the Marquis de Paulmy (d. 1787). The contents exclude this manuscript as the source for De Boze's report of 1743 or Von Heinecken's of 1771.

Again, the manuscript has disappeared from view; it was last reported as seen by Carl Heinrich von Heineken in 1771, when it was still owned by Mariette. Von Heineken adds the information that it had first belonged to the Hôtel des Monnaies.²² When Von Heineken examined the Mariette manuscript in preparation for his bird's-eye view of the early history of printing, he also gave his own summary and interpretation of its contents, remarking that Gros de Boze had not been complete:

l'Histoire nous apprend, que le Roi Charles VII. avoit projeté en 1458, d'envoyer quelqu'un à Mayence, pour y apprendre l'imprimerie, *ayant sçu, que Guttenberg, Chevalier, y avoit inventé cet art* [his italics, accompanied by a note] Ce sont les mots d'un ancien Manuscript de l'hôtel des monnoyes, que Mr. Mariette possède. On ne les a pas entièrement rapporté dans le XIV. Tome des Mémoires de l'Acad. Des Inscript. p. 237. [i.e. the contribution by C. Gros de Boze].

Von Heineken continues:

Il ordonna aux Généraux de ses monnoyes de lui nommer une personne de confiance, qu'il pût envoyer secretement s'instruire de cette science. On lui proposa Nicolas Jenson, qui y alla en effet, pour apprendre la typographie. Mais, la mort du Roi, arrivée en 1461, déranga entièrement ce project. Jenson, croyant ne pouvoir pas travailler utilement dans la France, qui étoit pour lors dans des temps de troubles, aima mieux se transporter à Venise, pour y exercer ce nouvel art.

Since Von Heineken presents a mixture of paraphrase and interpretation, we cannot be sure that the name Gutenberg was indeed present in the Mariette manuscript. There is no reason to doubt that the name was absent in the first manuscript quoted by Gros de Boze, but it may not be entirely accidental that it does not occur either when he described the Mariette manuscript. It is worth quoting in full his conclusion, which had no place for Gutenberg:

Suivant toutes les apparences, Nicolas Jenson s'introduisit chez Jean Fust & Pierre Schoëffer, & que l'habitude où il étoit de graver des poinçons de Monnoyes lui donna une grande facilité pour ceux des caractères de l'Imprimerie, dont il connoissoit déjà bien mieux le contour & les

²² [Carl Heinrich von Heineken], *Idée générale d'une collection complete d'estampes*. Leipzig, Vienna, 1771, pp. 165–6.

proportions, que ne les connoissoient ceux mêmes sous les yeux de qui il travelloit; mais certaine idée de perfection, sur laquelle les gens de goût sont toujours plus délicats que ceux qui ne sçavent encore rien, le retint à Mayence plus long-tems qu'il ne croyoit ...

It is unfortunate that Gros de Boze did not give any indication of the nature of the documents, nor in the case of the first one to whom or to what institution it belonged.

Various authorities conclude that the King sent Jenson to Mainz

These two sources caught the attention of successive historians of printing. After Von Heineken (1771), both Giacomo Sardini, in his extensive study of Jenson (1796–8), and Carlos de la Serna Santander (1805), give the records due credence, the only matter of disagreement being whether the French king was Charles VII, who died in 1461, or his son Louis XI.²³ In 1853 Auguste Bernard added a third source, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.²⁴ This is found in manuscript 4071 (*olim* Hist. 467 F) acquired from the collection of the Marquis de Paulmy (1722–87). The relevant text, here with the title 'Remarques sur les monnoyes de Haultin' is the fifth item in a collection of separate documents, evidently formed in the middle of the seventeenth century (the last date entered is 1648). The collection begins with 249 leaves without text being a complete set of the plates of engravings of coins by J.B. Haultin, published by him in 1619. It is followed by a manuscript with original foliation 1–51 with 'Figures des monnoyes des Barons et Prelates du Royaume, by a 'Bref discours ... sur le pratique de faire la monnaie', and by 'Procès verbal de l'Evaluation sur les monnoyes étrangères en 1549'. The 'Remarques', with original foliation 1–117, have a few explanatory excursions. The section on Charles VII begins on f. 46^v of the original foliation, and on 52^v (410^v in the modern foliation) the note on the mission to Mainz follows a list of valuations and a note on the coinage of

23 G. Sardini, *Esame sui principi della francese ed italiana tipografia ovvero Storia critica di Nicolao Jenson*. Lucca, 1796–8, vol. 1, pp. 4–8 (assuming that the king was Charles VII). Carlos A. de la Serna Santander, *Dictionnaire bibliographique choisi du quinzième siècle*, Brussels, 1805, vol. 1, p. 179 (opting for Louis XI).

24 Auguste Bernard, *De l'origine et des débuts de l'imprimerie en Europe*. Paris, 1853, pt. II, pp. 273–83.

the Dauphin. Here follows the text in full, main variants with other sources marked in bold:

Le **iiij^e**.octobre Miii^e Lviii le Roy ayant **sceu** que Messire Guthemberg Cheualier demeurant à Mayence au païs d'Allemagne homme a dextre en tailles, et de caracteres de poinçons auoit mis en lumiere l'invention d'imprimer par p<o>inçons <et> caracteres curieux de tel Tresor le Roy auoit mandé aux généraux de ses monnoyes luy nommer personnes bien entendues à ladite taille et pour enuoyer audit lieu secretement soit informer de ladite (411^r) **forme et** inuention entendre, conceuoir et apprendre l'un dicelles a quoy fut satisfait audit Sr Roy et par nicolas **sanson** fut entrepris tant le dit voyage que semblablement de paruenir a l'intelligence du dit art, et execution di celuy au dit Royaume dont premier a fait deuoir du dit art d'impression au dit Royaume de France.

Le dit Roy deceda a Meun sur yeure le xxij Juillet m iiij^elxi. année xxix^e de son Regne et fut inhume a St Denys.

The document appears to be a rather careless copy, as became clear when in 1889 an earlier version was made public by Karl Dziatzko; this can be recognized as a direct ancestor. It survives in a compilation of c. 1559 known as the 'Registre de Lautier' (see below). In the Arsenal manuscript notable slips in copying this version are, for example, the name 'Sanson' instead of 'Jenson', 'l'un dicelles' instead of 'l'art dicelle', 'année xxix^e de son Regne' instead of 'xxxix^e' and probably in the date '3 October' instead of 4 October. In the margins references by folio numbers to another document are noted, presumably to the engravings of Haultin, the page with the entry on 'Sanson' (i.e. Jenson) referring to 'fol. Clxij'. The text then continues on the same page with 'Louis XI de France surnommé le Terrible' with reference to fol. Clxv. The last reign listed is that of Henri II, the same *terminus* as in the Registre de Lautier. Despite its inaccuracies this version should not be entirely neglected, for it has some wording in common with the Gros de Boze version and with the Mariette manuscript as expanded by Von Heinecken.

After the value of this tradition of the royal decree was recognised by Sardini and De la Serna Santander,²⁵ it was later supported by the *Nouvelle Biographie générale* (vol. 26, 1858) as well as the *Biographie universelle* (vol. 21, 1859) and also by Edmond Werdet (1861) and Carlo Castellani (1889).²⁶ The

25 For Sardini and De la Serna Santander, see above, n. 23.

26 E. Werdet, *Histoire du livre en France*. Paris, 1861, pp. 293–297. Carlo Castellani, *L'origine tedesca e l'origine olandese dell'invenzione della tipografia: testimonianze e documenti*. Venice 1889, p. 30, n. 2.

only dissenting voice so far was that of J.P.A. Madden (1873),²⁷ dismissed with a hint of irritation by Karl Dziatzko – probably because Madden integrated the record with his far-fetched theory that early printers had congregated in the monastery of Weidenbach near Cologne, in a kind of school whence they conquered the world of printing. In 1881 E. Giraudet quoted a second manuscript source from the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, a manuscript 'traitant des monnaies' without further identification, but different in spelling details from the first.²⁸ In 1889 Karl Dziatzko brought to light yet another source (as well as copies of it), a manuscript datable 1559–60.²⁹ This manuscript was probably the source for the manuscript in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, brought to light by Auguste Bernard in 1853. It includes the best-known version of the king's decree.

This document is the second part of Paris BnF, ms fr 5524, a volume with the title 'Recueil concernant les monnaies' and consisting of two separate compilations, written in distinct hands and separated by three blank leaves. Fol. 1–28 contains a document with the title 'Evaluation des monnaies d'or et d'argent étrangères par Jean Lhuillier et Jean Grolier', which is a list of exchange rates of foreign currencies. The same text is found in ms. fr. 5523, where it is stated that it was compiled in 1560. The second document in ms fr. 5524 has the title 'Recueil des monnaies de France et des monnaies étrangères ayant cours en France, avec l'indication des ordonnances y afferents, depuis Philippe

27 J.P.A. Madden, *Lettres d'un bibliographe*. Deuxième série. Versailles, 1873, pp. 121 sqq. The first series of the *Lettres* (1868) had been entirely devoted to the Weidenbach theory. Refuted by E. Voulliéme, *Der Buchdruck Kölns bis zum Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Bonn, 1903 (repr. Düsseldorf 1978), pp. iv–v.

28 E. Giraudet, *Les origines de l'imprimerie à Tours*. Tours, 1881, pp. 19, 99.

29 Karl Dziatzko, see above n. 19, pp. 47–9. For a concise description of the BnF manuscript see *Catalogue des manuscrits français. Ancien fonds*. Paris, 1895 (available online). An earlier discussion of Philippe de Lautier's authorship in L. Blancard, 'Début du monnayage de Philippe le Bel', in *Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique et d'archéologie*, 10, (1886), pp. 372–97 (see pp. 374–8). The version of the decree as it appears in this manuscript is included by L.F.J. [Caignart de] Saulcy, *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire des monnaies frappées par les rois de France depuis Philippe II jusqu'à François I^{er}*, 4 vols. Paris, Macon, 1879–92, vol. 3 (1887), p. 224 [Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 3e série]. Also printed (with erroneous date) as Annexe xxviii by Guy Bechtel, *Gutenberg et l'invention de l'imprimerie: Une enquête*. Paris, 1992, p. 609. Reproduced in facsimile in Lothar Wolf, *Terminologische Untersuchungen zur Einführung des Buchdrucks im französischen Sprachgebiet*. Tübingen, 1979. [Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie Bd. 174], figs 3.1 and 3.2. I am grateful to James Mosley for the reference to Wolf's work.

Auguste jusqu'à Henri II (1552 n.s.). This second compilation (fol. 32–234) is better known as the 'Registre de Lautier', for there is sufficient documentation to argue convincingly that it was compiled by Philippe de Lautier (c. 1524–c. 1600) – and by implication between 1552 and c. 1559.

Philippe de Lautier's compilation on the history of the financial administration of the French coinage

Both compilations lead to the history of the financial administration of the Kingdom and of the Monnaie. Jean Grolier (1479–1565) was Trésorier of France from 1525 and the 'Evaluation' obviously served the purpose of using his authority to impose order on current financial transactions. It is a variation on the official valuations that any authority would issue from time to time in one form or other, and of which many examples survive. But the nature of the document compiled by Philippe de Lautier's was much more ambitious. De Lautier had a distinguished career as administrator, first as procureur of the parliament of Grenoble, subsequently as president of the Cour des Monnaies in Paris, appointed by François I^{er}.³⁰ In this capacity he assembled documentation on the coins issued by ordinances of the successive French kings, beginning with the reign of Philippe Auguste (1180–1223) and ending with Lautier's contemporary Henri II (1547–59). During this long period coins were issued by the 'monnaies royales' on the sole authority of the king. In the *Registre* the currencies are described as issued in each reign.

Ms. fr. 5524(2) is a very orderly document. Each reign begins on a new recto page, usually starting with a brief summary of the king's genealogy, and each reign ends noting the death of the king. Within each reign the ordinances regarding the minting and issue of coins are listed in chronological order. Engravings illustrating the relevant coins, neatly cut out and glued in, accompany the text. The pages concerning the long reign of Charles VII (1422–61) begin on fol. 135^r and his death in July 1461 is noted on 153^r. Preceding this information, on 152^v–153^r, is the entry regarding the mission of Nicolas Jenson. Owing probably to the context of ordinances in this document, the royal command

30 F. Allemand, *Dictionnaire biographique des Hautes-Alpes*. Gap, 1911, s.v. Lauthier. It is beyond the scope of this study to seek to establish when and how the two documents were brought together. My purpose is trying to understand the nature of the documents in which the king's decree was transmitted.

has also been designated in the literature as an ordinance, although it appears to be more correct to call it a decree or a royal command, issued with less formality.

De Lautier's work is linked to the later issue of the series of engravings of coins by J.B. Haultin, *Figures des monnoyes de France*, published in 1619. Haultin's series of engravings offers a parallel to De Lautier's text and elucidates it, in the same way as the paste-ins in ms fr. 5524 (2). Here follows a transcription of Lautier's version of the decree as recorded in ms fr. 5524(2), the few variants from (presumably) earlier versions here marked in bold:

Le iiij^{me} Jour doctobre mil iiij^cLviij ledit *seigneur* roy ayant **entendu** que mess^{re} **Johan guthenberg** chevallier demourant a mayence pays dallemagne homme adextre en tailler de caracteres de poincons auoit mis en lumiere Linvention de Imprimer par poincons & Carracteres Curieux de tel tresor ledit *seigneur* Roy **auoit** mande aux *generaulx* de ses monnoyes Luy nommer personnes bien entendues aladite taille et pour enuoyer audit Lieu secrettement soy Infformer de ladite **forme & manniere** de la dite Inuention entendre *conseuoir* & apprendre Lart dicelle A quoy feust sattisfaict audit *seigneur* et par nicolas Jenson feust entreprint tant ledit voyage que semblablement de paruenir a Lintelligence dudit art et execution dicelle audit Royaulme dont premier a fait debuoir dudit art dimpression audit Royaulme de france.

Ledit *Seigneur* Roy decedda a Meun sur yeure Le xxij^{me} Juillet Lan mil iiij^c [-Lx & vng] soixante & vng annee xxxix^{me} de son Reigne et fust Inhume en leglise mons^r Sainct Denys en france.

It will be evident from these surviving stages of transmission that what we see are copies, and copies of copies, etc. of a royal order issued to the royal mint, and therefore recorded and partly interpreted in registers or precis in compilations relating to the history of the mint. Their context never was the history of printing. Although technically not a royal ordinance regarding the valuation of coins, it was copied amid such documents, and being a royal decree may have existed in several copies right from its beginning; more exemplifications may even come to light if interest in its precise contents would re-awaken. For the present purpose we have to make do with the sources presently known to be extant. From the points where they differ we must surmise that annotation, interpretation and glosses crept in during the transmission; particular attention should therefore be paid to what the various versions have in common.

The mixed reception by later historians

For Karl Dziatzko, the main revelation was the name of Johannes Gutenberg in three of the known versions. For other historians the record's significance was its relevance to the introduction of printing in France. In his *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France* (vol. 1, 1900), Anatole Claudin wove the information into a coherent story.³¹ He assumed that the silence surrounding this visit was due to secrecy, first imposed by the king and later by Gutenberg, who would have protected his invention from outsiders. Jenson would have stayed in Mainz for three years to get thoroughly acquainted with the new technique, and would have left Mainz – as did many others – when civil war broke out. Relieved of their oaths of secrecy, journeymen dispersed from Mainz, and Jenson made his way, along with others, to Italy. Claudin then links Jenson with the early printers in Venice. In 1925 Victor Scholderer – at that time at the end of his work on BMC v that covers printing in Venice – accepted the existence of the decree, with reference to Dziatzko, but refrained from any speculation.³² Aloys Ruppel concluded in 1939 in his well-documented biography of Gutenberg that the decree of Charles VII proved that as early as 1458 Gutenberg was recognized in France as the inventor of printing.³³ Hirsch (1960) and Martin (1982), both addressing the first appearance of roman type in Venice, seem to accept the existence of the royal decree with some caution. Margaret Stillwell reported in 1972 Dziatzko's publication with a transcript of the text as in BnF ms fr. 5524, but reserved her judgement.³⁴

Other historians embraced the existence of the decree or ordinance enthusiastically; Vianello (1976) and Kapr (1988)³⁵ both interpreted it as evidence

31 Anatole Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au Xe et au XVIe siècle*, 4 vols. Lucca, 1900–14, vol. 1, pp. 10–14.

32 Victor Scholderer, 'Printing at Venice to the end of 1481', *The Library*, 4th ser., 5 (1925), pp. 129–52; reprinted in Dennis E. Rhodes (ed.), Victor Scholderer, *Fifty Essays in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century bibliography*. Amsterdam, 1966, pp. 74–89.

33 Aloys Ruppel, *Johannes Gutenberg: Sein Leben und sein Werk*. Berlin, 1939, pp. 190–1.

34 R. Hirsch, 'Printing in France and humanism', *The Library Quarterly* 30 (1960), pp. 111–123 (p. 112). H.-J. Martin, 'Au commencement était le signe', in R. Chartier, H.-J. Martin (eds.), *Histoire de l'édition française*. Paris, 1982 (rpt. 1989), vol. 1, p. 571. Jenson was not mentioned in Martin's essay 'Comment on écrit l'histoire du livre', dating from a lecture given in 1985 and published in *Idem, Le livre français sous l'Ancien Régime*. Paris, 1987, pp. 11–28. Margaret B. Stillwell, *The beginning of the world of books: 1450 to 1470*. New York, 1972, pp. 85–6.

35 N. Vianello, 'Materiali e ipotesi su Nicolas Jenson e sull'origine del tondo (Rileggendo le "Lettres d'un bibliographe" del Madden)', in *Studi di biblioteconomia e storia del libro in*

for Jenson having spent a substantial amount of time in Mainz, and according to Vianello (following Madden) in the monastery Weidenbach near Cologne. He would have profoundly influenced the development of typography in cities north of the Alps and in Subiaco before settling in Venice.³⁶ In his otherwise carefully documented study of Gutenberg, Albert Kapr indulged in a charming, if sentimental fantasy that Jenson's veneration of Gutenberg drove him to join him in exile in Eltville, where he helped him to set up a modest printing works. Perhaps somewhere in every historian a novelist is hiding, trying to come out. My own (suppressed) fantasy about Jenson has him filling his time with what he did best: cutting punches for the founts modelled on Schoeffer's larger text-type (Type 5) which were so successfully used by Ulrich Zell and Heinrich Eggestein, both known to have had associations with Mainz. There is no evidence for this, except the enduring quality and the stylistic resemblance of these founts.

The discipline of other historians is beyond suspicion: Alfred Šwierk declared in 1972 that the decree was undoubtedly authentic.³⁷ In 1989 George Abrams accepted the record in his essay 'Nicolaus Ienson Gallicus' as a piece fitting in the jigsaw of the careers of the early printers. Severin Corsten recorded Jenson's visit in his entry on Jenson in the *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens* (1992) without expressing reservations.³⁸ At the other extreme is Martin Lowry (1991) who gives some lengthy consideration to the decree³⁹ – unfortunately based on the premise that BnF ms. fr. 5524 is its only source and, moreover, in the mistaken belief that this part of the volume as now bound was compiled by

onore di Francesco Barberi. Rome, 1976. Albert Kapr: *Johannes Gutenberg: Persönlichkeit und Leistung*. Munich, 1988, pp. 252–3. English translation by Douglas Martin with the title *Johann Gutenberg: The man and his invention*. Aldershot, 1996, pp. 253–4.

- 36 Vianello's article reviews the early literature with impeccable accuracy; it is not entirely clear to what extent he intended to defend Madden's hypothesis. He added yet another manuscript source to the canon: BnF ms fr. 4071, formerly ms. Brienne 148. This is a later copy of the *Registre de Lautier*.
- 37 Alfred Šwierk, 'Johannes Gutenberg als Erfinder in Zeugnissen seiner Zeit', in Hans Widmann (ed.), *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Gutenberg-Forschung*. Stuttgart, 1972, pp. 79–90 (see pp. 79–80), quoting BnF ms fr. 5524.
- 38 George Abrams, 'Nicolas Ienson Gallicus', in Martin Lowry, *Venetian printing: Nicolas Jenson and the rise of the roman letterform*. Herning (Denmark), 1989, pp. 55–62 (pp. 56–7). I am grateful to Ursula Rautenberg for referring me to S. Corsten's article in the *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens*, 2nd ed., s.v. Nicolas Jenson.
- 39 Martin Lowry, 'The social world of Nicholas Jenson' (1981, see above n. 13), p. 196, surmising that Jenson himself claimed to have been sent on this mission to enhance his reputation in Venice; and *Idem*, *Nicholas Jenson* (1991), pp. 49–52, where he suggests the document is a fabrication by Grolier.

Jean Grolier and Jean Lhuillier. In fact, Grolier and Lhuillier were the compilers of the first section of the codex with the title *Recueil concernant les monnaies*, as carefully set out in the *Catalogue des manuscrits français, Fonds Ancien*. The second part, with the title *Recueil des monnaies de France [...] depuis Philippe Auguste jusqu'à Henri II* (where the information about the decree and Jenson is found) is compiled by Philippe de Lautier.⁴⁰ There is therefore no ground for dismissing, with Lowry, the record of the royal decree as an anecdote that was purely a figment of Grolier's imagination.

Not only Lowry, but all modern historians have failed to pay attention to the significance of the multiple sources. Like Lowry, Guy Bechtel discussed the decree based only on the version in ms fr. 5524; he dismissed it independently but with similar arguments.⁴¹ Even a historian as accurate as Piero Scapecchi has in consequence spoken of the tradition of Jenson's journey to Mainz as a 'legend';⁴² and Ursula Baurmeister and Marie-Pierre Lafitte have equally been persuaded to set it aside.⁴³ The complexity of the transmission leads inevitably to the caution that further investigation of the sources might well be fruitful, especially if it would be possible to identify the manuscripts seen by De Boze which may have found their way into numismatic collections.

Summary of the information in the sources

Despite these reservations, the published witnesses have enough ground in common for drawing a preliminary conclusion. First they have to be listed in what may be presumed as a chronological order:

- A. 'Of the time of Louis XI'. Seen by Claude Gros de Boze in 1743 and partly quoted, partly paraphrased by him.
- B. Of a later date than A. In possession of Pierre-Jean Mariette in 1743. Also seen by C.H. von Heinecken, before 1771, still owned by Mariette. Belonged formerly to the Hôtel de la Monnaie. The contents as published by De Boze are no more than a paraphrase, probably abbreviated. Somewhat expanded by Heinecken.

⁴⁰ See above n. 29.

⁴¹ Bechtel, *Gutenberg* (1992, see above n. 29), pp. 18–19.

⁴² Piero Scapecchi, in a review of Martin Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson, The Library*, 6th ser., 16 (1994), p. 251.

⁴³ Ursula Baurmeister and Marie-Pierre Lafitte, *Des livres et des rois: La bibliothèque royale de Blois*. Paris, 1992, p. 71.

- C. 1559–1560. BnF ms fr. 5524, part 2, compiled by Philippe de Lautier, with the title *Recueil des monnaies de France et des monnaies étrangères ayant cours en France, avec l'indication des ordonnances y afférentes, depuis Philippe Auguste jusqu'à Henri II*. Known as 'Registre de Lautier'. Before joining in 1719 the collection now in the BnF, it was in the royal library.
- D. Seventeenth century, after 1619. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms 4071 (*olim* Hist. 467). Bound with J.B. Haultin, Ph. de Lautier, *Figures des monnoyes de France*, Paris, 1619.
- E. Late seventeenth century. BnF ms fr. nouv. acq. 7119, a copy of BnF ms fr. 5524, formerly Collection de Brienne ms 148, with the title 'Registre de Lotier'. The contents of this manuscript are the same as those of ms. fr. 5524. (cf. *Catalogue des manuscrits français, Fonds Ancien*, 1895). This manuscript includes the information that the Registre de Lautier was completed in 1559, a date that seems likely enough in view of the dating '1560' of the Lhuillier- Grolier evaluation with which it is bound.
- ? Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal? (According to E. Giraudet and Karl Dziatzko).
- ? Monnaie de Paris (According to A. Bernard, on information from E. Cartier, former employee of the Monnaie).
- ? Vatican Library, according to Karl Dziatzko.

To what extent these sources may be interdependent is on the basis of the present evidence difficult to ascertain. None, however, is identical to another, disguised by later ownership. A and B were seen together and at the same time. C cannot be either A or B, for it belonged to the Bibliothèque du Roi from 1719, when it was acquired with the collection of Etienne Baluze (no. 250 in the *Bibliotheca Baluziana*). D may be a copy of C, either via intermediate copies or through an independent line of derivation from an earlier version. Dziatzko analysed the variants between C and D. It is unfortunate that all modern historians have considered version C to be the only source for the royal decree. It is equally unfortunate that Dziatzko's careful analysis of wording and spelling has been forgotten, a scholarly evaluation that deserves a much better fate.

Dziatzko collated C and D set out in parallel columns. I shall here compare the information in a different presentation, by concentrating on the main elements of which it consists.

1. Decree in the name of:

Charles VII	B
Roy (Louis XI?)	A
VII implied by date	C, D, E

2. Date:

none	A
1458	B
4 October 1458	C, E
3 October 1458	D
3. Sent to:

gens adroits à la taille des poinçons & caractères	A
Johan guthenberg chevalier	B, C, D, E
4. In order to:

s'informer secrètement de l'art, et en enlever ... l'invention	A, B
secretement soy infformer de la forme et manniere de ladite Invention ... & aprendre l'art	C, D, E
5. Name of person sent:

Nicolas Jenson	A, B, C, E
Nicolas Sanson	D
6. qualified as:

garçon saige et l'un des bon graveurs de la Monnoye de Paris	A
Maître de la Monnoye de Tours	B
personne(s) bien entendues a la ditte taille	A, C, D, E
7. to travel to:

Mayence	A, B, C, D, E
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Part of the differences in information and wording between the versions is the result of the nature of their transmission. Gros de Boze's versions A and B are partly a paraphrase, partly an interpretation, but several of the terms he used also occur in the other versions. They can be taken as the traces of a common point of departure. In item A the marginal text is truly an aside, perhaps noted a few years after 1458, by which time the invention of printing had become a subject of curiosity and interest. The wording of item C, the *Registre de Lautier* of c. 1559, appears to be closer to an original source. Even so, De Lautier's compilation could not have been intended as a diplomatic edition of an existing record. Such a presentation would have been more than a century ahead of its time. De Lautier's compilation had an explanatory function, to unite in one sequence the royal decisions regarding the coinage of the realm, most of

which were taken centuries earlier. He showed therefore how the ordinances were effectuated by illustrating the coins, listing their values and sometimes the quantity in which they were produced. The motivation in compiling this information must partly have been an antiquarian interest, with perhaps some reflection of the political issues of his day. De Lautier would have relied on sources such as a 'Registre d'ordonnances' kept in the Cour des Monnaies, which will be discussed below. A request by the king addressed to those in charge of his mints, though not regarding coinage but a matter of some secrecy, was recorded as of interest in the history of the mints. It would not have been part of the official record of the royal decrees of Charles VII, where indeed it is not found.

De Lautier's *Registre* must have served for a long time as the authority on the subject, at least until 1690, when François le Blanc published his *Traité historique des Monnoyes de France, avec leurs figures depuis le commencement de la monarchie jusqu'à present* (Paris, 1690); he did not think well of Lautier's accuracy regarding the early period.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, even after Le Blanc's criticism had appeared, copies of De Lautier's register found their way into prestigious collections. Some differences in wording and detail suggest that they were not all copies of Ms fr. 5524(2), but that they may derive from slightly different versions and have collateral relationships.

One question that arises from De Lautier's version is that Gutenberg is mentioned there by name. Would the French king (or his secretary) have known it, or was it inserted as additional information? By the middle of the sixteenth century it is fully to be expected that the invention of printing type would be connected with the name Gutenberg. Gutenberg's name had been in circulation in Paris since 1471, in one of the earliest sources to name him as inventor.⁴⁵ It seems therefore wiser to consider the naming of Gutenberg in this text as evidence of the solidification of his reputation in the course of the sixteenth century, rather than as evidence for his reputation in Paris by the year 1458. The terminology 'L'invention de imprimer' sounds equally as the formulation

44 François Le Blanc, *Traité historique*, p. 172: '...Premierement il paroist q'il a été fait les regnes de François I. & d'Henry II; que l'Auteur ne dit point d'où il a tiré les ordonnances qu'il cite, que'elles ne se trouvent aujourd'huy nulle part...'

45 In 1471 by Guillaume Fichet in his letter to Gaguinus, at the beginning of Barzizius, *Orthographia*, ISTC ib00269000. For the most recent critical listing of testimonies regarding Gutenberg as inventor see A. Šwierk, 'Johannes Gutenberg als Erfinder in Zeugnissen seiner Zeit', in H. Widmann (ed.), *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Gutenberg-Forschung*. Stuttgart, 1972, pp. 79–90.

that by that time had become a standard expression. It is remarkable, however, that all the sources, including the earliest reported by De Boze, speak of 'poinçons'.⁴⁶

It is once again necessary to remember where the documents originated: the versions that are transmitted must have been derived from records of the Monnaie. We may view these words as revealing how the news about printing with movable type in Mainz was interpreted in France where, as we shall see, the Monnaie had recently used punches for lettering to spectacular effect in a series of medals ordered by the king. If reports had reached king Charles VII about an unspecified technical innovation for producing books with movable letters in metal, rather as Aeneas Silvius had spread in 1455 the news in his by now famous letter to Cardinal Juan de Carvajal, the experts in lettering at the Monnaie might well have explained the innovation by pointing to the technique of creating lettering with punches. The experts may have jumped to the conclusion that the movable types with which books were printed in Mainz were produced with punches, and accordingly advised the king to have this particular use investigated.

Background to the documents – and to Nicolas Jenson's early life

The central body in authority over the state's finances during the Ancien Régime was the Chambre des Comptes. In its archives one might have expected to find, among many other records, the ordinances and decrees regarding the Monnaie issued by successive kings, if a great deal of official documentation in the records of the Chambre des Comptes had not been lost. Over the centuries fires and plundering, in 1737, during the Revolution in 1791 and the Commune in 1871, caused the disappearance of large parts of the archives.⁴⁷ Surviving material is dispersed over a number of archives and collections. From the twelfth century on, the issue of coins and the control of their value were centrally controlled by the king while numerous mints operated in many cities all over France. Large parts of their archival records have also disappeared, but some were copied by and for those charged with responsibility for their functioning.

The mints had a strict organizational pattern, applied in each individual mint. The organization was required to ensure security, but also to control a working pattern to regulate the interaction between the operations that

46 Lothar Wolf, *Terminologische Untersuchungen*, see above, n 29, pp. 24–5, quotes as earliest example of the word 'poinçon' an inventory made in Paris in 1523.

47 A.M. de Boislisle, *Pièces justificatives pour servir à l'histoire des premiers présidents (1506–1791) Chambre des Comptes de Paris*. Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1873 (Introduction, *passim*).

efficient production required, not unlike what is later found in printing houses. Documentation on the mints was edited from a great variety of sources by L.F.J. Saulcy – on the face of it an invaluable historical source providing much detail about the day-to-day conduct of business as well as the framework of official commands by which it was directed. However, the publication of the first volume of Saulcy's work led to a storm of protest and its withdrawal by the publisher.⁴⁸ Although we cannot rely on him for giving a full representation of the still extant documents, his work remains useful for the many details he does indeed offer. Saulcy described the staffing of each mint as: 'un maître particulier, deux gardes, un contre-garde, un essayeur, et un graveur appelé tailleur des fers'. The organization of each mint was in the hands of officials named 'généraux' and the central governing body was the *Chambre des Monnaies*, later 'Cour des Monnaies'.

In the course of the sixteenth century, beginning with the reign of Louis XII, the role of the monarch became stronger and his influence more direct, even leading from the reign of Henri II to open friction between the king and the *Cour des Monnaies*. One of the first deeds in Henri's reign was to appoint in August 1547 a 'tailleur général', a measure that found no favour with the *Cour des Monnaies* that sought to delay its implementation.⁴⁹ In the following reign, that of Charles IX, relations were no better. This may go some way to explaining the background for the existence of a document such as the *Registre de Lautier* that traced the history of the relations between king and mints and stressed the overall and central authority of the sovereign.

The Monnaie gives leave of absence to one Nicolas in October 1458

Even in a less adversarial situation, those in positions of leadership must have felt the need to collect information from the disparate centres of production. In so doing they sought to create order and establish precedent in what must by

48 L.F.J. [Caignart de] Saulcy, *Recueil de documents* (1879–92, see above n. 29). Saulcy's edition is based on collections of documents in the Archives Nationales, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, and he quotes also from Charles Lecocq's manuscript at the library of the Institut de France, ms. 1361 (see below). For the retraction of the first volume see L.F.J. [Caignart de] Saulcy, *Histoire d'un livre*. Paris, 1880. For the dispersal of the archives see the introduction in J.-M. Darnis, *Catalogue des fonds d'archives de la Monnaie de Paris (1418–1996)*. Paris, 1996, vol. 1 (esp. pp. 28–9).

49 Natalis Rondot, *Les médailleurs et les graveurs de monnaies, jetons et médailles en France*. Paris, 1904, Introduction, p. 29.

the early sixteenth century have appeared as a chaotically documented organization. An early attempt came to my notice in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France. There I found in Ms 1361 a document entitled 'Extraict abrégé des registres de la chambre des monnays faict par monseigneur Charles de Cocq General des dictes Monnoyes et depuis president en ladite Chambre'.

There had been a général of the Monnaie in Paris with the name Charles de Cocq (or Lecocq) since 1486.⁵⁰ According to a later note in the manuscript a person with the same name became president of the Cour des Monnaies in 1522 and remained in this function until his death in 1546. He was therefore a predecessor of Philippe de Lautier. The apparently autograph manuscript of 99 leaves, undated, represents Charles Lecocq's attempts to establish precedents regarding all who worked in the monnaies by recording decisions and actions taken in the past. Although the approach is historical, going back to the fourteenth century, the application appears to be practical, establishing precedents and rules rather than fulfilling an antiquarian interest. The manuscript begins with a list of contents in hierarchical order: 'dons doffices par le roy, Incomptabilité doffices, mutation des officiers' ... 'preuilliges & droictz et despens sur les maisters'... etc. The full text, divided into headings that are also listed in a table of contents, records events, beginning with a date and followed by a record. Often a note is added with reference to a full Register, e.g. 'par la iijc page du cxxiiije feuillet du registre des ordonnances...' (27^v). The dates in the records continue to the late fifteenth century. Of particular interest in the context of the present study is the heading 'Tailleurs', with some 17 subheadings. The subheadings are found in the margins of the full text on Tailleurs, from fol. 26^v. The investigation of this document failed to find a reference to a tailleur named Nicolas Jenson, but there is an intriguing entry concerning 'congé', or leave of absence. It has to be realized that for reasons of security 'congé' was tightly controlled. In the German-speaking countries it was not uncommon for workers in mints to be enclosed for months on end.⁵¹ The records in so far as I have seen them do not indicate whether this was the practice in mints in France, but obviously 'congé' was recorded very carefully.

In Ms 1361 we find under the heading 'Tailleurs particuliers – conger d'aller a ses affaires' (28^v) an entry for a significant date, 7 October 1458: 'Septme

50 Saulcy, *Recueil de documents* (1879–92, see above n. 29), p. 312: 4 September 1486, 'Charles le Coq fut receu en l'office de general', with reference to the Lecocq manuscript. His seems a lengthy career, spanning 60 years, and there may be question here of family members with the same name.

51 D.R. Cooper, *The art and craft of coinmaking: A history of minting technology*. London, 1988.

octobre iiij^cLvijj conge a Nicolas...’, but what follows can only be read as ‘de Russange’.⁵² From a large number of other documents published by Saulcy, Nicolas de Russange(s) can be identified as a ‘tailleur de fers’ whose activities at the mint of Paris can be followed at later dates, from 1469, and by regular entries testifying to his immense productivity until 1511, when it was noted that he had died.⁵³ Lecocq’s entry of Nicolas de Russange’s congé in 1458 is therefore problematic. But, in conflict with a congé granted to Nicolas de Russange as entered for 7 October 1458, Saulcy has a detailed entry, based on a document in the Archives Nationales, recording that De Russange took up his duties as tailleur on 13 May 1469 and bought his predecessor’s tools and punches from his widow. De Russange is mentioned regularly in the period 1469–1511 as continuing with the same kind of activities, and there is nothing to suggest that the name refers to more than one individual.⁵⁴ In 1469 and 1470 Nicolas de Russange was twice given leave of absence to go to Saint-Nicolas and to Metz,⁵⁵ the record of one of these absences occurring on the same page 28^v in Lecocq’s list as the congé granted in 1458, the other found in a document in the Archives Nationales.

Since the date of 7 October 1458 follows so closely on the date 4 October 1458 in the royal command, we may perhaps conjecture that Lecocq confused one Nicolas with the other when he made his index of the occasions when leave of absence was granted to tailleurs. If that is the case, we would find the royal command reflected in the records of the Monnaie de Paris as transmitted by Lecocq, albeit with a distortion. There is no earlier mention of Nicolas Jenson in Saulcy or in F. Mazerolle’s listing of medallists, whose records have some overlap with those of Saulcy.

Charles Lecocq’s *Extract* was quoted, although not exhaustively, by Saulcy, who owned it at some point and in 1880 donated the manuscript to the Institut de France. There are no other signs that it was much valued as a historical

52 Illustrated in Lotte Hellinga, ‘Nicolas Jenson et les débuts de l’imprimerie à Mayence’, *Revue française d’histoire du livre* 118–21 (2003), Fig. 3.1, p. 52.

53 Saulcy, *Recueil de documents* (1879–92), vol. 3, p. 265 (1469, 14 May), also vol. 4, p. 117 (1511, 8 August), in all 35 entries noted. Saulcy did not make an entry of the ‘congé’ granted on 7 October 1458 according to the manuscript Lecocq, perhaps because he noted the apparent conflict of information. Nicolas de Russange(s) is also recorded as active from 1469 until 1511 by F. Mazerolle, *Les médailleurs français du xv^e siècle jusqu’au milieu du XVII^e*, 3 vols. Paris, 1902, vol. 1, p. cxlix; a list of the coins, punches and matrixes De Russanges had engraved is on pp. 583–7.

54 Mazerolle (see above, n. 51) lists engravers with the same family name and baptismal name in the sixteenth century.

55 Saulcy, *Recueil de documents* (1879–92), pp. 266–7.

source. Notes of ownership indicate that it was for a long time in private hands, but only once in those of an official of the Mint, François Petit, who described himself as 'Conseiller en la Cour des Monnoyes', and who had bought it from a Paris bookseller in 1743. To him we owe the note written in the manuscript on Charles Lecocq.

The technique of striking coins and medals

In order to understand the contents of the archival documents which are such eloquent witnesses for what went on in the Monnaies, it is necessary to gain some understanding of the techniques involved.

In the fifteenth century, as in the centuries before and after, coins were struck with a method not essentially different from those employed in the cultures of antiquity. A thin metal disk, the 'blank', was placed between two dies, the trussell and the pile, each with an engraved design; the coin was struck by hammering the upper die. An entirely different method was used for producing medals. The very fine medals produced in Italy and Germany in that period were cast, by first forming a model in wax and then, normally by using the lost-wax method, preparing a mould in which the molten metal was poured. But in France, after a long period in which no medals were produced at all, an innovation occurred in the middle of the fifteenth century.

From 1451 until 1460 a group of very fine medals appeared, nine in all, to celebrate the expulsion of the English. They were large, flat medals, commissioned by the king and struck at the Monnaie de Paris with the same technique as routinely used for coins.⁵⁶ At the centre of these medals, the royal cypher and the arms of France are surmounted by the royal crown; round them, texts consisting of up to 145 characters, many of them in verse, are arranged in concentric circles of capitals. In the successive medals the lettering appears in several different sizes, and the later medals have a different style of lettering. The letters are repeated within and between medals and they were obviously

56 The medals are described by A. Vallet de Viriville, 'Médaille frappée à la Monnaie de Paris sous Charles VII, en souvenir de l'expulsion des Anglais (1451 et années suivantes)'. *Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique*, 1867, pp. 210–57 pp. 1–47. Also by F. Mazerolle, *Les médailleurs français*, vol. 2, pp. 1–4, illustrated vol. 3, Plate I; N. Rondot, *Les Médailleurs* (see above n. 48), pp. 66–9. The medals in the British Museum are described, with commentary, by Mark Jones, *A catalogue of the French medals in the British Museum*. London, 1984, vol. 1, 1402–1610, pp. 28–9. There is apparently no record identifying the artists who created these medals.

created by punches struck into the dies used for striking the medals. The use of punches is not unusual at this time. Punches had been used for preparing (and even adjusting) dies for coins from the twelfth century onwards, for repeated decorative elements as well as for lettering.⁵⁷ In the French medals of the 1450s it is only the extent of their lettering and its stylistic use that is exceptional. To take one example, probably dating from 1454, on the obverse an inscription of 133 characters surrounds the arms of France, while on the reverse an even longer inscription of 145 characters surrounds the letter K (for Karolus):

GALLIA: PERDITA.NUNC: TIBI: REDDITA: LAUDE: FRVATUR:
HOSTES: IAM: DVBITENT/CVM: TOTA: TIBI: FAMVLETVR: CVI:
VIS: INEST: TANTA: Q: EOS: NON: SUSCIPIT/VLTRA: MILICIA:
LATA: CLARESCVNT: LILIA: TRINA:⁵⁸

We may therefore safely assume that in the 1450s cutting punches and using them for lettering were procedures more familiar than ever in the Monnaie de Paris. Since the medals are said to have been commissioned by the king and to have been used as royal presents and possibly, in less precious metals than silver and gold, as rewards to his officers and as campaign medals for his victorious army, we may infer that they had his attention.⁵⁹ The Monnaie de Paris was at that time in closer contact with the royal court than it was when it only provided coins, important as that function was in itself. These circumstances help to build up the image of an environment in which an

57 Rondot, *Les Médailleurs* (1904, see above n. 48), p. 12, n. 2 and p. 15. Cf. Harry Carter, *A view of early typography to about 1600*, reprinted with an introduction by James Mosley. London, 2002, pp. 102–3. Dr B. Cook, Dept. of Coins and Medals, British Museum, kindly referred me to his article illustrating the use of punches from the twelfth century on ‘Coining dies in Late Medieval England with a catalogue of the British Museum Collection’. *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 160 (2000), pp. 219–47.

58 Transcription of the text taken from Mark Jones’s *Catalogue*, see above n. 55, p.29. Illustrated in Hellinga, *Nicolas Jenson et les débuts de l’imprimerie* (2003, see n. 52 above), Fig. 3.2, p. 53.

59 A. Vallet de Viriville (see above n. 56), pp. 19–20, p. 25; ‘... les exemplaires minces et de billon eurent probablement une destination plus humble et plus démocratique. Ils servirent, selon toute apparence à décorer la salade et le jacques de simples archers, de combattants subalternes, qui, cependant, avaient bien mérité de cause commune ...’. Mark Jones, *Catalogue* (1984), p. 29 remarks on their similarity to the coins struck at the monnaie: ‘In style, fabric and method of manufacture they are close to the contemporary coinage and must be reckoned among the largest and finest pieces produced by a medieval mint’. It must be noted that both Lautier and Haultin included them among the images of the coinage.

interest in the techniques of lettering might give rise to a mission ordained by the king, and where a talent for punch-cutting like that of Nicolas Jenson could develop.

One aspect of the lives of those working in the mints should be noted, as it may be linked to one of the well-established facts of Jenson's later life. The archival documents show that not only were the engravers' tools their private property. Dies and punches, collectively known as their 'fers', were also precious possessions that became part of the engravers' estates when they died.⁶⁰ We find the same notion of title to and possession of the results of creative design and work as – in the early days – represented by punches of characters, in the estates of punch-cutters and the inventories of foundries, spanning centuries; indeed, the notion of intellectual ownership continues to the present day as copyright in design. In the area of typography, one of the earliest testimonies to this effect is the will of Nicolas Jenson, drawn up in 1480. Among his many dispositions he carefully gave precise instructions to whom his punches should be entrusted and under what conditions.⁶¹

60 'Tailleur de fers' was the term used for engravers. Examples helping to specify what is meant by 'fers' can be gleaned from the archival documents. For example, Mazerolle, *Les Médailleurs*, (vol. 1, p. 501) quotes a document of 1488 in which Nicolas de Russange was commissioned to 'faire ungs fers a getouers où il y aura quatre fleurs de lys et une lorange et autour de la lorange y a douze bezans et quatre marguerites...' etc.; and p. 502, a document of 1501 '... a esté permis à Nicolas de Russanges, tailleur de la Monnoye de Paris, de faire des fers à faire gectouers pour Monseigneur l'admiral...'. In August 1511 the 'fers' of Nicolas de Russange, recently deceased, were purchased by his successor (Saulcy, *Recueil de documents*, vol. 4, p. 117).

61 For Jenson's will, drawn up shortly before his death in 1480, see above n. 15. In the lengthy document the passage about the punches is as follows: '... Hoc declarato et declarans ipse testator quod in premissis omnibus et singulis ut supra non intelligantur nec comprehendantur ponzoni, cum quibus stampantur matres, cum quibus matribus fiunt littere et prohiuntur, sed omnino ipse testator ipsos ponzonos exceptuat, ac eos voluit et vult dominum Petrum Ugelleymer, compatrem suum dilectissimum, habere debere, et ipsos eidem domino Petro legavit et dimisit. Et qui dominus Petrus non possit cogi ad dandum et solvendum aliquid pro ipsis ponzonis, nisi id quod sibi placuerit eius humanitate'. [The contents of the printing house should go to the Compagnia, but if the Company chooses not to accept these goods they should go to Peter Ugelheymer, against payment to the heirs. But:] '... si ipse Dominus acceptare nolet ipsas res et bona, ut superius dictum est, quod habere non debeat ipsos ponzones'. Quoted from H. Monceaux, *Les le Rouge de Chablis* (1896), pp. 49–50. Translated into English by Pierce Butler, *The last will and testament of the late Nicolas Jenson*. Chicago, 1928, p. 8.

Nicolas Jenson in Mainz

There is no evidence that Nicolas Jenson ever returned to France, although it is clear from his will, written shortly before his death in 1480, that he maintained close contacts with his family in his native town of Sommevoire. His assumed absence has generally been ascribed to the change in regime. King Charles VII died on 22 July 1461, and his successor, Louis XI, is thought to have been much less sympathetic to the notion that France would benefit from the recently discovered technology. Perhaps this interpretation puts too much weight on the significance of Jenson's mission in the political life of France. Charles VII's royal command may have been relatively casual, the word 'ordinance' usually attached to it a misnomer, originating from the fact that it was transmitted as a note to a series of ordinances for the minting of money. Also the absence of any further records of Jenson in France (before or after 1458) does not necessarily mean that he was not there. Lack of documentation leaves us therefore with a long period of uncertainty concerning the activities and whereabouts of Jenson until he emerged in 1470 as a printer in Venice – there to die, a prosperous man, in the autumn of 1480. The large number of books he produced in that decade are characterized by the quality of their layout and typography; the balance he achieved in combining these elements is unique.

This leaves a period of about ten years to fill in Jenson's career, where the only real certainty we have is that by the end of it he was an accomplished printer and businessman. In 1470 his assets were a supreme ability to create founts of type, to produce printed books and to sell them in addition to – no less important – a great many contacts, including German as well as French printers and businessmen with whom he did a variety of business deals. If we accept that Jenson did indeed go to Mainz in the autumn of 1458, he would have established contacts there that would recur in the later period of his life, thus offering a kind of circumstantial confirmation of his presence in the Rhineland area. Johannes de Spira (who may be documented in Mainz in 1460–1),⁶² his brother Vindelinus de Spira, Johannes Manthen and Johannes de Colonia are early printers in Venice who initially may have been his competitors, but by 1480 the latter was a business partner in a syndicate formed by Jenson. Instead of competing with the brothers de Spira, it is also possible that Jenson designed for Johannes the first types used in Venice, as suggested by D.B. Updike, and that he therefore may have accompanied him to Venice at an

62 BMC V, p. ix and n. 1.

undetermined time before 1469.⁶³ From 1473 Jenson's business associates were Johannes Rauchfas and Peter Ugelheymer, both merchants from Frankfurt, and Johannes de Colonia. Meanwhile a French compatriot, Jacques le Rouge who came from Chablis, worked from 1473 with Jenson for several years.⁶⁴

If we may note here a continuation of contacts originally established in the Rhine area, we may also bring in the business relation that Jenson had in the 1470s with Peter Schoeffer, as discussed in Chapter 4. Such traces of contacts may lead us to the years following 1458. Here we find a remarkable phenomenon in typography: the first appearance of typefaces that were to last many years, while heavily used in many large books. Their first appearance occurs in the year after Jenson's arrival in Mainz.

We must first set aside one persistent misinterpretation regarding Gutenberg's own links with minting coinage. Members of Gutenberg's Gensfleisch family belonged in Mainz to the 'Münzergenossenschaft', a privileged fraternity of patricians. His biographers have speculated that through this affiliation he might have acquired his metalworking expertise. Guy Bechtel, however, has convincingly refuted this theory, pointing out that Gutenberg himself was disqualified by birth from belonging to this exclusive society, which in any case was in the relevant period not concerned with minting coins, but more with controlling a treasury of valuable metals.⁶⁵

Instead of Gutenberg's, the work of Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer should be considered, since their partnership with Gutenberg had broken up well before Jenson arrived. Gros de Boze's interpretation that Jenson's contacts in Mainz were Fust and Schoeffer rather than Gutenberg may well prove to have been insightful, and I shall consider the question of whether Jenson's previous experience with punch-cutting for lettering in medals may have been an influence on the production of type by Schoeffer.

Even if the production methods of the earliest printing types remain a subject for enduring debate, we may observe that a common characteristic is the short period during which they remained in use. The group of types connected with Johannes Gutenberg all had relatively low use, the types of the 42-line and the 36-line Bibles apparently the most productive in terms of the number of formes set and printed in these types. In Fust and Schoeffer's production from 1459 on we can witness the first appearance of types that were

63 D.B. Updike, *Printing types, their history, forms and use: A study in survivals*. Cambridge, Mass. 1922, (repr. 1937, 1980), vol. 1, p. 73. Cf. George Abrams, 'Nicolas Jenson Gallicus', in Lowry, *Venetian printing* (1989, see above n. 38), pp. 55–62, esp. n. 6.

64 Victor Scholderer, 'Printing at Venice' (see above n. 32), 1966, p. 81.

65 Bechtel, *Gutenberg* (1992, see above n. 29), pp. 52, 136–40.

destined for a much longer life-span, and one of intense use. The Guilelmus Duranti, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, was completed by them precisely one year after King Charles VII appears to have ordered Nicolas Jenson to travel to Mainz, on 6 October 1459.⁶⁶ The text of the book is set in a new typeface, designated as Fust & Schoeffer Type 3: 91G, in a style entirely different from their own two liturgical types used in their Psalters of 1457 and 1459 and from Gutenberg's Bible type and its precursors; it is also quite distinct from the type of the two indulgences of 1454 and 1455, although their bodies are of similar size.⁶⁷ Type 3 is an economical typeface, with great fluency and clarity. The survival of marked-up proof-sheets of the *Rationale* where corrections consisting of single characters are clearly indicated obviates any debate, if such were needed, about whether the book is set with movable type as we know it.⁶⁸ In the colophon of the book the other of Fust and Schoeffer's two main text types makes its entrance. It is a larger type, designated as Fust & Schoeffer Type 5: 118G, in a style sometimes characterized as 'fere-humanistica'; this style could be used in any work of learning. As a design it was the ancestor of a great many founts that came to be widely used. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt called it 'Schoeffer's masterpiece'.⁶⁹

If the coincidence of the appearance of a new quality of types, just a year after Jenson is likely to have been ordered to go to Mainz, is a reason to give us pause, a further coincidence is that this pair of types, like the Venetian types a decade later, was capable of supporting an intense publication programme. Fust and Schoeffer, and later Peter Schoeffer alone, used them for a period of 20 years, until in 1479 Schoeffer published the last of his very large books. These 20 years saw a quantity of production that in the early years was unequalled elsewhere, and stands comparison with the later activities of printers in Venice, Nuremberg and Basel.

The two founts created in 1459 were used both in conjunction and separately. The smaller Type 3: 91G could be used as a text type on its own, or as a commentary type accompanying the main text set in Type 5: 118G. Or, conversely, Type 5 was occasionally used as title-type for a text set in Type 3 (Fig. 3.3). In 1471 another type of almost the same size as Type 3: 91G was

66 GW 9101, ISTC id00403000.

67 The 20-line measurement of the 31-line Indulgence is 96 mm, of the 30-line Indulgence 90 mm.

68 For an extensive discussion and illustrations of the Duranti proofs see Lotte Hellinga, *Texts in Transit*. Leiden, Boston, 2014, pp. 102–55.

69 H. Lehmann-Haupt, *Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim and Mainz*. Rochester, NY, 1950, caption to Fig. 3.11.

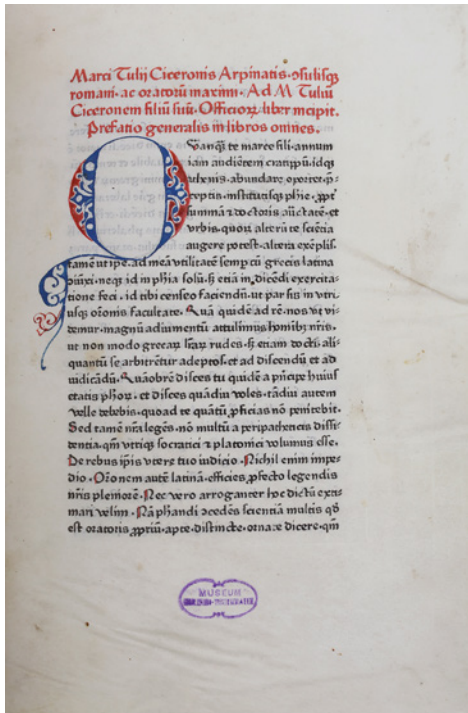


FIGURE 3.3

Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer owned from 1459 the first printing types with long-lasting qualities, probably made by Schoeffer. Their Type 5 (title, printed in red) and Type 3 (text) are shown here in M.T. Cicero, De officiis. Paradoxa, 1466.

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introduced to share its burden as commentary type. Its style was very close to Type 5, in fact, mainly a scaled-down version, but several quirky character designs in Type 3 (e.g. the lower case v) are also found in the later type. This type, known as Type 6: 92G, became the commentary type of preference for the very large books. The large Type 5: 118G was also used to great effect on its own in very substantial folio editions, the two Bible editions of 1462 and 1472 and the Hieronymus, *Epistolae* of 1470, the Valerius Maximus of 1471, the Bernardus, *Sermones* of 1475, and combined with display types the Turrecremata editions of 1474, 1476 and 1478.⁷⁰ It also appeared on its own in 1461 in the broadside proclamation of the Emperor Friedrich III,⁷¹ whereas the (longer) Bull and briefs of Pope Pius II – of which eight such broadsides are known to date – and the responses by the bishop/Electors issued in the same and following year

70 GW 4204, 4211, ISTC ib000529000, ib00536000; GW 12424–5, ISTC ih00165000; GW M49160, ISTC iv00023000; GW 3940, ib00436000; GW M48203, M48204, M48206, ISTC it00520000, it00522000, it00524000. It was also used in smaller books.

71 GW 10342, ISTC if00318100, VE15 F-58.

were printed in Type 3.⁷² The quantity of material printed in a combination of Type 5 for text with a commentary in the smaller Types 3; 91G or 6; 92G includes such very large books as the four editions of Bonifacius VIII, *Decretales* and two of Gregorius IX, *Decretales*, the five sections of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and the colossal Gratianus, *Decretum*.⁷³ From 1459 on, however, when it made its debut in Duranti's *Rationale*, Type 3 was also used as a text-type on its own for the setting of substantial books, for the last time in 1478. It was the type used for the two Cicero editions of 1465 and 1466, for the three editions of Thomas Aquinas (1467–71), for the Marchesinus *Mammothrectus* of 1470, the Henricus Herpf of 1474, the *Decisiones Rotae Romanae* of 1477 and finally for the large quarto-edition of Bartholomaeus de Chaimis, *Confessionales* of 1478.⁷⁴ In all, ten substantial works were printed with Type 3 used as a text-type on its own. The short Augustinus, *De arte praedicandi* (in chancery folio, not after 1467) and seven much smaller quarto editions were also printed in Type 3, with the exception of Aretino's Boccaccio translation which was printed in Type 5.⁷⁵ Type 6 was used only once as a text-type, in 1478 for Paulus de Sancta Maria, *Scrutinium Scripturarum*.⁷⁶

The following presentation of the production of the Fust & Schoeffer/Schoeffer press between 1459 and 1480 in terms of type used for printing 53 books is highly schematic. Accurate figures of the use of type can only be achieved by 'en'-counts on pages in the various formats, assuming the 'en' as the standard width of characters. Such an exercise is beyond the immediate purpose of this survey, which is merely intended to show the intensity of the use of the types over a period of almost 20 years. No account was therefore taken of the sporadic appearances of a type in colophons, nor as signatures, nor in headings. Even without counting ens the difference in the amount of type used for pages in a large format from that in the smaller formats is obvious. I have therefore distinguished large folio (royal and imperial) from the smaller

72 Pius II: ISTC ip00654950, ip00655000, ip00655300, ip00655310, ip00655350, ip00655400, ip00655410, VE15 P-223-29. Archbishops Adolf von Nassau and Diether von Isenburg: GW 225, ISTC ia00053200, VE15 A-97; GW 8338–9; ISTC id00191700, id00191710, id00191750, ve15 D-5-7.

73 GW 4848, 4850, 4853, 4857, ISTC ib00976000, ib00978000, ib00981000, ib00985000; GW 11451, 11457, ISTC ig00447000, ig00451000; GW 7580, 7582, 7590, 7722, 7751, ISTC ij00512000, ij00508000, ij00506000, ij00574000, ij00589000; GW 11353, ISTC ig00362000.

74 GW 6921, 6922, ISTC ic00575000, ic00576000; ISTC it00209000, it00168000, it00 203000; ISTC im00232000; GW 12226, ISTC ih00039000; GW 8201, ISTC id00108000; GW 6544, ISTC ib00157000.

75 GW 2872, ISTC ia01227000; GW 5626, ISTC ib01235800.

76 ISTC ip00205000.

chancery folio and median folio dimensions, and the quartos. Single leaves and broadsides are not included.⁷⁷

Type 3: 91G Used Alone as Text Type: 1459–78

large folio (1459–71):	867 leaves
small folio (1465–77):	1,025 leaves
quarto (c. 1465–78):	267 leaves

Type 3: 91G Used as Commentary Type: 1460–73

large folio:	965 leaves
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Type 5: 118G Used Alone as Text Type (1462–78)

(including the reprinted sections of the 1462 Bible and Hieronymus, *Epistolae*, 1470)

large folio 1462–72):	1,568 leaves
small folio (c. 1470–8):	1,055 leaves
quarto (c. 1470	12 leaves

*Type 5: 118G Used as Text Type with Commentary
Types 3 or 6 (1460–79)*

large folio (1460–79):	3,180 leaves
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Type 6: 92G Used Alone as Text Type (1478)

small folio:	216 leaves
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Type 6: 92G Used as Commentary Type (1471–9)

large folio (1471–9):	2,215 leaves
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77 The use of types was established by examination and checking on available sources. I have not been able to ascertain what type was used for the *Diurnale Moguntinum*, CIBN P-647a. It should be noted that in GW the statement of type is somewhat misleading, since it is confined to recording its presence even if it is sporadic, and does not include what the type was used for. Obviously the presence of types as instrument for dating was taken as priority, and regrettably the more informative model of BMC I was not followed.

This survey leaves no doubt that 1459 saw the introduction of founts of type that were capable of long-term, consistent use.⁷⁸ Schoeffer Types 3 and 5 mark a further development in typography and lead inevitably to the question how these types were made.

What metal alloys were Used for the production of the earliest printing types?

This question is not just difficult; it is impossible in principle to come up with a definite answer, for the sole witnesses for the processes for manufacturing early printing types are their end result, the impressions of type on parchment or paper, and these are open to diverse interpretations. There is no shortage of hypotheses of what the earliest printing types may reveal, nor lack of clashes between various expert interpreters. Several more or less far-fetched theories were discussed in the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They were rather briskly dismissed by the English type-founder Talbot Baines Reed in the introductory chapter of his *A history of the old English typefoundries*, published in 1887. His conclusion points to a linear line of development:

Indeed, probability seems to point to a gradual progress in the durability of the materials employed. In the first instance, the punches may have been of wood and the matrices soft lead or clay; then the attempt might be made to strike hard lead into soft; that failing, copper punches might be used to form leaden matrices; then, when the necessity for a more durable substance than lead for the letter became urgent, copper would be used for the matrix and brass, and finally steel, for the punch.⁷⁹

Such a straightforward view of the development left room for a great deal of detail to be filled in, and to be argued about. The seeds for controversy were sown from late in the nineteenth century, with Gutenberg studies by (to name just

78 Although it has not been fully investigated, it appears that there is little sign of modification during these years. BMC I, pp. 18 and 24 notes that in 1467 a new lower-case 'h' occurs in Thomas Aquinas, Summa II.II, but this should not be taken as an indication that the whole type was recast.

79 Talbot Baines Reed, *A history of the old English letter foundries*. London 1887. Revised and enlarged by A.F. Johnson, London 1952, p. 13. The notion of wooden punches appears to be limited to the theories about the production of the types of the Dutch Prototypography, which in Reed's view, endorsed by Johnson, was 'rude' and independent from the invention of producing type with punches, matrices and adjustable mould.

the most influential) Karl Dziatzko, Jan Hendrik Hessels and Paul Schwenke. The Gutenberg Gesellschaft, established after the Gutenberg quincentenary celebrations in 1900, published from 1902 in quick succession a series of impressive monographs, 'Veröffentlichungen', with thoroughgoing analysis of the earliest printing connected with Mainz and Gutenberg; many were by Gottfried Zedler, who was a librarian, but contributions by typographical experts were also included. This vast amount of material was partly summarized, partly commented on by Alfred W. Pollard in a characteristically lucid article that arrived at an uncharacteristically wild conclusion.⁸⁰ This was published in 1907, a time when Pollard was fresh from his own encounters with early Mainz printing as he worked on the first volume of BMC, published in 1908. He professed no enthusiasm for the large-bodied Bible types ('clumsy'), nor for any of the other large-bodied types. Instead, he stressed the importance and excellence of the two types on small bodies, used for the indulgences of 1454 and 1455 (with a 20-line measurement of 90, resp. 96 mm).⁸¹ In these earliest dated pieces of Western printing the impressions of the types are of an astonishing sharpness and perfection, and Pollard hypothesized that they were both the work of Peter Schoeffer. He noted that '... they must have required far more skill in cutting, casting and manipulating than the large types'. Moreover, 'they demonstrated commercial possibilities in the new art which the Bible types still left doubtful'. The types of the indulgences were not destined for prolonged use – they virtually disappeared save possibly for a brief appearance in Eltville and the decorative initials that emerged later among Schoeffer's materials. We may assume that they had become obsolete after further developments in the creation of small-bodied types: Schoeffer's Type 3: 91G and the Catholicon type 1: 84/82G.

Like Talbot Baines Reed and A.W. Pollard, Gottfried Zedler was firmly convinced that the invention of movable type took place in phases. He devoted his long career to assembling the material for publications to demonstrate this. He argued that Gutenberg's most important invention was the mould for casting type, and that the techniques for producing punches and matrices were subject to experiments with various metals and alloys. His principles were clear and largely remained consistent, but his unsparing expositions of detail and

80 A.W. Pollard, 'Gutenberg, Fust, Schoeffer, and the invention of printing', *The Library*, n.s. 8 (1907), pp. 69–99. Subsequent research was discussed by A.F. Johnson in 1952 in his edition of Talbot Baines Reed (see above, n. 79), pp. 15–26.

81 GW 6555–6, ISTC ic00422400, ic00422600. Although shortlived, a version of the type of the 31-line indulgence (possibly from a new strike of matrices) briefly appeared in Eltville in 1469 in Thomas Aquinas, *De articulis fidei*, C1BN T-116. See Chapter 5, p. 151.

their repetitions, combined with his often polemical style, try the tolerance of his readers as they probably tried his publishers. In his monograph on the Mainz *Catholicon* he studied its type and judged it of poor quality,⁸² probably cast from lead matrices that had been struck from brass punches. Zedler's investigation led him to an extensive comparison with Schoeffer's Durandus type (Type 3: 91G), in consultation with the Bauer type foundry in Frankfurt am Main where experiments were conducted to establish what processes might have been used when the type was produced in 1459. He concluded that the production method of the Durandus type was clearly distinct from that for the *Catholicon* type.⁸³ But, Zedler writes, this comparison and analysis of the Durandus type exceeded the space allocated by the publishers of the Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, and they could not allow him to publish this investigation in the monograph on the *Catholicon*. Therefore he planned a separate publication on the Durandus type.⁸⁴ To my knowledge, this has not materialised. Only sporadically throughout his argumentative publications can snippets of the insight he gained in Schoeffer's Durandus type be found. It is no less valuable for that, and it is relevant to the questions regarding the relation of Jenson to Mainz.

The First World War saw a truce between the controversialists, but in the 1920s hostilities were resumed with a vengeance, now with a new generation of combatants, while Zedler held on to his convictions and continued defending them in numerous publications.⁸⁵ Thus we find at the end of his monograph *Von Coster zu Gutenberg: Der holländische Frühdruck und die Erfindung des Buchdrucks*⁸⁶ a summary of early printing in Mainz, where he briefly surveys the types that followed the very earliest printing. I translate and paraphrase:

After Schoeffer had produced one of the indulgence types with brass punches and matrices in lead, he would have aimed at further development and succeeded with this in the Durandus type, where he progressed

82 Gottfried Zedler, *Das Mainzer Catholicon*. Mainz, 1905. [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft IV.].

83 He wavered in his opinion whether the *Catholicon* type was created by Gutenberg or not.

84 p. 68: 'Da die ausführliche Darstellung dieser Untersuchungen ... den von der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft vorgesehenen Raum weit überschritten, so habe ich mich auf den Wunsch der Gesellschaft dazu verstehen müssen, die Veröffentlichung dieses Teils meiner Arbeit einer anderen Stelle vorzubehalten'.

85 The research by the various participants in the discussion was summarized by A.F. Johnson in 1952 in his edition of Talbot Baines Reed, pp. 15–26. The bones of contention were also briefly discussed by Harry Carter in his *A view of early Typography up to about 1600*, reprinted with an introduction by James Mosley. London, 2002, pp. 16–17.

86 Leipziger, 1921. See pp. 191–2 and 195 for the remarks on the Durandus type.

with steel punches and copper matrices, while the creator of the Catholicon type stayed with brass punches and lead matrices. With this development Gutenberg's invention of the casting mould could be fully exploited.

In an article with the polemical title: 'Zur Coster-Gutenbergfrage: Eine weitere Auseinandersetzung mit meinen Gegnern', published in 1926,⁸⁷ Zedler repeated the claim that the Durandus type was created with steel punches and cast from copper matrices. He also expressed the view, in even stronger terms, that with this development Schoeffer had completed Gutenberg's invention. In a later publication, *Gutenberg und Schöffer im Lichte des Mainzer Frühdrucks*, published (in two parts) in 1929 and 1934,⁸⁸ Zedler reiterated this view, and specified that the punches would have been cut from *hardened* steel. He mentioned in passing that the Durandus type remained in use for a long time – until the end of the century he claims, with less than his usual accuracy. But the survey of its use that I presented above supports Zedler's interpretation of the quality and durability of the Durandus type, and that it introduced a new element in the production of type. That this type marks an innovation in technique is not too daring a hypothesis. Yet the Durandus type, and Schoeffer's Type 5, best known as 'the type of the 1462 Bible',⁸⁹ are not innovative in the composition of the type-case. Both Type 3 and Type 5 have type-cases of approximately 180 sorts, far fewer than the type of the Gutenberg Bible, since there are hardly any variant graphic forms – probably because there was less need to replace worn-out matrices. But there is a full list of ligatures, contractions and abbreviations. In this respect it is a continuation of the practice of the earlier Mainz types.

These two factors, innovation and continuity, may allow us to ponder the possible significance of Jenson's presence in Mainz. Zedler wrote (in 1934) that Schoeffer would have worked long and hard, for several years, on devising this new production method. But might it be possible that instead of spying, Jenson decided to offer his experience of producing punches (in steel?) when he worked at the mint in Paris? Schoeffer and Jenson, both genius type-designers and 'sculptors' of punches, sharing experience and putting their

87 *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 43 (1926), pp. 357–80.

88 Part 1 with the subtitle 'Die sogenannte Gutenbergbibel sowie die mit der 42-zeiligen Bibeltype ausgeführten kleineren Drucke'. *Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft* 20 (1929) and Part 2 with the subtitle 'Gutenbergs älteste Type und die mit ihr hergestellten Drucke', *ibid.* 23 (1934).

89 The earliest known use of Type 5 is in the colophon of Duranti's *Rationale* of 1459, and in 1460 in the first edition of the *Constitutiones* of Clemens V, ISTC ic00710000.

heads together to find an efficient way to make Schoeffer's creations last? What if it was the unexpected visitor from Paris who offered a helping hand? There is some 'romancing' in this attractive image, to use Henry Bradshaw's expression, and such evidence as there is to encourage this speculation is open to interpretation. Yet a few facts are undeniable: the quality of Schoeffer's new type as observed in its impressions, its longevity and its durability. The interpretation of the documents recording Jenson's visit to Mainz I have discussed above.

For Jenson, the journey to Mainz and entering the world of books would have been a life-changing experience, for there he would have witnessed the quite extraordinary combination of the ability to create printing types with the making of books in multiple copies – as well as the new art of publishing and marketing books, all skills in full development in Mainz in the years from 1457. It seems to have become the model leading to the astonishing success of Jenson's business in Venice. In the absence of any evidence it is impossible even to guess as to his activities in the 1460s, but we can surmise that it meant a steep path of personal development that reached its apex in Venice. There Jenson may have completed the search for the sequence of metal alloys suitable for making printing types and there, in particular, he may have found a superior quality of steel that allowed him to cut the punches for which he became famous.

The outcome of the extensively and polemically published differences of opinion regarding early typography (mainly expressed in German) is that we can understand the search that persisted in occupying the successive developers of typography: how to balance the varying strength and malleability of a sequence of metals and metal alloys. Their search was driven by the need to create punches strong enough to enable the striking of long-wearing matrices that could tolerate the heat of molten type-metal. In so far as accounts for the purchase of the materials for type-metal exist, they suggest that the proportions of its alloy of lead, tin and antimony could vary considerably. The proportion of antimony, in particular, would affect the strength and durability of the type once cast.⁹⁰ The development of all these processes, from punch-cutting to casting type, aimed to produce in ink sharply defined images, efficiently, economically and to aesthetic satisfaction.

90 In the summing up of his survey of theories, A.F. Johnson (see n n. 79, 80) concluded that early typographers advanced by degrees to the use of steel punches and copper matrices. (*Early letter foundries*, 1952, p. 26). But Johnson did not raise the issue of the varying quality of alloys, except that of type-metal. I am grateful to Riccardo Olocco for a preliminary view of his documentation of archival material regarding the production of type in Italy.

Jenson in Venice

There is no documentary evidence that indicates when Jenson arrived in Venice. Perhaps it was even a few years before he published his first books with the colophon date 1470.⁹¹ Jenson's famous roman type was possibly not his first attempt at creating a type to reproduce humanist script. The roman type that was the first used by Johannes de Spira and his brother Vindelinus when they set out as printers in 1469 may also have been Jenson's work. It showed 'promise rather than mastery', to Harry Carter's discerning eye, but he also observed that exactly the same design was improved a year later when it appeared as Jenson's roman type. Carter's verdict on Jenson's roman was: 'The typographical medium could hardly hold more of the Italian Renaissance, the intense admiration for classical precedent in the capitals, the humanists' love of clarity and grace in the small letters' (Fig. 3.4).⁹² Jenson used his roman type exclusively between 1470 and 1473, when he published mainly classical authors and some small devotional texts in Italian. After the early years, however, his publications began to include legal works requiring a commentary type; they are printed in what are classified as gothic types, and might more properly be called 'rotunda' (his Type 3: 106 G and Type 5: 93G). There is some overlap with publications of, for example, Gratianus and Gregorius with those produced by Peter Schoeffer, albeit with considerable stylistic differences with the Schoeffer types. The overall effect is in its own way as dignified as the style of the great legal works printed in Mainz. As to be discussed in Chapter 4, copies of the books found their way to Mainz to be distributed from there.

Fortunately, from 1470 on there is much information about Jenson's life in Venice. As already mentioned above, he was a member of the *scuola piccola* of S. Girolamo. Martin Lowry has pointed out that the absence of a testamentary legacy to the *scuola* suggests that it was not of much importance to him.⁹³ Probably it is more significant that Jenson had an address in the parish of S. Canzian in the Sestiere di Cannaregio, a neighbourhood of Venice, later the Ghetto, with many foundries.⁹⁴ This industrial area was a place to encounter – as it seems probable Jenson did – the superior steel alloy available in northern Italy;⁹⁵ famously, steel of this quality could produce lasting sharp edges, be they

91 BMC V, pp. 166–7.

92 Harry Carter, *A view of early typography* (see above n. 57), pp. 70–1.

93 Lowry, 'The social world of Nicholas Jenson', (1981, see above n. 13), p. 205.

94 Cristina Dondi, 'Printers and guilds' (2004, see above n. 13).

95 Riccardo Olocco asked on my behalf the opinion of Professor Raffaello Vergani on the distinct qualities of steel in Venice. Professor Vergani kindly explained that due to the high

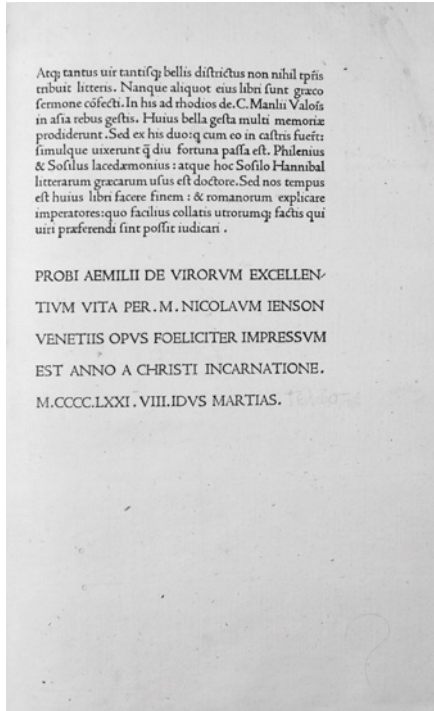


FIGURE 3.4

Nicolas Jenson's greatest fame is for his roman type, which he mainly used in 1470–4 for editions of classical texts; later it was used by many other printers. The colophon on this page shows a text as if displayed on an ancient monument, one of the inspirations for this style of lettering. Cornelius Nepos, De viris illustribus, 8 March 1471.

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of swords or of letters cut in punches. This made it possible to cut punches for the technically perfect roman type, and later for the rotunda types on which his enduring fame is founded. The hardness of the Venetian steel may have slowed down the production of punches. This may be a factor in explaining the reduction of the number of sorts in Jenson's new founts, and the many that followed in his footsteps – although principally this is a matter of graphic style.

The simplification of the type-case accords with the clarity of the humanist script as it was developed in the course of the fifteenth century. It radically changed the conventions of textual presentation. Expressed in typography it required re-thinking of design, for with an improved design a compositor could form words and lines without the many ligatures, 'abutments' and other variables that characterized the early Mainz types, notably the type of the Gutenberg Bible. Over the years we can observe with many printers a reduction of the initially vast choice of abbreviations, contractions and alternative

manganese content of the iron-holding minerals in the Lombardic Alps a steel alloy could be produced in Bergamo and Brescia that was particularly favourable for the production of weapons in Venice. (Message 25.7.2016.).

graphic forms. Usually the variation in forms depended on the position of a character in a word – whether it was at the beginning, end or in the middle. More subtly, variant forms were sometimes employed to clarify the structure of a text, or to give visual expression of emphasis to a word, or even to establish a hierarchy in capitalization: some capitals were more important than others.⁹⁶ Such reductions can be understood both as a deliberate change in stylistic presentation and as the need to sacrifice variability of forms when higher technical demands were made on the manufacture of the type, beginning with the punches. Eventually this led to changing the habits of readers. The introduction of type of a quality that allowed it to endure prolonged use – even without obvious recasting – took place gradually; elaborate founts, consisting of many different sorts, continued to be created, with the common characteristic that they were not in use for a long time. At the same time, other printers decided to take the courageous decision to acquire the more enduring type, making a long-term investment. Nicolas Jenson's own types were sold by him during his lifetime, either as matrices or cast type, and found many more users after his death.⁹⁷ Eventually the technical and stylistic innovations he introduced became the norm.

Fame where it was due

The appearance in Mainz of a new quality of type within a year of Nicolas Jenson's mission, and the similarity in quality with Jenson's founts of type in Venice, lead to a reconstruction of events that appears to be within the bounds of the possible. Both for Jenson and Schoeffer claims were made not long after the events that they were 'inventors' and both received praise for their mastery in the art of sculpting and engraving. It is significant that it was during their lifetime that these claims first appeared, and were printed in books that they published themselves. Peter Schoeffer was the first to be recognized and praised for his skills in punch-cutting as part of the development of the invention. On the final page of his great edition of the *Institutiones* of Justinianus, published in 1468,⁹⁸ 24 lines of verse are printed at the bottom of the page, after the colophon, almost as a page-filler. Similar poems are printed at the end of several of Schoeffer's other legal publications, almost as if the books had to end with

96 I have discussed and illustrated the function of alternative graphic forms in Caxton's Type 2: 135B in *Caxton in focus*. London, 1982, pp. 57–62, figs. 3.20–3.30.

97 See above, p. 50 and n. 17.

98 GW 7580; ISTC ij00506000.

a theatrical bow to sophisticated learning. In the Justinianus the anonymous poet evokes in convoluted Latin other inventive creations in mythological and biblical history, and the invention of printing obviously stands the comparison. He continues with observing that the first printers in Mainz, the ‘prothocaragmatici’, were two men named Johannes [namely Gutenberg and Fust]. But the following lines can be interpreted to mean that they were joined by Petrus who surpassed them, because he excelled in sculpting metal.⁹⁹ The verse is obscure, but the claim is clear enough. In less ambiguous language, ‘Quidam ... Petrus ... hanc imprimendarum litterarum artem excogitavit’, the historian Vergilus Polydorus ascribed the entire invention to Schoeffer. This appeared in the first edition of his *De rerum inventoribus*, published in Venice in 1499, but in later editions he revoked this by naming Gutenberg instead.¹⁰⁰ Especially to the point is Johannes Trithemius, who is often hazy about the details of printing, but reported c. 1514 in his *Annales Hirsaugienses* what Peter himself had told him many years before – namely that he had invented a better method for casting type: ‘Petrus ... homo ingeniosus & prudens, faciliorem modum fundendi characteres excogitavit, & artem, ut nunc est, complevit.’¹⁰¹

Jenson was similarly praised during his lifetime, in a book published by himself. It was in 1471, in the edition of Quintilianus, *Institutiones oratoriae*, edited by Omnibonus Leonicensis.¹⁰² In the dedication to Moses Buffaroli, bishop of Belluno, Omnibonus names Jenson as the ‘librariae artis mirabilis inventor’. He continues: ‘... non ut scribantur calamo libri: sed veluti gemma impriman- tur: ac prope sigillo primus omnium ingeniose monstravit’ (thus books are not written in ink but sculpted as seals are from gem-stones). Invention and great skill are juxtaposed, as Trithemius did for Schoeffer. Omnibonus’s informant

99 The three lines of verse on Petrus run: ‘Cum quibus [i.e. the two men named Johannes] optatum Petrus venit ad poliandrum/Cursu posterior intreundo prior./Quippe quibus prestat sculpendi lege sagitus’, see BMC I, p. 25. The verse was also printed in Schoeffer’s second edition of the *Institutiones* of 1472. For the interpretation of the verse see Heinrich Heidenheimer, ‘Das Begleitgedicht zum Justiniani Institutiones-Drucke von 1468’, in Aloys Ruppel (ed.), *Gutenberg Festschrift zur Feier des 25 jaehrigen Bestehens des Gutenberg Museums in Mainz*. Mainz, 1925, pp. 108–17. Heidenheimer noted that the formulation ‘Petrus venit ... Cursu posterior intreundo prior’ paraphrases the Gospel of St John, Chapter 20. He also explained that the lines do not declare that Schoeffer invented printing before Gutenberg and Fust, as A.W. Pollard believed (see Heidenheimer ‘Das Begleitgedicht...’, n. 78).

100 ISTC iv00146000.

101 Joannes Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaugienses*. 2 vols. St. Gallen, 1690. Vol. 2, p. 422.

102 ISTC iq00026000, BMC V, p. 168.

must have been either Jenson himself or perhaps one of the printers in Venice who had come from the area of Mainz or Cologne.

The circumstance in which both claims were made – by those in the know, in the inventors' own publications – allows us to assume that in each case they reflect how they saw themselves. For Schoeffer this finds corroboration in what he told Trithemius. For Jenson his subsequent eminence as typographer speaks for itself. If Peter Schoeffer and Nicolas Jenson combined their talents, experience and skills to bring Gutenberg's invention to completion, praise for them both is richly deserved.

Peter Schoeffer: Publisher and Bookseller

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Bindings as evidence for Schoeffer's activities as bookseller

The books made by Peter Schoeffer, first in Gutenberg's footsteps and in partnership with Johann Fust, then alone for much longer, have one feature in common: they were made to last. To this we owe the fact that almost all the major works produced in Mainz between 1459 and 1480 survive in a large number of copies, offering ample opportunity for comparisons that can reveal production processes and what may be called 'post-press production' – areas that appear to be connected to the printing house and include rubrication, decoration, painted illumination and binding. All such features can contribute to throwing light on the dissemination of Schoeffer's books through the book trade. Only gradually has it also been understood that the impact of Schoeffer on the dissemination of printed books extended well beyond the books that he produced himself. There is some, but not much, documentary evidence for this aspect of Schoeffer's business, and this is far exceeded by the mass of internal evidence surviving in many copies of books with which, in one way or another, he can be associated.

The 'internal' evidence that first began to reveal Schoeffer's connections with other printers in the capacity of book dealer is in fact found on the outside of books, in the form of contemporary bindings. As more and more copies

of books printed in Schoeffer's printing house came to be recorded and examined, it was gradually established that the work of only a few contemporary binders was often found on them. Significantly, the work of the most prolific of these binders was found not only on books printed by Schoeffer, but also, and in much greater numbers, on books printed by others. This is particularly true of books printed in Venice, Strasbourg, Basel, Nuremberg and Cologne. Thus evidence came to light that invited investigating whether Schoeffer acted as importer and retailer of books printed elsewhere, apparently as a *stationarius* and at times formally acting as agent for a colleague printer, but on other occasions probably in a less formal arrangement. Books bound by this binder, whether printed by Schoeffer himself or by others, could be linked to Schoeffer's printing house by the frequent occurrence of printer's waste of books printed there that were used as paste-downs. This warranted the conclusion that Schoeffer had regularly commissioned work from this binder.

As early as 1905 Gottfried Zedler briefly suggested that Schoeffer may have sold part of his production when already bound.¹ In 1908 Adolph Tronnier discussed the significance of such a link between some of Schoeffer's books and a binder.² Since in these publications there was only a question of whether it was either Schoeffer's own imprints that were bound with his printer's waste or books to which he was thought to be closely related, the term 'Verlegereinband', or 'Publisher's binding' was used. This turns out to be somewhat misleading, since by now far more books *not* printed in Mainz are known to be bound by Mainz binders than are Schoeffer imprints. In 1938 H. Knaus discussed these binders extensively,³ with much new supporting evidence in the form of printer's waste, but it was Dr Vera Sack who in 1971 firmly established and documented the link between printer, binder, location and book trade. She investigated the work of this binder as it was at that time represented in as many as 16 libraries in Germany.⁴ I returned to the matter following Dr Sack's

1 Gottfried Zedler, *Das Mainzer Catholicon*. Mainz, 1905, p. 46. [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft 4.].

2 Adolph Tronnier, *Die Missaldrucke Peter Schöffers und seines Sohnes Johann*. Mainz, 1908, pp. 28–220. [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft 5–7.] See also his 'Von Einbandspiegeln Mainzer Rechnungsbüchern und Gülden der Gensfleisch Familie', *Gbb* 1936, pp. 30–47.

3 Hermann Knaus, 'Über Verlegereinbände bei Schöffers', in *Gbb* 1938, pp. 97–108. Knaus supplemented this later with 'Schöffers Handel mit Zell-Drucken', *Gbb* 1944/49, pp. 91–2.

4 Vera Sack, 'Über Verlegereinbände und Buchhandel Peter Schöffers', *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel* 91, 1971, 2775–94. Also published in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 13 (1972–3), cols. 249–88. In 1993 Dr Sack gave me permission to make use of her work as

authoritative article because I thought (and still think) that it is possible to perceive another dimension to Schoeffer's activity in the book trade.

Since the rate of survival allows us to examine a large number of copies of books printed in Schoeffer's printing house between 1467 and c. 1480, it becomes possible to recognize the work of a very limited number of rubricators, flourishers, illuminators and painters. It thus becomes clear that, although part of Schoeffer's production was sold to other destinations just as it had come off the press, blank and unadorned, a sizable proportion was 'finished by hand' – sometimes almost uniformly in several copies of a book, and therefore presumably in conjunction with the printing house. The consistency of style leaves no doubt that such finishing took place in or near Mainz. It also becomes clear that there was variation in the levels of luxury to which the handwork was to be executed. Only a relative small number of the decorated copies survive in their original bindings, for many became prized items in prestigious collections – to be given a new lease of life in the eighteenth or nineteenth century in fine morocco tooled in gold. Nevertheless, many of the copies of Schoeffer editions that do survive in their original Mainz bindings are decorated or illuminated in Mainz. It begins therefore to be possible to establish a link between the work of binders (and that of one in particular) and that of the flourishers and illuminators. In other words, it becomes very probable that Peter Schoeffer commissioned the 'finishing by hand' of books printed at his press by decoration as well as by binding.

Having established this link, it can come as no great surprise that decorating by the same recognizable hands can be found in some of the imported books bound by Mainz binders. Thus the analysis and documentation of binding and 'handwork' in individual copies of printed books can contribute at least a few brush-strokes to an emerging tableau: that of the many connections and contacts, personal and impersonal, which constituted the trade in printed books and their wide dissemination in Western Europe in the first decades of printing. It is a picture of considerable complexity. As we begin to perceive its outlines and salient points we also begin to grasp that the cultural history of the printing trade cannot remain content with the knowledge of early book production that has been built up in several centuries of bibliographical recording. The bibliographical record provides a solid base and point of departure for comparing individual copies, which then allows us to perceive that they have features in common that were not produced by mechanical means.

I have done in the article as published in 1994 and in particular in its Appendix. Her generosity is gratefully remembered.

As ever when dealing with what has come down to us after more than 500 years, we know that this picture is defective, but it is all that survival permits. It is impossible to guess the proportion of what has been lost, but there is enough left to hazard some interpretations.

Illumination and binding indicate that a characteristic of early printing in Mainz is that for part of the print runs the production process continued after the sheets had left the printing press. This phenomenon came to an end when Schoeffer ceased to produce the large books which until the end of the 1470s had been the main substance of his printing business. This change coincided with the more general introduction of printed initials and other metatextual features by typographical means. In Mainz decoration and illumination of printed books went largely out of practice during the 1480s. Binding in Mainz of books that were imported from elsewhere, however, continued at least until early in the sixteenth century. There is no indication of how long Peter Schoeffer remained a dominant figure in this trade, or whether his business was overtaken by other booksellers settled in Mainz. But at the very least the work of the most active Mainz binder, who goes by the nicknames 'Kyriss 160' or 'M mit Krone I', in so far as it has been traced to date, is a reliable witness for Mainz as a lively centre of the trade in early printed books.

The Binder 'Kyriss 160' or 'M mit Krone I'

The inventory of the work of binders in Mainz in the 50 years from the early 1460s to c. 1510 has grown rapidly in recent years. Since Dr Sack listed in 1971 a substantial part of the material and used this as a basis for some important conclusions,⁵ it seems best to begin with a summary of the valuable conclusions of her article. She concentrated on one of the binders who can be connected with Peter Schoeffer. He was designated by Ernst Kyriss as the workshop 'M mit Krone I',⁶ after one of the most striking of his decorative tools, but in the absence of any form of name to attach to him I find it most convenient to name him after the place he occupies in Kyriss's repertorium, and refer to him here as 'Kyriss 160'. Many of his bindings still survive. Dr Sack

⁵ See above, n. 4.

⁶ Ernst Kyriss, *Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet*, 4 vols. Stuttgart, 1951–8. vol. 1, pp. 128–9, with a list of bindings, Plates 321–2. In the *Einbanddatenbank Berlin* the binder is identified as w000023.

identified some 60 distinctive tools by which his bindings can be recognized, but unfortunately she could not illustrate her article. Kyriss selected for illustration rubbings of the most characteristic tools, 11 in all; a larger number (28) can be found in the rubbings collected by Paul Schwenke and his successors.⁷ Dr Kurt Hans Staub and Zeynep Yildiz illustrated sets of 46 and 39 tools in their account of these bindings in the Gutenberg Museum and in Darmstadt Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, published in 2008 and 2009 respectively.⁸ The Einbanddatenbank held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin now records 66 tools as belonging to this binder, possibly including some duplicates.

Taking into account that a large proportion of this binder's work is found on books which (in other copies) have been much sought-after collectors' items from the eighteenth century on, it becomes likely that what is still extant can only be part of what once was produced; much of his work was probably in the course of time replaced by collectors' bindings. Some of his bindings I have seen are now in such condition that they cannot be expected to survive much longer. As it is, the figures for still extant bindings are impressive. Whereas Kyriss had listed only one manuscript and 33 printed books with bindings of this workshop, Dr Sack listed and discussed 95 copies of printed books (some found together in one volume, others in multi-volume works) and four manuscripts, all in libraries in Germany.⁹

Dr Sack's main observations and conclusions can be summed up as follows:

1. There is abundant evidence that the workshop was active in Mainz itself.
2. There are several instances of bindings with printers' waste from Schoeffer editions. This indicates a close relationship with Schoeffer.
3. Schoeffer must have sold a part of his publications after they were bound, for early owners of volumes in these bindings can be found far from the Mainz area.

7 Ilse Schunke, *'Die Schwenke-Sammlung gotischer Stempel und Einbanddurchschreibungen'* 1: Einzelstempel. Berlin, 1979. [Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde 3. Folge 7.].

8 Kurt Hans Staub, Zeynep Yildiz, 'Gebunden in Mainz in der Werkstatt M mit Krone, Die Einbände im Gutenberg-Museum Mainz: Ihr Stempelschmuck und ihre frühen Besitzer', *GbJb* 2008, pp. 257–71.

Idem, 'Einbände der Mainzer Werkstatt M mit Krone (Kyriss 160) in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt und ihre Provenienzen', in *Einband-Forschung*, 24 (2009), pp. 23–33.

9 Dr Sack included eight volumes bound by Hans Oisterricher in her list. See Appendix 11.

4. The binder must also have worked for other clients in Mainz, e.g. when binding manuscripts.
5. A second Mainz binder, Hans Oisterricher, must also have worked for Schoeffer, since some Schoeffer printer's waste is found in his bindings.
6. The number of texts in the list is limited, and several texts are represented in many editions. A large proportion belongs to the *Corpus iuris civilis* and other legal texts, both civil and canon law, and many of the texts that had first been printed by Schoeffer himself were printed by others at a later date.
7. The list of books in 'Kyriss 160' bindings can be seen as a stock catalogue of a specialized scholarly bookshop.
8. Some printers recur with remarkable frequency and apparently are Schoeffer's trade contacts: as can be expected from other sources they include Peter Drach, Anton Koberger, Ulrich Zell and Heinrich Quentell. On a much larger scale are the trade contacts with printers in Strasbourg and with Michael Wenssler in Basel. Everything is surpassed, however, by the frequency with which Venetian printers are found; Dr Sack surmised that the merchant Peter Ugelheymer played a part as intermediary.
9. When other printers started to produce the same texts as Schoeffer, it was not in competition with him.
10. Early ownership notes are not only found locally, but also in Franconia, Bavaria and Cologne.

Dr Sack stressed in particular the implication her evidence had for understanding Schoeffer's specialism. First as publisher, then as bookseller, he was apparently meeting particular requirements: both kinds of law, scholastic and philosophical theology (Thomas Aquinas, Antoninus Florentinus, Petrus Lombardus), Bibles, patristic texts and, to a much lesser extent, classical authors. Without exception his pre-1480 publications are in Latin. To support her point she arranged her list in alphabetical order, thus emphasizing the authors Schoeffer the publisher had in common with Schoeffer the bookseller.

When I published in 1994 a revised form of the list first compiled by Dr Sack, now rearranged in chronological order of publication, I was able to add a small number of items. Since then a large number of bindings by 'Kyriss 160' has been brought to light, mainly through the researches of Dr Kurt Hans Staub and his assistants in the Gutenberg Museum and the Martinus library in Mainz, and in the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Darmstadt. In the last few years Dr Annelen Ottermann has identified six more items in the Gutenberg

Museum.¹⁰ Consultation of the Einbanddatenbank, Berlin has also added a few items. As a result the number of copies of incunabula and a few early sixteenth-century books now recorded as surviving in bindings produced by 'Kyriss 160' has more than doubled and it now amounts to 205, in not less than 170 volumes; most are in folio format and all are in Latin. The increased number of items now known confirms the patterns observed earlier: the large proportion of especially legal texts and also of theology.

Arranged in chronological order of publication they reveal a paradoxical transformation that took place in Mainz. Printing and publishing rapidly developed in the Fust – Schoeffer printing house, continued by Schoeffer alone, and the city very soon became the centre from which printers carried these arts and techniques in several directions across Western Europe. But the paths taken by the printers who left Mainz and its environments led to the growth of a network of connections that favoured the development in Mainz of a flourishing trade in books printed elsewhere. For about ten years, in the 1470s, these two forms of business with books seem to have run in parallel, and Peter Schoeffer undoubtedly undertook important initiatives in both. The development of the roles of others in their relation to Schoeffer is less obvious: they include artists, illuminators, rubricators and binders, the most prolific of whom was the anonymous binder 'Kyriss 160'. To what extent was his activity independent from Peter Schoeffer? Did this relationship change over the years?

Reducing the record of printed books in bindings by 'Kyriss 160' (listed in Appendix 1) to bare figures can demonstrate some of these points. From the following figures I have omitted the three volumes containing more than four items in quarto format, containing in all 31 separate bibliographical entities. Such volumes combine items that usually came together over a number of years, and were probably bound for the convenience of a learned owner after he had used them for some time. This is unlike many of the Schoeffer editions, where the presence of printer's waste of approximately the same period certainly suggests that they were bound shortly after they were printed, and that Peter Schoeffer probably commissioned their binding. For the books printed by others, especially in the later decades, this is far less certain; their place in the chronological order can only be taken as an approximation of the date of binding. The places of printing of the 174 copies of printed books now on

10 Annelen Ottermann, 'Entdeckungen an Einbänden aus der ehemaligen Bibliothek der Mainzer Karmeliten', *Einbandforschung*, 32 (2013), pp. 11–28 (esp. p. 19). I am grateful to Dr Ottermann for sending me further details about these items.

record as bound by 'Kyriss 160', almost all in folio format,¹¹ can be summarized as follows:

Period	Place of printing	Copies	Total
I. 1465–70	Mainz	16	17
	Strasbourg	1	
II. 1471–80	Mainz	17	75
	Venice	17	
	Padua	4	
	Milan	1	
	Basel	13	
	Strasbourg	7	
	Cologne	4	
	Marienthal	2	
	Nuremberg	2	
	Speyer	3	
	Reutlingen	1	
	Paris	2	
	Lyon	1	
	Rostock	1	
III. 1481–90	Mainz	0	53
	Venice	15	
	Milan	2	
	Treviso	1	
	Pescia	1	
	Parma	1	
	Basel	7	
	Strasbourg	6	
	Nuremberg	6	
	Ulm	1	
	Speyer	4	
	Cologne	3	
	Würzburg	1	
	Reutlingen	1	
	Vienne en Dauphiné	2	
	Lyon	1	

¹¹ Fifteen items are editions in quarto, either bound singly or in small composite volumes. There is no separate record of manuscripts bound by 'Kyriss 160'.

Period	Place of printing	Copies	Total
IV. 1491–1500	Paris	1	25
	Mainz	0	
	Basel	4	
	Venice	5	
	Pavia	1	
	Florence	1	
	Strasbourg	3	
	Freiburg im Breisgau	4	
	Hagenau	2	
	Cologne	2	
	Lyon	1	
	Paris	1	
V. 1501–13	Toulouse	1	4
	Mainz	0	
	Basel	3	
	Oppenheim	1	

At a first glance this abstract shows that the years before 1481 were the period of this binder's greatest activity, and that these were also the only years in which books printed by Schoeffer provided a substantial part of his work. The second striking fact is that throughout, from 1471 on, Venetian books surpass all others in number. With 37 items out of a total of 174 they form the largest subset, even surpassing the 33 copies printed in Mainz. Even more telling is that, up to 1481, seven of the 17 Venetian books in that decade are printed by Nicolas Jenson and nine more by Venetian printers associated with him (e.g. Jacobus Rubeus) and with the Mainz area (Vindelinus de Spira, Johannes de Colonia with Johannes Manthen). Dr Sack surmised that the merchant Peter Ugelheymer, who was closely associated with Jenson, was of influence here, and this is fully confirmed by the material now added. A note of ownership of Johannes Ugelheymer, merchant of Frankfurt and brother of Peter, was found by Dr Staub in the three-volume edition by Jenson of Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa*, now with three parts in the Gutenberg Museum and another part in the Darmstadt Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek.¹² The five books printed

¹² Staub-Yildiz (2008) see above, n. 8, nos. 11 and 12.

in Padua and Milan in this decade may have reached Mainz through the same channel. The bookshop Nicolas Jenson owned in Venice, mentioned in his will, was obviously a significant part of his enterprise.¹³ Conversely it should also be noted that some copies of books printed by Fust and Schoeffer and Schoeffer alone have contemporary Italian decoration.¹⁴

If the trade relations with Italian centres of book production are the most spectacular, the diversity overall is no less striking. The 174 copies represent no fewer than 27 places of printing. Although there are several one-offs among them (as diverse as Rostock, Würzburg and Ulm, in France Toulouse and the Italian cities of Florence, Parma, Treviso, Pescia and Pavia), three great centres of book production in the German-speaking lands stand out: Basel, Strasbourg and Nuremberg.

Basel comes third in the list, after Venice and Mainz, but appears to have entered the scene considerably later than the Venetian printers. Whereas the earliest Venetian book is a Tacitus, printed c. 1471–2 by Vindelinus de Spira,¹⁵ the earliest book printed in Basel is a Gratianus printed by Bernhard Richel in 1476,¹⁶ but with a buyer's note dated 1479. In Basel, however, it is Richel's sometime partner Michael Wenssler who seems to have been a more regular supplier with 14 volumes, all printed between 1477 and 1480. In the decade 1471–80 a handful of printers seem to represent a steady trading network: apart from the above, Heinrich Eggestein and his successors in Strasbourg, Peter Drach in Speyer and Anton Koberger in Nuremberg are prominent in this group, while perhaps surprisingly, and despite other evidence to the contrary, Cologne printers play only a minor role. We shall see that they are better represented in what is known of the work of Hans Oisterricher; perhaps we have encountered some division of territorial influence here.

Heinrich Eggestein may have been a business partner from an early date, for possibly not long after the first Venetian book he appears in the list with an undated (and difficult to date) Gregorius, *Decretales*.¹⁷ It is sometimes suggested

13 In his will Jenson bequeathed 15 ducats gold to Pietro Benzoni, bookseller in the shop of the testator's company, over and above his wage. See [Pierce Butler], *The Last Will and Testament of the late Nicolas Jenson*. Chicago, 1928, p. 7.

14 The copies of the Thomas Aquinas editions of 1467 and 1469 in the British Library (C.15.d.3 and C.15.d.4, BMC 1, pp. 24, 26) have each a historiated initial that was probably painted in northern Italy.

15 ISTC it00006000, now in Munich BSB, BSB T-9.

16 ISTC ig00365000, now Würzburg UB, Hubay 943/2, INKA 48001262.

17 ISTC ig00446000, GW 11450 dates 1468/71, following Theo Gerardy, 'Gallizianimarke, Krone und Turm als Wasserzeichen in Großformatigen Frühdrucken'. *Ghjb* 1971, pp. 11–23. This

that in the late 1450s Eggestein spent time with the printers in Mainz, and his later connection with Schoeffer the bookseller would have been a continuation of the relation with a colleague. An earlier Strasbourg book is the Augustinus, *De arte praedicandi*, printed c. 1468 by Johann Mentelin. However, this copy was not bound before 1476 since it is part of a composite volume with the *Dialogi* of Guilielmus de Ockam, printed by the eponymous printer in Paris with the date 5 July 1476. This volume (also including the undated *Dialogi* by Gregorius, printed c. 1474 in Paris by Petrus Caesaris) belonged to the Dombibliothek in Mainz.¹⁸ This set includes therefore three substantial books that were obviously put together for convenience, as their subject matter is related. As witnesses to the chronology of the trade they alert us to the complications in assembling a picture.

This brings us to the three volumes of small books that fall within the criterion of including more than four items in quarto format, in total comprising 32 items. They can be summarized in the same way as the larger books, and they show a very similar diversity of origin:

I. Bound not before c. 1482, Mainz, Martinus Bibliothek

	copies
Cologne	6
Basel	4
Mainz	2
Strasbourg	1
Marienthal	1
Unknown	1
Total	15

The most recently printed of the items in this volume is Augustinus, *De disciplina christiana*, an edition ascribed to Bartholomaeus de Unckel, c. 1482.¹⁹ About half of the items were printed before 1475.

dating suggests that Schoeffer's edition may have used Eggestein's as printer's copy. This has not been investigated.

18 The volume, now at Munich BSB, consists of ISTC i000008000 (BSB ink-G501.1), ig00400500 (BSB G-294), ISTC ia01228000 (BSB-Ink A-871).

19 ISTC ia01261000.

II. Bound not before 1504. Frankfurt am Main, UB

	copies
Frankfurt (after 1500)	1
Mainz	2
Cologne	3
Strasbourg	2
Nuremberg	1
Basel	1
Heidelberg	1
Total	11

III. Bound in 1511 (binder's date). Frankfurt am Main, UB

	copies
Mainz	2
Leipzig	2
Speyer	1
Strasbourg	1
Total	6, plus 5 post-1500 books not specified in Ohly-Sack

It is doubtful whether even the earliest of the composite volumes has anything to do with Schoeffer, and it is even less likely with the other three volumes. It seems improbable that the binder 'Kyriss 160' would have had no other clients in Mainz, and he may have been a *stationarius* in his own right. Even the presence of Schoeffer's printer's waste, always considered as a primary argument favouring a link with his printing house, cannot be entirely decisive, for binders might have bought up waste sheets from printers. As an alternative, the notion that this binder's workshop might have belonged to the Carmelites in Mainz has crept in (e.g. in the Einbanddatenbank). It was rejected by Dr Annelen Ottermann, who suggests that the Carmelites may in fact have been clients of this binder.²⁰

20 Ottermann, *Entdeckungen ... Mainzer Karmeliten* (2013, see above, n. 10), *ead.*, *Die Mainzer Karmelitenbibliothek: Spurensuche – Spurensicherung – Spurendeutung*, 2 vols. Berlin, 2016

There is much circumstantial evidence to support this. A number of bindings by 'Kyriss 160' have been identified in the Gutenberg Museum; in 2008 Dr Staub and Zeynep Yildiz listed 26, but the work in this collection is not yet completed. Many of these books are printed elsewhere; the question now arises of whether they all were bought from Schoeffer – or whether in due course another equally enterprising book dealer in Mainz might have taken over some of the market. Furthermore, of the list of 26 'Kyriss 160' bindings in the Gutenberg Museum compiled by Staub-Yildiz, four volumes had formerly belonged to the Carmelites (and Dr Ottermann has added another six), but 16 once belonged to other religious houses in Mainz: the Charterhouse (5), the Capuchins (4), the Minorites (3) and the rest (4) to the Augustinian Canons, the Benedictines and the Jesuits. The interpretation of these data is complex and requires the continuation of the consistent provenance research by Staub-Yildiz, not least because many of the items in the religious houses were donated by former owners, sometimes at a date as late as the seventeenth century. The flow that took place over the years of books owned by private individuals into religious houses, including the library of the Carmelites, and after secularization into civic libraries, is no less a valuable relic of the bookish culture of the Mainz region than books that were acquired by the monasteries when they were new.

In any case, we can observe that in the 1470s, when Schoeffer produced regularly the large works for which there was a strong demand from the legal profession and theologians, the same works produced by other printers were also for sale in Mainz. Instead of interpreting this as a decision to stop producing them, it is also possible that Schoeffer decided that he could not meet demand. He therefore decided to supplement his own production by relying on a network of several other printers who produced the same works, at the same time expanding the list of titles he could offer. Selling the same texts produced by others meant relinquishing editorial control of the accuracy or quality of the text.²¹ Schoeffer took this risk when selling works printed by others.

After his own period of peak productivity, Schoeffer's activity as printer began to tail off in the 1480s. For a few years no production of substantial books survives at all. When he resumed printing books on a much more modest scale,

[Berliner Arbeiten zur Bibliotheks- und Informationswissenschaft 27], vol. 2, pp. 338–40, p. 74, Table xxv.

21 The evidence for the ambition for accuracy in early Mainz printing is intermittent: the proofs for the Duranti edition of 1459, a few sheets with proof corrections in the Bonifacius of 1465 and the extreme example of the numerous manual corrections in most copies of the Hieronymus *Epistolae* of 1470.

his preference was German-language texts with remarkable woodcut illustration, supplemented with indulgences and other works that were either commissioned or clearly of local interest.²² His activity as printer declined altogether in the 1490s. The notion of activity peaking in the 1470s is reinforced when we take a look at what two other binders in Mainz produced, including books by Fust and Schoeffer, and Schoeffer working alone.

Two other binders

At least two other binders can be associated with book production and the book trade in Mainz in the 1460s, one of them continuing throughout the 1470s, and their activity must at least partly have overlapped with that of the binder 'Kyriss 160'. Several of their bindings include printer's waste from the press of Fust and Schoeffer, and one of the Gutenberg Bible. Their link with Mainz has not always been recognized.

Remarkably, the bindings of one of them, the 'Duranti-binder' (so named after the earliest printed book bound by him), are found, with one exception only, on books printed in Mainz. The exception is a manuscript now in the University Library at Giessen, but with a provenance from Frankfurt and then from nearby Butzbach.²³ This is how it came about that the location of this binder was recorded as 'Butzbach' in the Schwenke-Schunke collection of rubbings in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.²⁴ More recently a binding with unmistakably the same stamps is recorded in the Einbanddatenbank, Werkstatt wo03676, as 'Süddeutschland, um 1511', without explanation for this location or dating. It occurs on a copy of Schoeffer's Thomas Aquinas edition of 1469 in Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek.

22 See the chronological list in Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim and Mainz*. Rochester NY, 1950, pp. 111–23. Translated and edited by Monika Estermann, *Peter Schöffer aus Gernsheim und Mainz*. Wiesbaden, 2002, pp. 87–97. It shows from 1480 a large number of letters of indulgence, proclamations and other small items, a few Missals commissioned by distant bishops and large German books, e.g. the *Gart der Gesundheit* of 1485 (ISTC ig00097000) and the *Herbarius*, in Latin but with German synonyms (1484, ISTC ih00062000).

23 Giessen UB, Handschrift 742.

24 Schunke, p. 4, nos. 99a, 105; p. 8, no. 912; p. 160, no. 742; p. 162, no. 127; p. 194, no. 222a. Corrected by Konrad von Rabenau, 'Duranti-Meister Mainz, nicht Butzbach', *Einbandforschung* 11 (2002), pp. 48–50. Einbanddatenbank Werkstatt wo00239.

The binding on Duranti, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, printed by Fust and Schoeffer in Mainz in 1459, is on the extraordinary collection of proofs for this edition in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. The activities of this binder are otherwise concentrated on books printed in the years 1462–70, and it seems probable that the proofs of the Duranti were bound a few years after they were assembled to mirror a complete copy of the book.²⁵

The full list of his bindings on printed books known to date remains short:

- 1459. Guillelmus Duranti, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, ISTC id00403000. Munich BSB, Ink D-314 (binder's waste: Hebrew manuscript).
- 1462. *Biblia latina*, ISTC ib00529000, vol. 1. Mainz, Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 32 (printer's waste of the same edition).
- 1462. *Biblia latina*, vol. 1. Prague, National Museum. Catalogue J. Šimaková, J. Vrchoťka (2001), no. 328. Provenance: Franciscans, Mainz.
- 1465. Bonifacius VIII, *Liber VI Decretalium*, ISTC ib00976000. Trier, Priesterseminar (printer's waste, proofs for the 42-line Bible).
- 1469. Thomas Aquinas, *Super quarto libro Sententiarum*, ISTC it00168000. Stuttgart, WLB, Inc. fol. 1481.
- 1470. Hieronymus, *Epistolae*, ISTC ih00165000. Strasbourg, BNU, Zehnacker 1159.
- 1470. Hieronymus, *Epistolae*. Wolfenbüttel, HAB.

A third copy of the Hieronymus *Epistolae* no longer has its original binding, but was rebound before the end of the fifteenth century in Erfurt by the 'Binder with the Lautenspiel', also known as the successor to Johann Vogel, for the local Charterhouse. Its second binding is in two volumes in a more prestigious and also more solid binding, which has endured. But a trace of the original binding remains in the form of characteristic manuscript quire signatures, in the same hand as the Strasbourg and Wolfenbüttel copies still in bindings by the Duranti binder. It is the former Doheny copy, subsequently in the Arcana collection, Washington DC, and at the time of writing in the Musée des Lettres et Manuscrits in Paris.²⁶ All three copies of Hieronymus *Epistolae* that were

25 For an extensive discussion of the proofs which I consider a 'document' rather than a 'copy' of the Duranti see 'Proofreading and printing in Mainz in 1459', in Lotte Hellinga, *Texts in transit: Manuscripts to proof and print in the fifteenth century*. Leiden, Boston, 2014, pp. 102–55.

26 Sold Christie's New York, 22 October 1987, lot 9, the Erfurt binding identified in the catalogue; Christie's, London, 7.7. 2010, lot 10. I am grateful to Nicholas Pickwoad who pointed

bound by this binder stand out as having particularly fine Mainz decoration and painting.

The second binder is known by name, as he signed his bindings on a bandlerolle with the name Hans Oisterricher. The first bindings thus distinguished had come to light in the Stadtbibliothek in Trier, with early Trier provenances.²⁷ He was therefore associated with Trier, although several bindings included waste sheets from Schoeffer's press. Since then the number of bindings now recorded as bound by him has increased to 16 volumes (from eight known in 1994), and understanding of Oisterricher's career has changed.²⁸ The dates of printing of the books he bound range from 1465 to 1484, and before these years he bound c. 1460 a manuscript in Freiburg im Breisgau.²⁹ According to a note in the Einbanddatenbank he was from c. 1460 to 1466 active in Freiburg im Breisgau, and in Mainz from 1468, where he owned a house in 1491.

Oisterricher's period of activity in Mainz thus coincides with part of that of his two colleagues working locally, the binder 'Kyriß 160' and the Duranti binder, but it differs markedly from the latter. Of the 16 printed books now known as bound by Oisterricher, only five are printed in Mainz by Fust and Schoeffer or Schoeffer alone; the range of places of printing has some similarities to that of the binder 'Kyriß 160', who worked over a much longer period. The work of both binders amounts to a tale of importation and well developed trade contacts in the world of books, and we may perhaps infer that Oisterricher was an independent bookseller. From the present location of the copies and the scarcity of information on early owners it may also appear that Oisterricher sold his books to a somewhat wider circle of clients than 'Kyriß 160'. The list of Oisterricher's bindings at present on record also suggests that he had good customers in Trier. Short- titles are given in Appendix 11; the production of Oisterricher known at present can be summed up as follows:

out to me when the book was in the Arcana collection that the irregularity of the sections shows that the volumes were rebound, and were not in their original binding, as had until then been assumed.

- 27 Recorded in Einbanddatenbank, Werkstatt w002223, as 'Österricher' and Österrich. Tools used by this binder are illustrated in Adolf Schmidt, 'Albert Hus und Hans Oesterreich, zwei Buchbinder des 15. Jahrhunderts', in *Jahrbuch der Einbandkunst* 1 (1927), pp. 36 sqq; H. Knaus, 'Über Verlegereinbände bei Schöffner', in *GhbJb* 1938, pp. 97–108.
- 28 Listed in Appendix 11, pp. 444–6.
- 29 Freiburg im Breisgau UB, Hs 231.

Places of printing	Number of copies	Dates
Mainz	5	1465, 1472, 1473, 1473, 1473
Strasbourg	5	c. 1466, c. 1473, c. 1474, c. 1474, c. 1476
Cologne	2	c. 1475, 1484
Venice	2	1477–8, 1483–4
Rome	1	1472
Augsburg	1	1473

The post-press ‘hand-finishing’ of printed books

Studying the individual features in the copies of Schoeffer’s books offers rewarding insights into his business plan and the organization he set up to achieve it. Yet when not purely ornamental (borders, historiated initials), metatextual elements also help in conveying editorial intention, for example by the variable emphasis with which initials are presented and by the nuances in every form of rubrication. Initials, whether in manuscript or print, presented the text in a hierarchical system according to their size and elaboration; their primary function was to lend structure to the text, and of course this was seized upon to embellish the book. In the printing house of Fust and Schoeffer the integration of initials into printed text was subject to first technical and later organizational experimentation. After their first books, the Psalters of 1457 and 1459, had been printed with spectacular but complicated initials printed in two colours (with some variation between copies), the Duranti *Rationale* of 1459 appeared on the market with three levels of execution: with two-colour printed initials, with painted decoration provided by one of the great Mainz painters, and with spaces for initials left blank, to be commissioned by the buyer following the style and taste of his own location. For the Bible of 1462 a similar choice was on offer. Separating, sorting and storing of copies as distinct units must have complicated the work at the press to a considerable extent. In the large books produced in Mainz from 1465 onwards, after an interval of three years (due to civil strife, known as the ‘Mainz Fehde’ or the Archbishops’ War), there is less variation in the use of initials – for many years there were no printed initials, and when they reappeared they were monochrome in black.

Obviously decisions were taken that allowed simplifying procedures in the printing house, at least to some extent.

In so far as copies have been examined, the levels of decoration within them are almost always wholly consistent; this confirms the observation made earlier that soon after they came from the press, sheets were stored as copies, not as piles of sheets later to be randomly mixed, as was not much later to become the practice. The printing house passed part of the print run sorted as copies to local rubricators, with the option of further decoration and painting; a number of copies were also left in the state in which they left the press. Evidently there was also the possibility of offering the book for sale with basic rubrication, but leaving the more spectacular finishing to be commissioned by the client, which may have taken place in a location far from Mainz. Schoeffer's typography was such that copies sold in a blank state in areas remote from the influence of Mainz could be decorated without styles offending the taste of local illuminators or clients. The purchaser could indeed buy the book in a binding made by a binder in Mainz. However, a substantial number of copies of Schoeffer's books are bound in contemporary bindings of other origin, testifying to the fact that in this respect, too, there was flexibility for the buyer, with ample scope for individuation if desired. In commercial terms one could say that by offering a flexible product Schoeffer opened up the largest possible market.

To the modern eye the urge of the early printers to give the uniform copies of texts they had printed an individual character appears contradictory to the very essence of producing books in print. Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer were not alone in this, although only a few gave their books such elaborate decoration, with such a systematic organization behind it. Among those who have recently been studied are Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz. In their books, printed in Subiaco and Rome, the work of an illuminator has been traced by Martin Davies, who designated him as the Master of the Barbo Missal.³⁰ By far the most spectacular decorations are found in the books printed in Venice. Here large miniatures are accompanied by subtle miniature landscape paintings filling margins, elaborate borders and initials. All are executed in styles that remain characteristic of the Venetian artists who from about 1470 worked for several of the early printers in Venice, notably the brothers de Spira

30 Martin Davies, 'From Mainz to Subiaco: Illumination of the first Italian printed books', in Cristina Dondi *et al.*, (eds.), *La stampa nella città dei papi e in Europa*. Vatican City, 2016, pp. 9–40. [Studi e Test 506. CERL Papers XII.].

and Nicolas Jenson. They were distinguished as various Masters by Lilian Armstrong, who studied them over many years, tracing their work as it is dispersed throughout many of the world's great libraries.³¹

Not all early printers went in for this kind of presentation: none of the books published by printers in Strasbourg and Cologne, for example, show any of this kind of enrichment. It is, however, probable that the systematic adding of rubrication and simple lombard initials was organized in connection with printing houses, much more modest enterprises that resulted in the uniform – or almost uniform – appearance of the 'hand-finishing' of copies. This was a fairly common procedure until printed initials in black were more generally introduced. The elaborate decoration of printed copies such as we encounter in Mainz remains a rare phenomenon that is mainly confined to the early decades of printing. The business pattern it created was equally differentiated, in price as well as in destination of the copies. When uniformity could be achieved by mechanical reproduction, it was not long before its convenience became obvious and won the day.

Problems of dating

The nature of the evidence offered by rubrication, flourishing and painted illumination of copies differs from that of bindings. It is perhaps useful to reflect for a moment on the decreasing scale of certainty in identification with which we have to deal. Comparing the various means of identification we encounter when studying early printed books, typography offers a sophisticated system for establishing the origin of a book by identifying its printer, and where required supplying at least an approximate, often fairly accurate dating. Further evidence can be found in the systematic study of the paper used in a printing house. For only few of the editions listed in Appendix I can the printer or the approximate dating be seriously disputed. (The collection of legal texts (Appendix I, nos. 168–71) now thought to have been printed by Kilian Fischer in Freiburg, formerly assigned to Johann Amerbach in Basel, is an exception.) Decorative tools on blind-stamped bindings bring together

31 See in particular Lilian Armstrong's contributions to the exhibition catalogue edited by Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *The painted page: Italian Renaissance book illumination 1450–1550*, [Munich], 1995 and her collection of essays *Studies of Renaissance miniaturists in Venice*. London, 2003.

the work of specific workshops, with the assumption that, as in typographical material, binding tools, or a combination of tools, are particular to individual workshops. The grounds for dating, however, are more insecure than for typography, because generally there are far fewer firm dates for binding to provide a frame of reference.

The list of bindings in Appendix I is arranged in the chronological order of completion of printing of the books on which they are found; this is a *terminus post quem*: a book cannot be bound before it is printed. The considerable gaps in dates of printing of several works bound together, as for example the Mentelin edition bound with the two Parisian books mentioned above, demonstrate the extent to which this scheme may deviate from the reality of the order in which these books passed through the binder's hands. Evidence provided by printer's waste used as paste-downs can lead to the same caution. If we take as a telling example the copies of Schoeffer's edition of Thomas Aquinas *Summa* of 1467,³² the copy in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg has printer's waste of Schoeffer's Justinian of 1468; the former Doheny copy, later Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica in Amsterdam, contains two paste-downs – one a leaf belonging to the same edition, the other from the Thomas Aquinas of 1469, proving that the book was not bound before 1469. The copy at the Frankfurt Universitätsbibliothek includes printer's waste of a Boniface, either the edition of 1473 or that of 1476, and was bound therefore at least six years after the printing of the book. Further study of these bindings, for which Appendix I may provide the basic material, is bound to add refinement to the chronological aspect of the arrangement.³³

The approximate dating of all manual post-production 'finishing' of books once they had left the press is even more uncertain. This phase of work comprises manuscript correction of the text, rubricating and decoration with pen-work flourishes or more ambitious painted illumination. Here too, the date of completion of printing merely offers a *terminus post*. When there are reasons to surmise that the finishing was a process connected with the printing house, there are also grounds for guessing that these operations took place within a 'reasonable' time after completion on the press, but this notion leaves of course a wide margin. Occasionally a buyer's date can offer an indication. One of the Vatican Library copies of the Thomas Aquinas *Summa* of 1467 (Sheehan T-89) has also buyer's notes by a Doctor Georgius Cringel of Schlettstadt who bought

32 ISTC it00209000.

33 In their article in *GbJb 2008* Staub-Yildiz included a survey of the use of stamps. This can be used as an independent guide to the chronological arrangement of the bindings.

the book in 1472. This copy has rubrication in a hand also seen in other Mainz books; it begins with an interlocking initial and penwork flourishes typical of the decoration of as many as 11 other copies known to have been decorated in this style. It is therefore not incautious to assume that by 1472, when Dr Cringel bought the book, it was already decorated.

Identifying the illuminators

Although the chronology of decoration and painting leaves a very large area of uncertainty, this is not what has exercised researchers. Their main preoccupation has been to identify workshops and distinguish individuals, especially in the case of outstanding artists that we do indeed encounter in Schoeffer's books.

Since the 1970s several major publications have contributed significantly to the appreciation of Mainz as a centre for the decoration and illumination of books, in particular of printed books. Especially through the study of the earliest books printed in Mainz a great deal of light has been thrown on the illumination of Gutenberg's 42-line Bible (and hence its distribution over a substantial part of the European reading world north of the Alps), the *Duranti Rationale* of 1459 and the Bible printed in 1462. An important focus was the Mainz artist known as the Fust Master. This painter, who had an unmistakable individual style, is thought to have left Mainz around the time of Fust's death in 1466, just when the activities of the binder 'Kyriß 160' started.

Elgin Vaassen was the first to study the hand finishing of books printed in Mainz after the departure of the Fust Master. She concentrated on the highest level of decoration, on painting, and listed illuminated books of the 1470s and 1480s providing many illustrations.³⁴ By a strange irony her study appeared in the same year and in the same periodical as Dr Sack's article about Schoeffer's bindings, but the two studies, although mutually relevant, failed to benefit from each other.

Eberhard König's survey of illumination of the Gutenberg Bible, published with the essays accompanying the Ideon Verlag facsimile edition of 1978, was the first of a sequence of studies he devoted to the early Mainz illuminators, with particular focus on copies of the Gutenberg Bible, the Bible of 1462 and

34 Elgin Vaassen, 'Die Werkstatt der Mainzer Riesenbibel in Würzburg und ihr Umkreis', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 13 (1973), cols. 1121–428.

the Hieronymus of 1470.³⁵ More recently Mayumi Ikeda made a valuable contribution in her study of the illumination of copies of the Duranti *Rationale*.³⁶

What follows started off as an investigation of the illumination of copies of Hieronymus *Epistolae* (completed in two issues) by Peter Schoeffer on 7 September 1470.³⁷ This investigation, carried out jointly with Professor Eberhard König, was generously supported by an anonymous benefactor; his wish to remain anonymous should be respected even after his death, and he is gratefully remembered. He enabled us to travel and visit libraries, and to create an extensive documentation of the painting and decoration of copies. In my case I could also document the numerous uniform manuscript corrections which are found in most copies; these must have been written in a post-printing phase of production in the printing house, but before a number of copies were illuminated in Mainz.

The present study is not the place to discuss the over 1,500 uniform corrections I noted, but can be taken as a sign of the immense care the printing house gave to this publication.³⁸ The uniformity of flourishing in many of the recorded copies soon convinced König and me that there must have been a direct link with the printing house. We managed to survey 82 of the 90 copies of Schoeffer's Hieronymus recorded at present, either having seen them or having obtained documentation. Of these, 33 were painted or decorated in Mainz and 44 elsewhere, with five remaining blank. I have since extended this work by an orientation into the decoration of other books printed by Peter Schoeffer in

35 Eberhard König, 'Die Illuminierung der Gutenbergbibel', in Wieland Schmidt and Friedrich-Adolf Schmidt-Künsemüller (eds.), *Kommentarband* to Facsimile of the Gutenberg 42-line Bible Berlin, Munich, 1979, pp. 71–125. König returned several times to the subject of the Gutenberg Bible, and summed this up in a publication issued with some copies of the *Kommentarband Zur Situation der Gutenberg-Forschung: Ein Supplement*. Münster, 1995. Meanwhile he had undertaken an extensive study of the Bible published in 1462 by Fust and Schoeffer, which brought new insight into their enterprise. This was published with an original leaf of the Bible as *The 1462 Fust & Schoeffer Bible*. Austin, TX, 1993.

36 M. Ikeda, 'The first experiments in book decoration at the Fust-Schoeffer press', in Bettina Wagner, M. Reed (eds.), *Early printed books as material objects: Proceedings of the conference organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section, Munich, 19–21 August 2009*. Berlin, 2010, pp. 39–49.

37 ISTC ih00165000, GW 12424–5.

38 I published a preliminary discussion in 'Editing texts in the first fifteen years of printing', in Dave Oliphant and Robin Bradford (eds.), *New Directions in Textual Studies*. Austin, TX, 1990, pp. 127–49. Eberhard König published a discussion of the painted illumination as 'Buchschnuck zwischen Druckhaus und Vertrieb in ganz Europa: Peter Schoeffers Hieronymus-Briefe von 1470', in Holger Nickel, Lothar Gillner (eds.), *Johannes Gutenberg – Regionale Aspekte des frühen Buchdrucks*. Berlin, 1993, pp. 130–48.

the period 1467–79, to a total of over 300 copies. To this figure can be added six copies of books with painted illumination listed by Elgin Vaassen which I have not seen. Even if I have not been able to be as (almost) comprehensive as we had been for the Hieronymus edition, what I have seen amounts to a substantive sample. Taken together, this evidence serves to demonstrate that Schoeffer had organized a large-scale operation for embellishing his books by hand in a style particular to Mainz, and that in this period he preferred organizational over typographical means for achieving the complicated articulation of the texts he produced.

From 1457 onwards Fust and Schoeffer's publications had shown complex systems of initials, sets of various sizes indicating the hierarchy of the structure of their Psalter editions and in 1462 of their Bible. They first did this with printed initials – famous for their exquisitely executed design in two colours, red and blue, and variously applied in individual copies within editions.³⁹ After 1462 they confined themselves mainly to red printing of captions and initials. Meanwhile they also organized illumination by painters who can be distinguished as individuals. The painter who decorated a number of copies of the Duranti, *Rationale* seems not to have continued after working on that book, but the painter designated by König as 'the Fust Master', first encountered in Gutenberg's 42-line Bible, continued to work for them until 1467, when he illuminated at least one copy of the Thomas Aquinas printed in that year.

By 1465 Fust and Schoeffer largely abandoned their attempts to achieve the completion of books entirely by typographical means in favour of introducing colour by instructions to rubricators, flourishers and painters. The introduction in the mid-1470s of typefaces that were differentiated beyond 'text with commentary' began to provide a technical alternative with the advantage that it could be produced in black on white only, and therefore with one inking and one pull of the press. The earliest example of the application of this alternative resulting in a lively typographical layout is Johannes de Turrecremata, *Expositio super toto psalterio*, completed on 11 September 1474;⁴⁰ hence there is no significant 'handwork' in copies of this book or its reprints of 1476 and 1478. By 1480 typography had taken over entirely, and the hand decoration of printed books became rare.

39 Most recently analysed and illustrated with reference to earlier literature by A Stijnman and Elizabeth Savage, 'Materials and techniques for early colour printing', and Mayumi Ikeda, 'The Fust and Schöffer office and the printing of the two-colour initials in the 1457 Psalter'. In Ad Stijnman and Elizabeth Savage (eds.), *Printing colour 1400–1700: History, techniques, functions and receptions*. Leiden, Boston, 205, pp. 11–22 and 65–75.

40 ISTC it00520000.

By examining many more different editions (and hence copies), the uncertainty about links between printer/publisher and book decorators in Mainz is diminished, taking evidence out of the isolation that is unavoidable when singling out one particular book, as we did with the Hieronymus. Unlike bindings, where material proof in the form of printer's waste of Schoeffer editions can be presented as evidence for a connection with the printing house, the decoration of books offers little hard evidence to testify for a link with Schoeffer.

Fortunately, there is a piece of internal evidence in two copies of Hieronymus's *Epistolae*. Here a penwork initial is found in which the design of Schoeffer's device (so well known from the two-shielded printer's device) is playfully incorporated in the penwork infill (Fig. 4.1).⁴¹ These initials are drawn in a hand that we can recognize with certainty as that of an individual. The large number of Hieronymus copies provides particularly clear evidence of this nature, which lies in the consistency of the lower level of hand-finish, the uniform shape of Lombard initials and even the paragraph marks. There is no doubt that these were executed to uniform standards by only a few individuals, and that in fact this uniformity may be used as a factor in deciding whether we see Mainz work.

The low-level work serves to reveal the strategies of the publisher. From this evidence it was possible to conclude that Schoeffer decided to sell about half the edition to markets far away, where clients would wish to finish a book according to their own standards and taste: they might wish to turn it into a French book, for example, or a book more at home in the Eastern part of Europe, or in Flanders. Then he decided to organize the 'middle level' of decoration, the Lombards and simple initials, to be produced in Mainz, on the production line, as it were. Once these copies were treated he allowed for different levels of execution of the final phase which was to finish the main initials, often accompanied with painted borders. These varied: they were elaborately



FIGURE 4.1

This simple initial is executed in a style (or even by a hand) found in many Mainz incunabula. The link with Peter Schoeffer and Mainz is explicit here because the triangle motif and stars of the inner decoration are copied from his printer's device. The sheep, just visible in the pen-work, allude to his name ('shepherd'). Hieronymus, Epistolae, Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, 7 September 1470.

PRIVATE COLLECTION (DETAIL).

41 The copy at Göttingen SUB, gr. Fol. Patr. Lat. 118/17 Inc, fol. E1^a, and the former Doheny copy, now at Paris, Musée des Lettres et Manuscrits, fol. M10^a.

painted, or historiated, or in some cases adorned with fantastic figures in the great tradition of providing distracting cadres to great religious books.

More than one hand, or Master, could be distinguished at several of the levels of work, and this became even more marked and convincing when the investigation was extended to copies of a number of editions, published in a timespan of about a dozen years, in the period from 1467 to c. 1479. This phase of the investigation remained confined to books printed by Schoeffer himself. Finding similar decoration in books printed by others was still a matter of chance, unless they were bound by one of the Mainz binders of the period. As discussed above, the number of Mainz bindings now known has increased substantially since 1994, and with it the number of books established to have Mainz decoration, although many of the Mainz bindings listed after 1994 were produced in the period after 1480, when the abundant decorations of the preceding decade had gone out of fashion. The new additions confirm the patterns of decoration established in the earlier phase of the study published in 1994. In their inventories of the books with bindings by the binder 'Kyriss 160', Kurt Hans Staub and Zeynep Yildiz recognized and illustrated several of the characteristic patterns I had come across, found in books printed outside Mainz. Among them were the initials incorporating 'monstrous clowns', and the prolific decorations with characteristic pyramids of parallel strokes, which they compared tellingly to sections of a spider's web (see below, Fig. 4.7).⁴²

The levels of decoration found in Schoeffer's books

1 *Rubrication*

At the simplest level, even the rubrication of copies shows some distinct characteristics. Colours are bright red and blue, and remained even in quality throughout the period. There are distinct levels of paragraph marks: the half-round one, usually with the top well elongated to the right, and a less emphatic one consisting of one or two dashes elongated into underlining the first word of the paragraph, and even more often used for supporting the reading of over-running lines. The work of one individual rubricator can be recognized by the elegant loop with which he often ended this line, almost as if it were a signature (Fig. 4.2). His hand is encountered in very many copies. From the uniformity in colour and material used it seems very likely that the rubricators also drew the

42 Kurt Hans Staub and Zeynep Yildiz, 'Gebunden in Mainz in der Werkstatt M mit Krone: Die Einbände im Gutenberg-Museum Mainz, ihr Stempelschmuck und ihren frühen Besitzer', *Gbfj* 2008, pp. 257–71; *Idem*, 'Einbände der Mainzer Werkstatt M mit Krone (Kyriss 160) in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt und ihre Provenienzen', *Einband-Forschung* 24, 2009, pp. 23–33.

plain, one-colour Lombard initials, in red or in blue. Several forms such as I, and in particular A, are very distinct and constant (Fig. 4.3). It seems probable that sets of stencils were used, and occasionally an outline in drypoint has remained visible. Perhaps we may guess that Schoeffer influenced these forms, drawing on his experience as calligrapher to give instructions as to the form and standard of these and the larger initials found in uniform styles throughout the books.

In a number of copies rubrication was applied, but space for more important decoration was left open for the customer to complete according to his own taste. In such copies we therefore encounter a mixture of styles. Examples are the copies in the BnF of Clemens v, *Constitutiones* of 1467 (CIBN C-488, vélins 387) and the Thomas Aquinas of 1469 (CIBN T-159, Rés. D. 2615), which

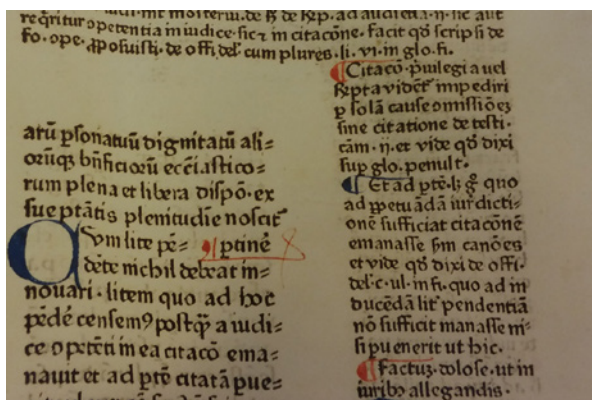


FIGURE 4.2 *The hand of an individual rubricator can be recognized in the paragraph marks and underlinings found in many Mainz incunabula. Clemens v, Constitutiones. Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, 13 August 1471.*

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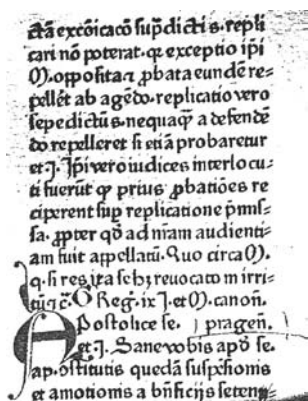


FIGURE 4.3 *One of the distinct features of Lombard initials drawn by Mainz rubricators is the A with a 'flag'. Hieronymus, Epistolae, Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, 7 September 1470.*

PRIVATE COLLECTION (DETAIL).

has Mainz rubrication and French illumination. Similarly, the Hieronymus, *Epistolae*, formerly St Mary of the Barrens, Perryville, has spectacular French illumination at the beginning, but since there is Mainz rubrication throughout the book, the French illumination was obviously added later.⁴³ The BnF's Clemens V, *Constitutiones* of 1471 (CIBN C-498, vélins 369), has Mainz rubrication and Italian illumination.

2 *Decorative Initials with Penwork Flourishes*

In this category we find large numbers of more important initials – sometimes only at the beginning of a book, as in the Thomas Aquinas of 1467, but in other books at the beginning of each major section, as in the Hieronymus of 1470 and the Latin Bible of 1472. They are often, but not invariably, interlocking red and blue, and occasionally the side pieces are elaborated to contain human figures, monsters or faces with clowns' hats (Fig. 4.4). The interlocking fields could be elaborated to contain pomegranate figures. The penwork flourishes, often in free style and continuing down the margins of the entire page, are usually in purple, but sometimes in red or blue. Contrasting infills could be in purple, red and blue, occasionally with green touches. In the penwork a few hands can be distinguished, but there can be considerable variation. One flourisher excelled in drawing profiles (Fig. 4.5). In the initials three distinct hands at least can be recognized, but it is likely that several more individuals were at work, some following with more success than others the models of their masters.

Many copies of the four editions of Boniface, from 1465 on, are decorated with initials in a style of their own, rather heavy in red or blue with contrasting

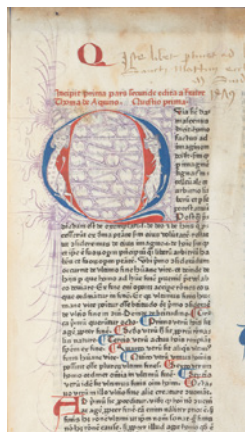


FIGURE 4.4

Decorative motifs incorporated in initials recur from about 1470 in Mainz incunabula. Monsters and the clowns with pointed hats shown here appear to be the work of an individual hand.

THOMAS AQUINAS, *SUMMA THEOLOGIAE* II. 2, MAINZ, PETER SCHOEFFER, 8 NOVEMBER 1471. WÜRZBURG, UNIVERSITÄTS-BIBLIOTHEK INC. F.42, FOL [A]1^a (DETAIL).

43 I am grateful for the hospitality of the Brethren at St Mary's of the Barrens which gave me the opportunity to examine the copy at length on a visit in 1995. This copy was sold at Christie's, London, 14 December 2001.



FIGURE 4.5

Initials, as here, are occasionally decorated with exuberant profiles – apparently the work of an individual illuminator. Hieronymus, Epistolae, Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, 7 September 1470. PRIVATE COLLECTION (DETAIL).

penwork in the reverse colour. Here we apparently encounter a style that was traditional to the book.

3 *Painting*

The painted initials and border decoration follow the style set by the Fust Master, and the artist mainly responsible for this decoration must have been a conscious successor to the tradition. Borders, or sections of borders, often sprout from a gold bar dividing the columns of an opening page. Colours are pale pink, pale green, grey, vivid blue, red and yellow. Motifs are scrolled leaves, a few flowers and, very occasionally, animals or birds. A solemn owl makes an occasional appearance. Further ornaments are often gold balls surrounded by penwork. The painted initials are usually scrolled, painted on a square background of silver or gold, or conversely in silver on a coloured background. The historiated initials or small miniatures are of a very high quality with vivid, anecdotal scenes, for example of figures set in a landscape or in a room (Fig. 4.6). At least two distinct hands can be recognized in the miniature paintings: the fine artist also seen in, for example, copies of the Justinianus, *Codex* of 1475, and the lesser artist who took over in the Gregorius of 1473 in the British Library. Impossibly stiff miniatures are found in the Trier copy of Gregorius, which in other respects shows all the hallmarks of Mainz work. There are several examples of unfinished miniatures and borders. The *Codex* of Justinianus and the *Decretals* of Gratianus and Gregorius were texts which in manuscript traditions were often very highly decorated. Obviously Schoeffer attempted to continue this tradition in printed versions in part of the print run, in order to meet expectations.

As noted above, a constant motif in almost all the paintings is a small triangle formed out of parallel strokes, seen by Staub and Yeldiz as a section of a spider's web. These can be found surrounding the historiated initials and miniatures, and are also integrated in some of the flourished initials (Fig. 4.7).



FIGURE 4.6

Many copies of Hieronymus, Epistolae printed by Peter Schoeffer (1470) have a historiated initial, depicting the saint in fine Mainz painting.

WÜRZBURG, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK, I.T.F.9, FOL. [A]5^a (DETAIL).

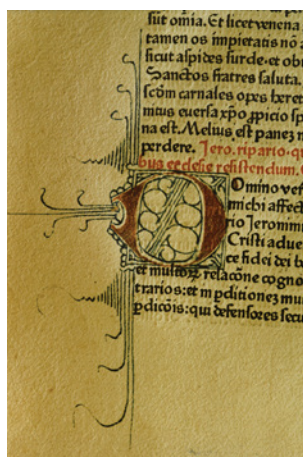


FIGURE 4.7

The 'spider web' decoration occurs in many Mainz incunabula, apparently drawn by more than one hand. Hieronymus, Epistolae, Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, 7 September 1470.

PRIVATE COLLECTION (DETAIL).

In work of the late 1470s, when painting becomes scarcer, these small motifs are also found surrounding opening pages in some of the books decorated with penwork only. This motif seems to have the function of a kind of signature of a workshop. It is particularly telling that more than one hand used the parallel stroke (or spider web) figure, for example in the British Library Gregorius of

1473, where they appear in the work of the two miniaturists collaborating on the same book.

A survey of the copies in which Mainz decoration is found

The combinations of work of recognizable and not-so-recognizable individuals as found in Schoeffer's books are subject to an apparently endless permutation. The large quantity of available material leads to patterns of considerable complexity, to increasing uncertainty as to identification and hence, inevitably, to speculation. For the present study, which aims to provide an insight into the organization of parts of Schoeffer's business, a different approach presents itself which may be a useful preliminary to mastering a large amount of material. For the time being we may leave aside the question of the individual identity of the people who worked on these books and refrain from speculation about the relation between the printing house and the ateliers, as well as their structures or hierarchy, turning first to consider what kind of work Schoeffer commissioned. He must have aimed at producing books at several price levels or levels of luxury, or even at varying stages of completion of the book, apart from those copies sent to customers in a pristine state, straight from the press, to be rubricated and painted in styles conforming to their individual wishes. A premise to all this is that sheets as they left the press were sorted and stored as *copies*, not stored in sheets, as was the practice adopted at a later date. In the early years of printing, a book began to be a book right at the beginning of its genesis. This has consequences for the transmission of the text, as copies would consistently represent a correction state – but this aspect of production is not part of the present study.

As a result of examining almost 400 copies, we can distinguish the following levels in Schoeffer's commissions for finishing the books by hand:

Level	Description	Examples
A	Rubrication, including simple Lombard initials in red and blue. Further work could be executed elsewhere.	Bonifacius, 1473, Frankfurt/Main StUB, Ohly-Sack 662; Thomas Aquinas, 1467, Paris BnF, CIBN, Rés. D 2615 (provenance Bibliothèque Royale), with Mainz rubrication and a fine French initial.

Level	Description	Examples
B	As A, plus large initials often interlocking in two colours, with infills, penwork flourishes and sometimes further decoration.	Example: <i>Biblia latina</i> 1472, London BL, IC. 168.
C	As B, plus painted initials and painted borders.	Example: Bonifacius, 1473, Harvard Law Library, Walsh, vol. 1, no. 11.
D	As C, plus historiated initial(s).	Hieronymus 1470, London BL, C.11.e.13/14
E	As D, plus painted miniatures.	Justinianus, <i>Codex</i> , 1475, London BL, C.11.e.5.

It is possible, and I think necessary, to reduce this even more to define in the simplest terms what skills Peter Schoeffer was seeking for the post-press production of his books:

1. For A: rubricators, for capital strokes in red, paragraph marks, writing headings, drawing simple, one-colour initials.
2. For B: flourishers, for two-colour initials with decorative penwork, infills in two or more colours, and some free-style decorations.
3. For C: limners for decorative painting of borders, initials with extended decoration.⁴⁴
4. For D and E: sophisticated original painting of historiated initials, miniatures.

With this simplified scheme it is possible to survey the decoration and illumination of the large dated books produced by Schoeffer in the years 1467–79, after the activity of the Fust Master had ceased (see Appendix III). Even from a survey of this preliminary nature we can perceive that the peak of this activity coincides with that of the binder ‘Kyriss 160’, beginning to tail off from 1476.

44 Schoeffer and other printers evidently distinguished between a routine level of illumination and a sophisticated level of painting. There is no fixed terminology for this distinction. I have sought to express it with the term ‘limner’ for the lower level, although this is often considered synonymous with ‘painter’ or ‘illuminator’.

Not long after the peak of Schoeffer's own book production, printers began to use woodcut or even metal-cast initials as a matter of course. The surveys as presented in the Appendixes suggest that the main activity of rubricating, flourishing and painting coincided with the decade of Schoeffer's own greatest production as printer in the 1470s.

Schoeffer sometimes added similar value to books he sold that were printed by others, as Appendix IV shows. The numbers so far recorded of non-Schoeffer books decorated in Mainz are undoubtedly an under-representation, for here we should heed the caution expressed earlier: it is not possible to carry out a systematic survey of Mainz decoration in books not printed by Schoeffer, except where a Mainz binding (most by 'Kyriss 160') invites examining a book on this point. Most books listed in Appendix IV (14 out of 18) were printed in the 1470s, but remarkably a Justinianus printed in 1490 by Baptista de Tortis in Venice has an initial with parallel strokes.⁴⁵ It is as if a rather weak hand was continuing the tradition in one of the legal works in which illumination was still expected.

For about 15 years Schoeffer thus managed to strike a happy balance in the transition from hand-produced to printed book. Further evidence to clarify the picture of his business in this period is offered by the records of early ownership. Although the material is fairly scarce, there is enough to create the impression that there were rather precise limits to the area in which the Mainz style of decoration was preferred, or at least acceptable. Some of this is reflected in modern collections in or near Mainz that still have the traces of ancient roots. It is there that most copies of books that passed through Schoeffer's business are found. There are those in Mainz itself – the Martinus-Bibliothek and the Gutenberg Museum, with substantial holdings from the Stadtbibliothek. Near Mainz the largest are the Universitätsbibliothek in Frankfurt am Main and the Universitäts und Landesbibliothek in Darmstadt. The collection in the Stadtbibliothek in Trier has also some telling examples. There are important collections that at some point in their history benefited from an influx of books with early Mainz ownership, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and the Universitätsbibliothek in Würzburg.

Widening the geographical circle to Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Strasbourg, Freiburg im Breisgau and Basel with respectively 5, 18, 9, 15, 20 of Schoeffer's 27 large folio editions printed between 1465 and 1479, we find that none have Mainz binding or Mainz decoration, with the exception in each of them

45 Kurt Hans Staub, Maike Blank *et al.* 'Aus der und über die Inkunabelsammlung der Martinus-Bibliothek', in Helmut Hinkel (ed.), *Bibliotheca S. Martini Moguntina: Alte Bücher, Neue Funde*. Mainz, Würzburg, 2012, pp. 139–64, Abb. 2.

of splendid copies of the Hieronymus *Epistolae* of 1470; this reinforces the impression that a special effort was made in the marketing of this exceptional book. Going northward to Cologne, only six of this group of Schoeffer's large folio editions are represented in the Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek (not even the *Epistolae* of Hieronymus), and only one (Appendix I, no. 48/II) with a Mainz binding. Yet perhaps a trail to Cologne may be detected, although other possibilities cannot be excluded in the following case.

Peter Schoeffer the bookseller

A coherent group of 13 books (in 12 volumes) is preserved in one of the oldest libraries in the Netherlands. This is the chained library in the Walburgis church in Zutphen, the old town on the river IJssel in the east of the country. In 2008 a catalogue of this collection was published including extensive copy descriptions and provenance notes, many early and local.⁴⁶ The library in its present guise was founded in 1561, and included older collections already present in the church. Its founders presented it deliberately as 'medieval', but even so it consists mainly of printed books, including just over 80 incunabula. In its extensive descriptions the catalogue reveals that at least 13 books were bequeathed to the church by two notable lawyers in Zutphen. One was Henricus Kreijnck (*d.* 1495), who had been an alderman and burgomaster; the other, Arnold van Herwarden (*d.* 1521), a canon of the church, was a doctor of law and had matriculated at the university of Cologne in 1474. The books these two men left to the church were all great works of civil and canon law, the tools of their trade. Their coherence becomes evident on inspection. All but one of their books still in Zutphen have decoration throughout that can be identified as Mainz work, even surprisingly uniform in the two duplicate copies (see Appendix IV). The books have two other features in common: first, they are bound in contemporary blind-stamped bindings that do not belong to the known Mainz bindings – they have so far not been identified – and second, most have a very colourful opening initial, which again is definitely not in Mainz style.⁴⁷ The books

46 A.D. Renting, J.T.C. Renting-Kuijpers, *Catalogus van de Librije in de St Walburgiskerk te Zutphen*. Groningen, Stuttgart, 2008.

47 The books left by Kreijnck are listed in a ms note in his copy of the *Codex* of Justinianus; they include the complete *Corpus iuris civilis* and two other works on civil law, one of which, Henricus de Piro, *Super Institutiones*, is lost; this was probably either of the two editions printed in Cologne, c. 1481 (1STC ip00650000, ip00651000). The catalogue is

were printed in the years 1475 to 1482 by printers now known to have dealt through Peter Schoeffer during those years: Nicolas Jenson and Jacobus Rubeus in Venice, Michael Wenssler and Berthold Ruppel in Basel, Johann Sensenschmidt in Nuremberg and Peter Drach in Speyer. Two are printed by Schoeffer himself.⁴⁸ The chain of events, ending in Zutphen, can hypothetically be reconstructed thus: loose sheets of books printed in Venice, Nuremberg, Speyer and Basel were sent to Mainz; there they were decorated as a matter of routine, and subsequently sent for retail, probably to Cologne (but possibly elsewhere). To this stock of decorated sheets a few extraordinary initials were added, possibly overpainting earlier work. The books were then bound in solid bindings and bought in this condition by two citizens of Zutphen, at least one of them familiar with Cologne as he had studied there. We see here a further extension of the business practice of Peter Schoeffer. Mainz was a staging post where pristine sheets printed elsewhere were decorated before being sent to a further destination. There is no documentary evidence that Schoeffer sold *en gros* to retailers and the sheets may have gone to a depot owned by Schoeffer himself, a practice that is documented for Paris, Nuremberg and Basel.⁴⁹

What can be derived from examining copies of Schoeffer's own books, and those books published by others that can be associated with him and with the book trade in Mainz, combines to give an impression of an enterprise with many ramifications during its activity until the early 1480s. Behind the influx into Mainz of books produced by printers in most of the great centres of book production, as witnessed by binding and illumination, we can surmise a network of relationships. To my knowledge there is no external documentation to give further insight into the nature of this network. But for the counter-flow, in which Schoeffer sold books to clients outside the Mainz area, several extensive sets of documents tell a lively story.

The best-known is an advertisement, a broadside listing books for sale, thought to date from c. 1470; most were printed in Mainz, but some presumably by Ulrich Zell in Cologne.⁵⁰

cautious about ascribing the other six volumes still present to Kreijnck's ownership, but the uniformity of the style of decoration with that in the *Codex*, now established, confirms their provenance as Kreijnck.

48 They are Justinianus, *Codex*, Mainz, Schoeffer, 26.i.1475, ISTC ij00574000, CLZ 238, and Justinianus, *Institutiones*, Mainz, Schoeffer, 23.v.1476, ISTC ij00512000, CLZ 253, bound with Justinianus, *Novellae*, printed by Wenssler, Basel, 29.xi.1478, ISTC ij00590000.

49 See above Schoeffer's misadventure with the depot in Basel discussed in Chapter 2, pp. 30–36.

50 ISTC is00320950. See above pp. 28, Figure 2.2. The leaf is also illustrated by Konrad Burger, *Buchhändleranzeigen des 15. Jahrhunderts: In getreuer Nachbildung herausgegeben*.

Although the broadside attracts attention to the fine typography of Schoeffer's books, not all the books listed were printed with the type of the advertisement, nor were they all printed by him. Caveat emptor. But what we see is an authentic stock list of books, presumably used by agents who set up temporary shops in inns or other public places in towns which, like Nuremberg, could be quite far away from Mainz.⁵¹

Occasionally agents, either travelling or established in a town, are known by name. They include Konrad Horlemann in Lübeck, because he owed money to Fust's estate, and Hermann von Stadtlohn, because he was established as an agent in Paris and sold in 1470, in partnership with Jean Guymier, official bookseller of the Sorbonne, a copy of the 1462 Bible to Guillaume Tourneville, canon and priest in Angers.⁵² Von Stadtlohn died in Paris in 1474, leading to the confiscation of stock by the French Crown and a never-ending legal battle for Schoeffer and even his heirs to obtain compensation.⁵³ This lengthy case is just one instance of the risks of business on such an expansive scale. Another extreme example of confiscation of a depot of books printed by Schoeffer himself, as well as by others, and again followed by a protracted court case took place from April 1479 in Basel, and is discussed in Chapter 2.⁵⁴

Conclusion

The body of works that survives from the co-operation between printer, rubricators, artists and binders in Mainz has testified to a remarkable phase in a transition of mentality, from valuing the individual character of each book as unique to appreciating fully the homogeneity of a print run of hundreds of copies. Records of ownership as well as the identification of locations of illumination can give us insight into the dissemination of the printed works. The identification of bindings reveals a network of connections and arrangements

Leipzig, 1907, Plate 3. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim and Mainz*. Rochester, NY, 1950, pp. 88–9 and Plate 19. In the German version edited by Monika Estermann (2002, see n. 22 above) pp. 68–71 and Plate 19. VE15 S-18.

51 See also below p. 211, n. 19.

52 Recorded in a lengthy inscription at the end of the second volume of the copy of the Bible in the Bibliotheca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. The note is transcribed by Seymour de Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence (1445–1467)*, no. 79/56.

53 See Lehmann-Haupt (1950, see above n. 50), pp. 98–100; in Monika Estermann's translation (2002, see n. 22 above), pp. 80–1. See also Cornelia Schneider, *Peter Schöffer: Bücher für Europa*. Mainz, 2003, pp. 24–34, with references to further literature.

54 See above, pp. 30–36.

with other printers. A few documents show how books were retailed via depots and through agencies. All this must be understood as a process of development, led by Peter Schoeffer's gradual expansion of the full potential of the trade in printed books. Right from the beginning of printing, Gutenberg succeeded in selling his great innovatory Bible to places far away to the east and west, even to London. Or perhaps the commercial success was due to Fust rather than to Gutenberg, for his skill in marketing what the great inventor brought forth. Fust and Schoeffer were even more successful in selling their Bible of 1462 to Italy and France, even if fewer copies seem to have found their way to northern and eastern Europe.⁵⁵ Even early on Fust had already established connections with Paris. We can surmise further contacts through such incidental information as we have about the purchase of the Duranti *Rationale* by Bishop James Goldwell in Hamburg, in 1465, and John Russell's purchase of copies of the Fust and Schoeffer Cicero, *De officiis* of 1467 in Bruges.⁵⁶ The copy of the *Epistolae* of Hieronymus (Mainz, 1470) that was in 1481 bequeathed by Maître Jacques de Houchin to the collegiate church of Saint-Omer, of which he had been a canon, was illuminated and bound in Mainz. Would the canon have travelled there when he was younger, or did he buy it in Paris?⁵⁷ After the death of Fust in 1466 Schoeffer, in partnership with Conrad Henkis, continued with developing this model. In the 1470s they seem to have established connections with Venice through Nicolas Jenson and Peter Ugelheymer. In addition to Paris, where Fust died of the plague while in the middle of his business negotiations, the establishment of depots in places as far apart as Lübeck and Basel, and probably other places for which no documentation is known to survive, shows the ambition and sophistication of the network Schoeffer and Henkis succeeded in building – one that spread its tentacles over a considerable part of Western Europe.

In the dry data, as abstracted in the four appendices (see pp. 405–52), the phases of development of Schoeffer's enterprise and possibly of subsequent book trade in Mainz can be read. Responses to circumstances changed as the new technique became widely accepted and used. New demands for printed books were created. We can see how Schoeffer experimented with technique versus organization. Enlarging the scale of production of printed books

55 König, *The 1462 Fust & Schoeffer Bible* (1993), p. 23.

56 Margaret L. Ford, 'Importation of printed books into England and Scotland', in Lotte Hellinga, J.B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*. Cambridge, 1999, vol. 3, pp. 179–201 (esp. p. 181).

57 See Chapter 1, p. 14.

brought with it financial risks that could be mitigated by leaving the buyers with options for individual choices. The demand for his printed versions of traditional works of law and theology grew rapidly, due to the highly adequate books he produced. To meet the growing demand he had himself created, Schoeffer decided to supplement his own production by buying in the same works printed elsewhere. The multiple connections with others in the trade were developed in only a few years; they are a manifestation of his shrewd insight that with mechanization it does not pay simply to do what others do (almost) just as well, sometimes better. Technical innovation and an expanding industry required finding new skills in organization, and in knowing one's way about the world.

The Mainz *Catholicon* 1460–1470: An Experiment in Book Production and the Book Trade

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The previous chapter concluded with a consideration of the development of the book trade in Mainz and its rapid expansion that began in the late 1460s and continued all through the 1470s. During these years Mainz was one of the hubs in the new trade in printed books, not only dealing with books printed by Peter Schoeffer, but also through associations that he formed with printers based elsewhere. What emerged from assembling much detailed material on binding and book-decoration was a tableau of skilful organization, apparently managed with a confidence that matched the steady hand that gave form to the books. Printed books were traded through networks that connected many of the centres of book production in the early years of printing. This perception led me to see the production of the Mainz *Catholicon*, that problematic book, less in isolation. Notably the decoration of individual copies of it had much in common with the work associated with Schoeffer, and this provided insight into the books' dissemination. Nor was this the only motive for returning once

again to the *Catholicon* after some 25 years – a period in which much independent research has challenged previous assumptions and theories. I shall therefore not cover the old ground in any detail. Instead I have chosen to leave many stones unturned, issues that were previously at the centre of the discussion, and turn to new studies and discoveries that, put together, lead us finally to yet another, but different, interpretation.

Dr Humery and his transaction with Gutenberg

I shall begin with a recent discovery. In the spring of 2016 the Gutenberg Gesellschaft announced in its newsletter the discovery of the original document in which Dr Conrad Humery declared that he owned the typographical materials left by Johannes Gutenberg. The purpose of his declaration was to confirm that he would follow the restrictive conditions for their use imposed by the Elector-Archbishop Adolf II von Nassau. The document, small in size, had come to light in the State Archive in Würzburg. It is written on paper in a fluent but plain chancery hand, bears Dr Humery's seal and is dated 1468, the Friday after St Matthew, which in that year was 26 February (Fig. 5.1). Here follows the transcription:¹

Ich Conrait homery doctor bekennen mit diesem brieffe So als der hochwurdige Furste || myn gnediger lieber her / Adolff erzbischoff zu mentz / mir etliche formen / buchstaben / || Instrument. getzauwe vnd anders zu den truckwerg gehören / den Johann gutenbergh nach || syne tode gelaiszen hait / Vnd mir gewest vnd noch ist / gnedichlich uolgen lassen hait || Das ich dor gegen. synen gnaden zu eren vnd zu gefallen mich verpflichtiget han vnd ver- || plichtigen mit diesem brieffe also / Weres das ich soliche formen vnd gezuge zu trucken || gepruchen worde / nu oder hernach / das ich das tun will vnd sall bynnen der stat mentz vnd || nirgent anderswo / desglichen Obe ich sie verkauffen. Vnd mir eyn burger. dor nor so viel || geben wolte als eyn frembder. So wil vnd sal ich den dem ingesessen burger zu mentz. vor allen || frembden gonnen. vnd uolgen lassen Vnd han des alles zu orkunde myn secret zu ende dieser || schrifft getruckt / die do geben ist des iars als man schreib nach der geburt christi vnser herren || m cccc vnd lxxvij iar Off. Freitag. nach sant mathijs tag [stamped seal covered by a square of paper].

¹ Abbreviations and contractions expanded, as marked by italics.

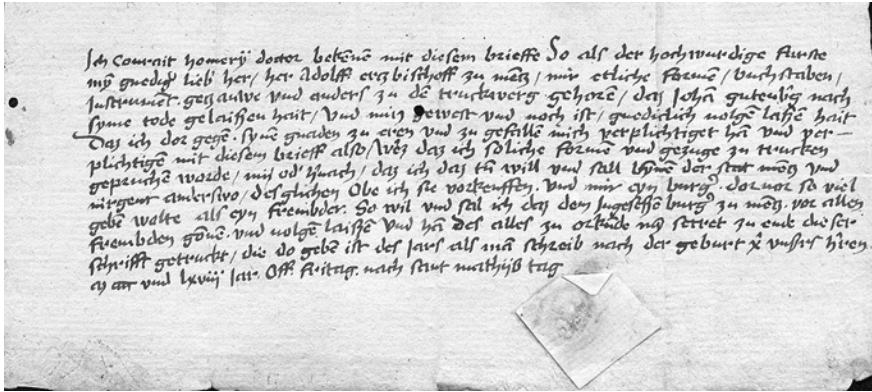


FIGURE 5.1 *Dr Conrad Humery came into possession of the printing materials left on his death by Johann Gutenberg. Adolf von Nassau put restrictions on their use, mainly favouring their use in Mainz. In this document Dr Humery confirms that he accepts the conditions. This is the original, its existence revealed in 2016.*
STAATSARCHIV WÜRZBURG, ERZSTIFT MAINZ URKUNDEN, WELTLICHER SCHRANK L77/79.37.

Barring a few changes in spelling, the text is the same as that of a copy in the ‘Grossaturbuch’ of Adolf’s chancery, where it is written in a much more ornate chancery hand. From this source the text has been known for almost 300 years. It was first published in 1727, reprinted many times after and reproduced in facsimile at least three times.² Although the discovery of the original version brings no news, the fact that it is still possible for a new document about Gutenberg to come to light should be greeted not just with astonishment, but wondering whether more might be forthcoming. As it is, the original form of Dr Humery’s declaration, written only a few weeks after Gutenberg’s death, has an immediacy that the formal copy did not convey. The question of whether it is Dr Humery’s autograph or not will undoubtedly be solved by local historians familiar with the city archives in Mainz.

Upon Gutenberg’s death Dr Humery had to declare the assets he now owned outright; they had been in his possession, or perhaps just in his care, before then: ‘mir gewest und noch ist’. The document was written after the Elector-Archbishop, ruler of Mainz, had approved Humery’s succession to the assets:

2 Karl Schorbach, ‘Die urkundlichen Nachrichten über Johann Gutenberg’, in Otto Hartwig (ed.), *Festschrift zum fünfshundertjährigen Geburtstage von Johann Gutenberg*. Leipzig, 1900, pp. 133–256 (No. XXVII, pp. 227–33), with facsimile, Tafel 24. Aloys Ruppel, *Johannes Gutenberg: Sein Leben und sein Werk*. Berlin, 1939, p. 81. Albert Kapr, *Johannes Gutenberg: Persönlichkeit und Leistung*. 2nd revised ed., Munich, 1988, p. 262. Translated into English by Douglas Martin with the title *Johann Gutenberg: The man and his invention*. Aldershot, 1996, p. 263.

‘[the Archbishop] mir ... gnedichlich uolgen lassen hait’. The declaration does not make clear why and how the Archbishop or Dr Humery had grounds for authority (or a claim) over materials that had belonged to Gutenberg. In what follows I shall attempt to answer this question. For now we can note that the Archbishop exercised his authority. His approval was conditional; he imposed restrictions on the use of Gutenberg’s materials. The document is there to confirm that Dr Humery accepted these conditions, and in so doing it gives an indication of the materials at issue.

Reading the document we find ourselves faced with a picture of the remains of a printing house. But soon it becomes obvious that Dr Humery, or perhaps a clerk who inspected the materials before drawing up the document, had no knowledge of the technique of printing, nor did the situation require that he should claim any such expertise. Most of the terms used to describe the goods are vague, with the first word ‘etliche’ – best translated as ‘sundry’, or ‘unspecified’ – announcing that no details are to be expected. The word ‘buchstaben’ offers no problem; it is very likely to be cast type, preceded by ‘formen’, a term that probably designates matrices. ‘Instrument’ may refer to the all-important type-casting mould – but then again it may not. That is as specific as it gets: the meaning of ‘getzauwe’ can apply to any kind of tools, but had previously been specifically used to refer to the whole apparatus of a printing shop.³ The final throw-away phrase ‘anders zu den truckwerk gehören’ reinforces what had already been conveyed in the word ‘etliche’ – namely that the document does not claim to be an inventory; the phrase serves the purpose of covering ‘everything else’. Yet the restrictions imposed by the Archbishop show that he and Dr Humery (a doctor of Canon law, who fulfilled among other prominent civic duties that of Chancellor of the city of Mainz)⁴ were well

3 For the term ‘getzauwe’ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1854, vol. 7, cols. 6876–96 has a long entry s. v. ‘gezähe’. A range of meanings are given, all indicating that the term can refer in any context of crafts to apparatus needed in processes for production. A variant form ‘gezuge’ occurs in the Helmasperger’sche Notariatsinstrument of 1455 in the sentence ‘Dar off Johan Gutenberg geantwert hat, dass ym Johann Fust acht hundert gulden verlacht solt hain, mit solchem gelde er sin gezuge zurichten vnd machen solte...’. Schorbach, *Die urkundlichen Nachrichten*, 1900 (see above n. 2), pp. 228–9, noted that ‘gezuge’ might include type-metal, vellum, paper and ink. Hans-Michael Empell observed (p. 20) that (in the context of expenses made in preparation for printing) the term may refer to a printing house or a part thereof. See below n.13 for Hans-Michael Empell, *Gutenberg vor Gericht* (2008).

4 On Dr Conrad Humery, his family and his position in the city of Mainz before and during the Archbishops’ War see Adalbert Erler, *Mittelalterliche Rechtsgutachten zur Mainzer Stiftsfehde 1459–1463*. Wiesbaden, 1964, pp. 28–33.

aware that printing, its invention and its success as a publishing venture were for the city of Mainz a cause for great pride, with the material once owned by the inventor clearly an asset worth protecting. Dr Humery had to pledge that the printing materials were only to be used within the city of Mainz. Should one of its citizens wish to buy it for a price equal to a bid from a non-citizen, then the Mainzer had to be favoured.

There may be nothing new in the new-found document, and certainly it raises the same old questions which remain difficult to answer. We may assume that a financial arrangement between Gutenberg and Dr Humery was the basis of the latter's interest in the material, but what was its precise nature? What materials did it concern and when would Gutenberg have entered into such a transaction? Which of the known earliest printing types were still present and fit to be used in 1468? How do these materials relate to the printing types, originally Gutenberg's, that were used in Eltville from around the same time? Does the document take us to some storage space where the remains of Gutenberg's possessions were gathering dust while he was exiled from the city? Or are we in the premises of a printing house still capable of production, if somewhat cobwebbed since it may not have worked since 30 October 1462 – the day when, in a single horrendous event, the printer and hundreds of his fellow citizens were chased from Mainz?

But we may now read Dr Humery's declaration differently. Even if only seen in the light of the previous chapters that explored the development of printing and publishing in Mainz, the Archbishop's protective attitude appears a retrograde step. Whence stemmed his interest in printing types? Was his principal aim to honour Gutenberg's legacy and did he hope to achieve this by restricting the use of his inheritance? Such restrictions run counter to the book trade as it was already developing in Mainz. In both of the early printing enterprises in which Johann Fust was a partner, first with Gutenberg and then with Schoeffer, he clearly had the role of the commercial expert. He knew how to find markets for that new commodity, large books, printed books, that became available in quantity. That the sale of Gutenberg's Bible ranged so wide may be mainly due to Fust, followed as it was by the equally spectacular dissemination of the Duranti *Rationale* and the 1462 Bible produced by the Fust- Schoeffer partnership – to take only two well-researched examples.⁵ Through Johann Fust's

5 The decoration of copies can reveal their dissemination. Eberhard König's studies of the illumination of books printed in Mainz began with his contribution 'Die Illuminierung der Gutenbergbibel' to the *Kommentarband* (pp. 71–125) of the facsimile edition Wieland Schmidt, Friedrich Adolf Schmidt-Künsemüller (eds.), *Johannes Gutenbergs zweiundvierzigzeilige Bibel*. Munich, 1979. Of particular relevance to the present chapter is his 'Buchschmuck

commercial acumen, books reached buyers far beyond Mainz, as is poignantly demonstrated by the fact that he died in Paris while on business in the city.

The extension of communication in the world of books was also supported by the diaspora of the earliest printers after the fall of Mainz in 1462, in so far as it had not already taken place when the printing of the 42-line Bible was completed. When after Fust's death in 1466 Peter Schoeffer continued the business he expanded it, importing into Mainz books printed by others and selling them through a network of agents retailing them ever farther afield. Schoeffer's stepfather-in-law, Conrad Henkis, who married Fust's widow, came to share with him this part of the enterprise, apparently taking over Fust's role in this respect as well.⁶ Thus a system became established in Mainz that was open to the world, one far more sophisticated than appears to have been envisaged by the Archbishop.

Another aspect of Dr Humery's declaration is that it puts Peter Schoeffer at a disadvantage, for he was not a citizen of Mainz. Schoeffer declared explicitly that he was a citizen of the small town of Gernsheim, not of Mainz, when in 1479 he defended himself against a claim; in the same year he obtained citizenship of the city of Frankfurt am Main.⁷ From 1457 he had invariably named himself in colophons as 'Peter Schoeffer de Gernsheim' (with some variations in spelling). We do not know what Schoeffer had against Mainz, or Mainz against Schoeffer, but whatever the reason, in the case of any sale of the materials left by Gutenberg, the Archbishop's ruling would have excluded him from the advantages offered to citizens of Mainz. What the Archbishop's restrictions did not prevent, however, was anyone, citizen or not, financing any printing with these materials, as long as it took place within Mainz, or marketing copies once printed. This feature of the declaration has to be borne in mind when we turn later in this chapter to its possible significance relating to the printing of the *Catholicon*.

In the last three or four decades we have gained a great deal from new investigations into early printing in Mainz. The document must now be read in the

zwischen Druckhaus und Vertrieb in ganz Europa', in Holger Nickel, Lothar Gillner (eds.), *Johannes Gutenberg – Regionale Aspekte des frühen Buchdrucks*. Berlin, 1993, pp. 130–48; 'Farbe für die schwarze Kunst', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger et al. (eds.), *Unter Druck: Mitteleuropäische Buchmalerei im Zeitalter Gutenbergs*. Lucerne, 2015, pp. 183–96. Also relevant for the connection between printing house and illuminator is Martin Davies, 'From Mainz to Subiaco: Illumination in the first Italian printed books', in Cristina Dondi et al. (eds.), *La stampa romana nella città dei papi e in Europa*. Vatican City, 2016. [Studi e Testi 506], pp. 9–41.

⁶ See p. 30.

⁷ See p. 30.

light of reconsideration and insights derived from new information, and also of the new questions that have arisen. It has been a period of intensive publication, resulting from renewed scrutiny of the earliest printed books and other sources – partly by the traditional methods of analysis of printing types and textual collation, and also by data gathering (supported by databases), assembling archival records and even a comparative study of the patterns of holes made by the points holding paper or vellum in place on presses.⁸

Interest in the products of the early printers in Mainz had never been absent, but was reinvigorated by a sequence of facsimile editions of the 42-line Bible, the studies accompanying them and two major new biographies of Gutenberg.⁹ The field of enquiry was considerably widened by the observations of specialists other than historians of printing. The wide distribution of the Bible was impressively demonstrated, not only by the records of ownership showing the early dissemination of printed books,¹⁰ but most of all by the innovative method of identifying the places where copies were illuminated at an early date. The initial art historical investigation, published in 1979 with the facsimile of the Berlin copy, was continued and refined in following years.¹¹ The rediscovery of Aeneas Silvius's eyewitness account of seeing in 1454 parts of the Bible in print for the first time gave new perspectives to the chronology of the events around its completion.¹² Hans-Michael Empell, a legal historian, followed this with the analysis (of which more below) of the court case between Fust and Gutenberg recorded in what is known by the German term as 'the Helmasperger'sche Notariatsinstrument'. Furthermore he added an 'Exkurs', analysing the letter of Aeneas Silvius and showing that much of what at first sight seems a straightforward text is in fact open to manifold interpretations regarding what was seen when, where and by whom.¹³ Meanwhile the

8 Martin Boghardt, 'Pinhole patterns in large-format incunabula'. *The Library*, 7th ser.1 (2000), pp. 263–89.

9 Kapr, *Johannes Gutenberg*, 1988 and 1996, see above n. 2; Guy Bechtel, *Gutenberg et l'invention de l'imprimerie: Une enquête*. Paris, 1992.

10 Ilona Hubay, 'Die bekannten Exemplare der zweiundvierzigzeiligen Bibel und ihre Besitzer', in *Kommentarband*, 1979, (see above n. 5), pp. 129–55.

11 See above n. 5.

12 Erich Meuthen, 'Ein neues frühes Quellenzeugnis (zu Oktober 1454?) für den ältesten Bibeldruck: Enea Silvio Piccolomini am 12. März aus Wiener Neustadt an Kardinal Juan Carvajal'. *GhJb* 1982, pp. 108–18. Martin Davies, *The Gutenberg Bible*. London, 1996, pp. 20–2, Fig. 5.

13 Hans-Michael Empell, *Gutenberg vor Gericht: Der Mainzer Prozess um die erste gedruckte Bibel*. Frankfurt am Main, etc., 2008. [Rechtshistorische Reihe 372], pp. 130–42.

controversy about the date of printing of the Mainz *Catholicon* had flared up; the renewed and intense scrutiny of books and documents that this entailed is in itself a gain. It too demonstrates how scarce the documents are that provide direct information about Gutenberg's life and work once the 42-line Bible was completed. See Figure 5.2 and colour-plate for the opening page of a copy of the *Catholicon* that was not illuminated in Mainz.

Investigating the final decade of Gutenberg's Life

A few facts about the final decade of Gutenberg's life are indisputably established. Although there is no explicit information about Gutenberg's link to the 36-Bible, it is generally accepted that its type is a further development of his early printing type, known as the DK ('Donatus-Kalender') type, and that it was sold by him to an anonymous printer in Bamberg. This must have taken place before 1461.¹⁴ The destructive conflict about the disputed see of the Elector-Archbishop of Mainz led to the violence known as the 'Stiftsfehde' or the 'Archbishops' War'. When, late in October 1462, the troops of Adolf von Nassau invaded the city, Gutenberg (rounded up with hundreds of his fellow citizens) was exiled from Mainz. His ancestral home, the Gutenberghof, was confiscated by the invading forces and leased for life to a certain Conrad Wilvung, a supporter of Adolf von Nassau.¹⁵ We cannot be certain where Gutenberg spent his exile, but the next certain point comes in January 1465 from a document that declares that he was appointed to the court of Archbishop Adolf von Nassau. Apparently the Archbishop treated him now as a protégé and he may even have been receiving a form of compensation for his losses. The wording of Adolf's declaration suggests that by then Gutenberg had been able to return to Mainz. He died there early in February 1468 and was buried in the city.

Such certainty does not exist about any of the printed material produced after 1454 or 1455 in the DK type, the *Türkenkalender* and the 'Türkenbulle' of

14 The rubricator's date '1461' on a single leaf of the 36-line Bible, Paris, BnF, Rés. A.73.A, is the *terminus ante* for this edition, GW 4202, ISTC ib00527000, CIBN B-362.

15 In the Gutenberg biographies detailed in nn.2 and 9 above, the Archbishops' War and its impact on Gutenberg is discussed by Ruppel, *Johannes Gutenberg* (1939), pp. 61–4; Kapr, *Johannes Gutenberg* (1988), pp. 245–9; Kapr / Martin, *Johann Gutenberg* (1996), pp. 246–5; Bechtel, *Gutenberg* (1992), pp. 530–5. A full account of the fall of Mainz based on contemporary sources is found in *Die Chroniken der mittelhheinische Städte. Mainz*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1881–2. Vol. 2, pp. 14–88 (pp. 51–58 on the fall of Mainz).

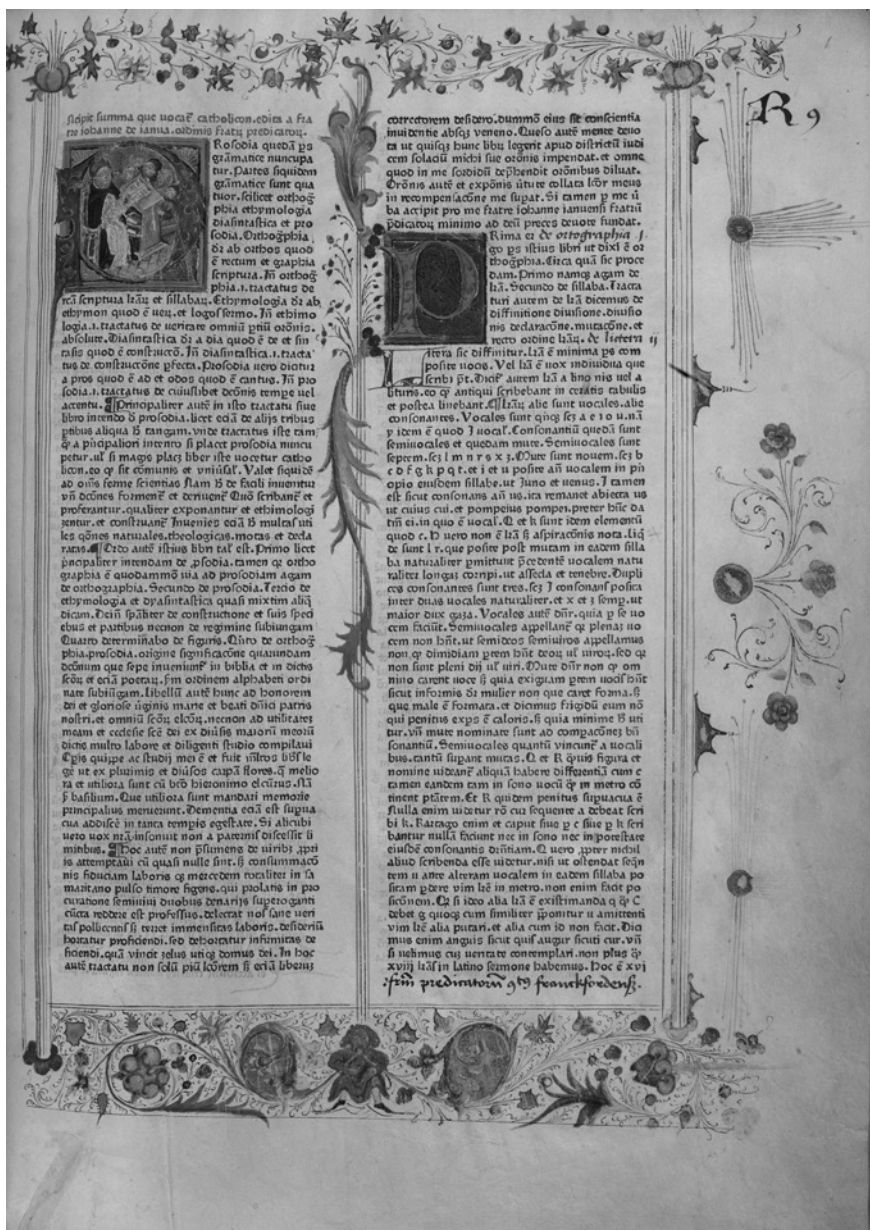


FIGURE 5.2

The opening page of the Mainz Catholicon. This copy on vellum, once owned by the Dominican friars in Frankfurt am Main, is illuminated with fine painting that does not conform to the styles recognized as Mainz painting.

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Pope Calixtus III, the Cisioianus and the Planetentafel, all in the German language, and in Latin the *Bulla Turcorum*, some Donatus editions and other small works counting as 'jobbing printing'. The extent of their relation to Gutenberg has been disputed for centuries. Among these sporadic and difficult to date materials associated with Gutenberg, the *Catholicon* is the only major publishing enterprise and as such it occupies an isolated position.

The attempts to fill in the gaps in our knowledge about Gutenberg's life and work between 1455 and 1468 have taken the form of hypothetical reconstructions of events. There are, as usual, various ways to connect disparate facts, and the pictures that emerge are bound to be different. Numerous ingenious, not to say inventive, solutions have been proposed to what, for lack of information, are in essence unanswerable questions. They go back in time further than the 'three or four decades' I mentioned earlier. Historians created (and still create) narratives about the early years of printing that are coloured by their individual senses of priority, perhaps the experiences of their own lives. What distinguishes the recent processes of investigation and speculation from those of earlier times is the availability of modern technologies; as soon as they arrived, new forensic methods were enthusiastically applied in re-examinations of the ancient materials. Yet technology did not always bring hoped-for objectivity; instead, it offered scope for new interpretations, or posed new questions rather than providing answers.

Some highlights stand out in a bird's-eye view of recent research of the earliest printing. Electron-betardiography was used for large-scale recording of watermarks in paper (until rubbing with a pencil was found to be more practicable).¹⁶ Physicists were persuaded to analyse and compare the composition of printers' ink with the advanced technology of the synchrotron.¹⁷ Other new technology was ingeniously employed for optical comparison that allowed the collation of a number of copies of the 42-line Bible. The results were a

16 Eva Ziesche and Dierk Schnitger, 'Elektronenradiographische Untersuchungen der Wasserzeichen des Mainzer Catholicon von 1460', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 21 (1980), cols. 1303–60.

17 Richard N. Schwab *et al.*, 'New evidence on the printing of the Gutenberg Bible: The inks in the Doheny copy', *PBSA* 79 (1985), pp. 375–410. *Idem*, 'The Proton Milliprobe ink analysis of the Harvard B42, Volume II', *PBSA* 81 (1987), pp. 403–32. Hans Mommsen *et al.*, 'X-ray fluorescence analysis with synchrotron radiation on inks and papers of incunabula', *Archaeometry* 38 (1996), pp. 347–57. Achim Rosenberg *et al.*, 'Röntgenfluoreszenzanalyse der Druckerschwärzen des Mainzer Catholicon und anderer Frühdrucke mit Synchrotronstrahlung', *Gbfj* 1998, pp. 231–55. Summarized by Lotte Hellinga, 'The interpretation of measurements of pinholes and analysis of ink in incunabula', *The Library*, 7th ser. 2 (2001), pp. 60–4.

vast improvement on the collating machines of earlier decades, not least because the observation made by this method can be tested by repetition and reproduction.¹⁸ Computer algorithms led an IT specialist to pose revolutionary theories about the production of Gutenberg's earliest printing type,¹⁹ countered in turn by optical observations based on sophisticated photography and superimposition of digitised images of the DK Type and the type of the 42-line Bible.²⁰ Amid all this innovation, a presumed Gutenberg centenary in the year 2000 was the occasion for overviews of Gutenberg's life and work in exhibitions and through various media. Two years later Peter Schoeffer's life and work were celebrated with an exhibition and two excellent books.²¹

Despite all these investigations, the old questions remain unanswered: what were the goods so vaguely indicated in Dr Humery's declaration? Where were they located? Was it in a printing house that had been productive until October 1462 when its owner was suddenly dispossessed and forcibly separated from it – in other words, a kind of Pompeian relic? Or was the printing material that (according to Dr Humery's declaration) had belonged to Gutenberg all that was left of a printing house no longer intact, now partly dismantled and dispersed? And what had Gutenberg's printing house produced before the events of 1462? In the light of the arguments about the *Catholicon* that have gone back and forth, new questions arise about Dr Humery's declaration. Do the 'ettliche formen und buchstaben' include over 49,000 two-line 'slugs'? If so, small wonder that Dr Humery did not know what to call them. Was there perhaps also a supply of paper left? Some ingredients for printing ink? Were there presses?

In this chapter my focus will be on the printing materials Dr Humery owned, their antecedents and what he may have done with them after the date of his declaration, 26 February 1468. When I published in 1989 a lengthy article about

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- 18 Developed in Tokyo as the HUM1 project. See Takako Kato and Satoko Tokunaga, 'Gutenberg meets digitization: The path of a digital ambassador', in Simon Horobin, Linne Mooney (eds.), *Middle English texts in transition: A Festschrift dedicated to Toshiyuki Taki-miya on his 70th birthday*. York, 2014, pp. 297–305. An early result of the HUM1 project was published by Mari Agata, 'Stop-press variants in the Gutenberg Bible: The first report of the collation' *PBSA* 97 (2003), pp. 139–65.
 - 19 Blaise Agüera y Arcas, 'Temporary matrices and elemental punches in Gutenberg's DK type', in Kristian Jensen (ed.), *Incunabula and their readers: Printing, selling and using books in the fifteenth century*. London, 2003, pp. 1–12.
 - 20 Christoph Reske, 'Hat Johannes Gutenberg das Gießinstrument erfunden? Mikroskopischer Typenvergleich an frühen Drucken'. *Ghjb* 2015, pp. 44–63.
 - 21 The monograph by Helmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim and Mainz*. Rochdale, New York, 1950, translated into German and updated with a long introduction by Monika Estermann, with the title *Peter Schöffer aus Gernsheim und Mainz*. Wiesbaden, 2002. Cornelia Schneider, *Peter Schöffer: Bücher für Europa*. Mainz, 2002.

the Mainz *Catholicon*²² it did not have the same focus, although in my conclusions I assigned a crucial role in the production of the book to Dr Humery. My study was undertaken in response to Paul Needham's publication of 1982, in which he proposed that the *Catholicon* was not printed with movable type but with two-line units cast in thin metal which he called 'slugs', assembled and re-assembled in 1460, 1468 and 1472.²³ This new technical development, apparently an early precursor of stereotype, would have been Gutenberg's ultimate invention. With this hypothesis Needham intended to explain the puzzling phenomenon that the *Catholicon* – with the printed date 'annis 1460' and with virtually identical impressions of the text – was printed on three distinct stocks of paper as well as on vellum. One of these paper supplies is not known to have been in use before c. 1468 and the *terminus post* for the other is as late as 1472. Needham's hypothesis, generally referred to as 'the slug theory', caused a sensation. In 1989 I concentrated on the evidence for the method of the book's production and investigated an alternative explanation. I found that evidence for the book's existence before c. 1470 could be shown to be dubious, and offered the hypothesis that it was printed about that time, and therefore after Gutenberg's death, under the aegis of several printers in a co-ordinated enterprise.

The two publications of 1982 and 1989 gave rise to a protracted and very public exchange between Needham and myself, in which several others became involved. The positive side to such exchanges is that it leads to a more exact formulation of questions and to widening the context of investigations. Addressing the subject again after an interval of some 25 years, it is necessary to take into account the insights into the book trade and printing in Mainz that have been gained in this period through various research projects. I have therefore rejected the idea of reprinting or adapting the article that I wrote in 1989, as I have done for other chapters in this volume. Instead I shall approach the questions from a somewhat different angle, considering Dr Humery's declaration a key document that can only be understood by trying to reconstruct the events that preceded it. It also leads to a hypothesis as to what followed.

Investigating the *Catholicon*, or any of the printed material associated with Gutenberg, is like working on an archaeological site that has been dug over by generation after generation of archaeologists. Each successive generation disturbs the site in different ways, each applying different methodology and benefiting from technological advances; each may come up with different interpretations and reconstructions, but undoubtedly they all extend

22 Lotte Hellinga, 'Analytical bibliography and the study of early printed books with a case-study of the Mainz *Catholicon*'. *GbJb* 1989, pp. 47–96.

23 Paul Needham, 'Johann Gutenberg and the *Catholicon* press'. *PBSA* 76 (1982), pp. 395–456.

knowledge of the culture that is wrestled from the ground. Fortunately archaeologists of the book inflict by and large less damage than spades, and leave the evidence in place. Yet in their wake they may sometimes leave troubling theories that upset any conviction of historical certainty, in the case of Gutenberg for centuries on end. For what follows I cannot avoid digging up again the excavations of previous archaeologists / book historians. I beg the reader's indulgence when I feel compelled to cover what may seem familiar ground. I try not to go into detail where it does not seem relevant, although I may fail to do justice to the extant wealth of research and material that exists about the invention and early years of printing. Confining myself primarily to those publications that may help us to consider answers to the questions raised by Dr Humery's document has led me to further insight into the relations between Gutenberg, Fust, Schoeffer, Dr Humery, the printers in Eltville and the Elector-Archbishop, Adolf von Nassau and finally, in the background throughout, that saintly, learned prelate, Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus.

Gutenberg's printing house after the completion of the Bible

I shall first turn to the time for which at least some concrete documents and facts exist. This is the period 1454–5, after the Gutenberg–Fust partnership was dissolved upon completion of the 42-line Bible and their joint assets had been divided. In the course of winding up the partnership a legal dispute arose between Gutenberg and Fust regarding the settling of the finance; this was adjudicated in a court case in November 1455 that is recorded in the Helmasperger'sche Notariatsinstrument.²⁴ It is a long and complicated document in German, or specifically the legal language of a German court of law. This document, however, represents no more than a single link in a chain of interconnected episodes in the dissolution of the partnership. Although both parties presented a version of previous arrangements, the record of their testimonies tells us nothing about how assets were valued and what happened to them. Sums of money were at stake, but there is no specific mention of printing materials, ownership of printing shops or copies of the finished Bible and income derived from their sale. The background to this document, in which such details of what had been previously settled remain unstated, has been

24 The document is named after the notary Ulrich Helmasberger. In English-language literature the document is usually referred to as 'Helmasperger Notariatsinstrument', but in the German language more correctly as 'Helmaspergersche'. I have adopted here the form 'Helmasperger'sche' used by Professor John L. Flood in his review of Empell's book, *The Library*, 7th ser. 3 (2009), pp. 314–5.

open to interpretation and hypothesis, and there have been many since it was first published in 1741.

In the long tradition of narratives around the partnership of Gutenberg and Fust, and how it came to be dissolved, some have to be taken more seriously than others. From the late 1960s to the 1980s two scholars of early printing arrived at an interpretation that undoubtedly has to be taken seriously. Building on observations by previous generations of historians, Ferdinand Geldner and Albert Kapr have been strong proponents of a coherent sequence of events.²⁵ The two distinct sets of indulgences printed in Mainz in 1454–5 in large numbers and in a succession of states are central to their arguments.²⁶ For a long time the question had been discussed whether they were the work of one printing house – Gutenberg’s – or of two distinct ones. In the judgement of Geldner and Kapr the sets were the work of two distinct printing houses, one printing first the indulgences commissioned by the diocese of Mainz, the other printing slightly later the indulgences for the diocese of Cologne. All this happened in a short space of time, from the autumn of 1454 to a date well before 30 April 1454 when the validity of the indulgence expired.

The theories of Geldner and Kapr have been critically surveyed by Janet Ing in a publication that very helpfully guides us to evaluate their arguments.²⁷ Geldner relied on a new and very careful analysis of the four distinct types used in the indulgences and the connection with their earlier uses, as well as with the two small-bodied types that were created later, Schoeffer’s Durandus type and the Catholicon type. On this basis he decided that the two distinct indulgences reflect two distinct stocks of type, each stock defining a printing house. One stock, including the type of the 42-line Bible, belonged to Fust, the other, more modest, to Gutenberg. This latter stock included the earlier type

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- 25 Ferdinand Geldner, ‘Die ersten typographischen Drucke’, in Hans Widmann (ed.), *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Gutenbergforschung*. Stuttgart, 1972, pp. 148–84 (especially pp. 178–82). *Idem*, ‘Probleme um die “Mainzer Ablassbriefe” von 1454–1455’, *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 13 (1973), cols. 595–612. Albert Kapr, ‘Marginalien zur Gutenbergforschung: Die zyprischen Ablassbriefe und die Frage, ob in Mainz zur Zeit Gutenbergs gleichzeitig mehrere Druckereien bestanden’, *Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde*, third ser. 4 (1969), pp. 28–31. More extensively discussed in Kapr, *Johannes Gutenberg* (1988), pp. 187–95; Kapr/Martin, *Johann Gutenberg* (1996), see above n.2, pp. 191–7. A quite different arrangement of the available facts was proposed by George D. Painter, ‘Gutenberg and the B36 group: A reconsideration’, in Dennis E. Rhodes (ed.), *Essays in honour of Victor Scholderer*. Mainz, 1970, pp. 292–322.
- 26 GW 6555 and 6556; ISTC ic00422400 and ic00422600. VE15, C-14 and C-15, distinguishing the successive issues of the indulgences.
- 27 Janet Ing, ‘The Mainz indulgences of 1454/5: A review of recent scholarship’, *The British Library Journal*, 9 (1983), pp. 14–31.

developed by Gutenberg, known as the DK type, that does not appear in the 42-line Bible but was used for the very earliest printing including the *Sibyllenbuch*, and Donatus editions. In the late 1450s the DK type was used for – among other small books – the Calixtus Bull or *Bulla Turcorum*, printed in Latin and in German; these small works are generally ascribed to Gutenberg.²⁸ Geldner came to the conclusion that after the completion of the Bible the inventor had continued printing with small works, but in a different location from where the Fust-Gutenberg partnership had produced the 42-line Bible. Fust and Schoeffer would have continued in the premises where the Bible had been printed. Following Aloys Ruppel Geldner even provided addresses for these two distinct shops. Ing pointed out that there is no evidence for any specific location, but Aloys Ruppel, who had much local knowledge of Mainz, had given careful consideration to this question.²⁹

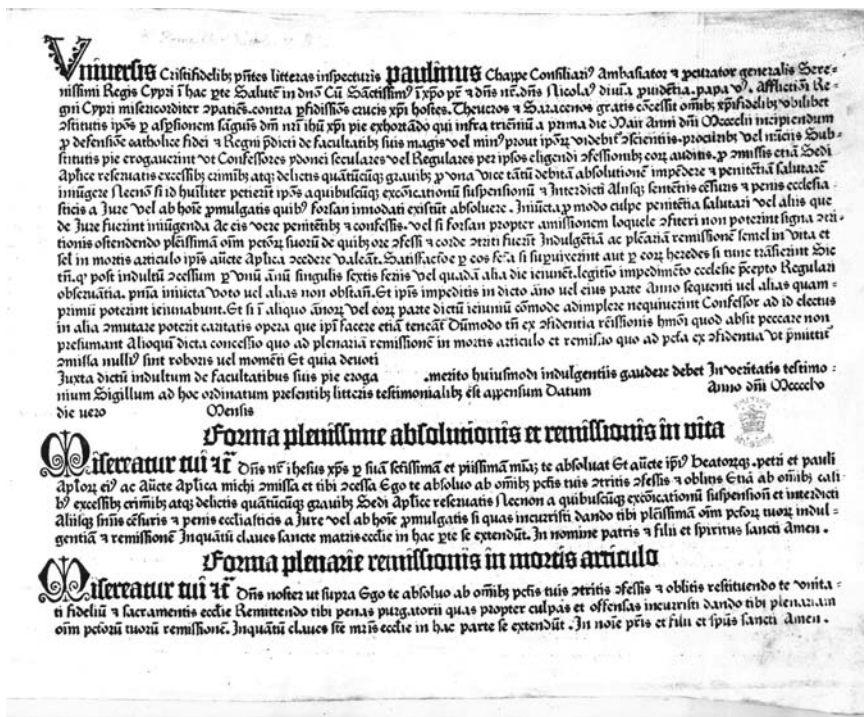


FIGURE 5.3 *The earliest small-bodied type, probably made by Peter Schoeffer. It was used in 1454–5 for printing the 31-line indulgence, in combination with a larger type known as the DK type.*

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28 GW 5916, 059161N; ISTC ic00006100, ic00006000.

29 Ruppel, Johannes Gutenberg (1939), see above n. 2, pp. 75–6.

Geldner offered strong arguments that the indulgence for the diocese of Mainz (the 31-line indulgence) was printed first, in the printing works owned by Gutenberg and using the text set in a small-bodied type probably created by Peter Schoeffer but that had now become Gutenberg's property (see Fig. 5.3). The same arguments serve to ascribe the indulgence for the diocese of Cologne (the 30-line indulgence) to the printing house of Fust and Schoeffer, printed in a distinct type also made by Schoeffer. Geldner even hinted that the cause of the dispute between Gutenberg and Fust may have been that some of the funds advanced by Fust for printing the Bible had been used by Gutenberg in his own printing works. This notion was taken over and reinforced by Kapr in successive studies that culminated in his monograph of 1986–8.³⁰ Geldner's and Kapr's publications consolidated the hypothesis that two distinct printing houses existed in Mainz once the Bible was completed and in subsequent years. They also concluded (more speculatively but plausibly) that during the printing of the 42-line Bible Gutenberg maintained a small printing house independent of the partnership with Fust.

In 2008 the legal historian Hans-Michael Empell published his extensive analysis of the court case that Fust brought against Gutenberg, recorded in the Helmasperger'sche Notariatsinstrument that bears the date 6 November 1455.³¹ Empell's specialist knowledge of the legal system of the time brings much clarity into what the document can tell, and especially what it does not tell us. He also brought a new perspective to the chronology of the events. By investigating the background that led to the dispute Empell complements in many ways the findings of Geldner and Kapr. He explains the legal processes, the historical context, the conventions attached to borrowing money and the financial position of the two parties at the time of the dispute. An important new insight is that once the Bible was completed (which he puts as early as 1453 /54) it was Fust who proceeded to dissolve the partnership and who went ahead with establishing an independent printing house. He shows that the dispute was not the cause for the separation of the partnership, but argues that it arose only during the process of financial settlement, when reimbursements of loans made by Fust to Gutenberg fell due, and Gutenberg started to fall behind with payments. Gutenberg's rebuttal of the claim made against him was that he had incurred expenses for which he should be compensated, not only for parchment, paper and ink, but also the costs of maintaining personnel of

30 Ferdinand Geldner, 'Das Helmaspergersche Notariatsinstrument', in Hans Widmann (ed.), *Der gegenwärtige Stand* (1972), see above n. 25, pp. 116–7. Kapr, *Johannes Gutenberg* (1988), p. 194; Kapr / Martin, *Johann Gutenberg* (1996), p. 196.

31 Empell, *Gutenberg vor Gericht* (2008, see above n. 13).

the printing house, the rent for their accommodation and the cost of feeding them. In a printing house operating with six presses, as has been established for the printing of the 42-line Bible, at least 20 to 25 men would be employed and (as was the custom of the time) form a household, at significant cost to the master printer.

The dispute was about the total sum of money Gutenberg had to pay. Empell concluded that through due process both parties were given a fair hearing, and that Gutenberg should not be seen as a victim of Fust's greed. Nor was he a loser of the case or bankrupted. Both parties got a fair deal in the judgement produced by the court. Empell does not support Geldner's and Kapr's inference that Gutenberg had embezzled funds that Fust had paid into the partnership and used them for his own printing; the document does not indicate any such complaint on Fust's part. Gutenberg formally undertook to submit an account of his expenses for verification; if he did produce a document with these interesting details it does not survive, and it may be best to consider this issue undecided. Empell's lawyerly exposition certainly does away with many a romantic fantasy: there were neither villains nor victims.

However, two serious shortcomings in his work have to be pointed out. In discussing Gutenberg's financial position in the 1460s there is no mention at all of the conflict between the two archbishops that escalated to the 'Stiftsfehde' or 'the Archbishops' War', leading to the fall of Mainz in October 1462 and its terrible consequences for Gutenberg – exile and confiscation of his property. Without recognising the possible impact of these events, an estimate of Gutenberg's financial status, which Empell judged favourably (pp. 125–6), lacks any power of conviction. It is somewhat easier to forgive a lawyer for another shortcoming, a profound ignorance of early printing, betrayed in, for example, the sentence 'As soon as the printing of some copies of the Bible was finished they could be sold'.³² Although Empell adds 30 pages of bibliography to his monograph, including many studies of early typography, he appears to have failed to acquire even superficial knowledge of ancient methods of book production, let alone printing types.

The typographical features investigated by Ferdinand Geldner can reveal a great deal. I have already mentioned Geldner's analysis of the types used in the indulgences. Two types were used as display types in the two Mainz indulgences of 1454–5 that had already been used elsewhere (the DK type in the 31-line indulgence and the type of the 42-line Bible in the 30-line indulgence); their state in the indulgences confirmed their place in the chronology

32 Empell's original text (p. 122): 'Sobald einzelne Bibeln fertig gedruckt waren, konnten sie verkauft werden'.

(see above Fig. 5.3) As to stylistic features, Geldner related the design of the two new small-bodied types used for the text of the indulgences to the Durandus type, first used in 1459, and to the Catholicon type. When the typographical features of each of the two indulgences are grouped together, and conceived as the material available in distinct printing houses as they operated late in 1454 and early in 1455, they can be seen to match further development in those printing houses.

31-line indulgence	30-line indulgence
<p>printed for the diocese of Mainz initial V, two forms of initial M all metal-cut V used again in Eltville, 1464 display type: Gutenberg's DK type (later developed for 36-line Bible) small text-type: 20 lines: 96 mm 60 distinct sorts Probably designed by Schoeffer Used again for abbreviations for 'et' and '-us' in indulgences 1461–2, 1464 and Eltville, 1467, 1469, mixed with Catholicon type Used later in Eltville either with newly struck matrices or recast? c. 1469, for Thomas Aquinas, <i>De articulis fidei</i> 1472, <i>Vocabularius Ex quo</i> Capitals resemble the Catholicon type Typesetting: same habits as Türkenkalender Cf. Catholicon type: 20 lines: 82–4 mm owned by Gutenberg?</p>	<p>printed for the diocese of Cologne initial U, two other forms of initial M all metal-cut Used again by Schoeffer, 1489 display type: type of the 42-line Bible, possibly recast small text-type: 20 lines: 90 mm 67 distinct sorts Probably designed by Schoeffer Not used again</p> <p>Most capitals resemble the Durandus type Typesetting: same habits as 42-line Bible Cf. Durandus type: 20 lines: 91 mm owned by Fust and Schoeffer</p>

Finally Geldner observed that the overall impression of the Durandus type is closer to that of the 30-line indulgence than to the 31-line indulgence; he

characterizes it as compact, well-articulated, dark. Three of the small-bodied text-types, all three the work of Peter Schoeffer, follow therefore a logical progress: 1: the 31-line indulgence, 2: the 30-line indulgence, 3: the Durandus type, in 1459. For a discussion of this latter type I refer to Chapter 3 (and Fig. 3.3), where I have also noted Gottfried Zedler's opinion that the Durandus type was the first to be produced with steel punches and brass matrices. The Catholicon type stands alone among the small-bodied types, and not only because it was cast on the smallest body. It lacks the characteristics common to all the work of Peter Schoeffer. Geldner refrained from ascribing it to Gutenberg, although presenting it in the list as above suggests that it was connected with his printing works. We may recall Zedler's opinion that it was not produced with punches of steel but with brass punches in lead matrices, and had therefore nothing like the strength and durability of the Durandus type.³³

Combined with Empell's analysis, which confirms that at the time two printing houses co-existed in Mainz, Gutenberg's and Fust's, and that this may well have been the case even during the printing of the 42-line Bible, Geldner's distinction of their typographical inventories makes perfect sense. The type of the Bible would have remained in Fust's hands, at least pending repayment by Gutenberg for the sum that covered its development.³⁴ As the story begins to unfold, the idea presents itself that the Catholicon type may have been created in competition with Schoeffer's successful Durandus type; it would have been designed in chancery style for printing indulgences, but could also serve as a text-type. It would lend itself to an economical way of producing a book that was considerably larger than the *Duranti Rationale*. Stylistically or technically there seem to be no convincing reasons to consider the Catholicon type as designed or made by Gutenberg himself, but it may well have been made for him, possibly under his guidance.

The Notariatsinstrument reveals beyond any doubt that in the case of the Gutenberg–Fust partnership very large sums were required as investment, first to equip a printing house and then to produce a very large work, the 42-line Bible. This speculative investment would not bring returns until the work was completed, unless a subscription with advance payment was organized.³⁵

33 See above Chapter 3, pp. 80–81.

34 This raises the question whether the single leaf in the BnF of the Psalterium printed in the type of the 42-line Bible (in a worn condition) should remain ascribed to Gutenberg or be considered a forerunner of the two Psalter editions by Fust and Schoeffer. Cf. CIBN P-646.

35 The letter of Aeneas Silvius may suggest that copies were sold in advance, but this interpretation has problems of its own regarding the chronology of events: at what stage of completion of the Bible was the letter written? It is dated 6 March 1455. Empell, *Gutenberg vor Gericht* (2008) raised the interesting question (pp. 123–4) of whether the partnership

If we may now assume that two printing houses were active in Mainz by the end of 1454, it is very interesting to note that they both found an alternative to the speculation and necessarily slow return on investment when undertaking the production of a large book. Jobbing printing was soon discovered to offer advantages to all concerned. When an indulgence commissioner needed a large number of copies of an indulgence, he found that in addition to scribes writing them one by one, he (or his representatives) could commission them to be printed for a fee. The printer could expect payment on completion of the order. In the case of the earliest printed indulgences of 1454 and 1455, issued in the name of Paulinus Chappe to raise money for fighting the Turks, there are signs that printing took place at short notice.³⁶ Once the printing order was completed, the sale of the indulgences was entirely a matter for the Church.

The first indulgence to be printed in 1454–5 – presumably by Gutenberg – was sold in the archdiocese of Mainz. Fust and Schoeffer followed in his footsteps when a short time later they accepted a commission for printing the same indulgence to be sold in the archdiocese of Cologne. In 1461 and 1462 Gutenberg (if it was he who used the Catholicon type) printed indulgences again, this time for the rebuilding of the church in Neuhausen, destroyed in an early phase of the Archbishops' War; again, the same indulgences were also printed by Fust and Schoeffer and in Strasbourg by Johann Mentelin. Geldner pointed out that the printing house owned by Gutenberg would also have produced in the DK type Donatus editions and other small works – all jobbing printing or works that could be sold rapidly and therefore produced independently, without the need for major investment. Fust and Schoeffer famously printed broadsides for both parties in the Archbishops' War. Seeing the earliest printers pursuing these two distinct modes of exploiting their new skills and apparatus, for book printing and jobbing printing, we may realize that they were experimenting not only with new techniques, but also with forms of commerce and organisation that had practically been unknown to the scribal profession.

What the surviving legal documents regarding Gutenberg's financial transactions make clear is that he was never in a position to finance any major work by himself. Finding a patron or partner willing to invest in his enterprises was a recurrent event in Gutenberg's life, as well as the ensuing conflicts about repayment. By the time of his partnership with Fust, his invention of the production of movable type was so far advanced that he could be confident that it could be

formally ended when printing was completed, or when all the copies of the Bible were sold.

36 Geldner, *Die ersten typographischen Drucke* (1972), see above n. 25, p. 174.

used for the production of a very large book. But forming this partnership with the purpose of producing this ambitious book at a shared profit was an experiment. Although the partnership was not dissolved without recourse to legal action, both parties had reason to rate it a success. A spectacular book produced in multiple copies was there to show for it; according to Aeneas Silvius's letter it rapidly found buyers. It is therefore quite possible that not only Fust, but also Gutenberg sought to repeat this success. The most obvious explanation for Dr Humery's later ownership of Gutenberg's typographical material is that a similar financial transaction had taken place at an undetermined time after 1455. This idea is adopted by many. Yet is it safe to deduce that because Gutenberg apparently had embarked on another financial adventure, he may have been preparing for another major enterprise?

It seems a reasonable assumption that having observed Fust and Schoeffer's successful production of a large book printed in 1459 with a small-bodied type, Guilelmus Duranti's *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, Gutenberg took steps to prepare for the production of an even larger book in a still smaller, economical type. If it was to be the *Catholicon* of Johannes Balbus, it would be considerably larger than the *Rationale*, more than twice the size. The encyclopaedic nature of the two books is similar; both are indispensable for understanding the Bible-text and observing the liturgical rites of the Church. Such an ambitious new printing venture would have obliged Gutenberg to undertake the design and production of a new fount of type, this time without the expert technical support of Peter Schoeffer, now lost to Fust. The modest printing house of earlier years had to be equipped with presses and all the 'gezaui' required for printing a large-format work. To finance all this, Gutenberg needed a new patron or partner. Is Dr Humery's later ownership of his typographical material an indication that a similar situation had arisen as earlier to Fust? If so, facts fall conveniently into place: Dr Humery would have advanced a loan to Gutenberg that was not paid back after Gutenberg's death. The typographical material funded by the loan served as collateral security for it, and hence became Humery's property upon Gutenberg's death. This explanation is plausible, but given the wording of the document of 1468, and taking into account the impact of the Archbishops' War, it may be too straightforward. What follows is partly a speculation based on the assumption that Gutenberg had indeed entered into another financial commitment to Dr Humery, as set out above.

Between Mainz and Eltville

If we leave aside for a moment the disputed date of the *Catholicon*, we know for certain that the *Catholicon* type was sufficiently developed in 1461 to print at

least two of the Neuhausen indulgences, printed again in the spring of 1462.³⁷ Then, in October 1462, came the fall of Mainz, and Gutenberg's exile. The confiscation of Gutenberg's property would have included that of his printing house. This would then have become the property of the Archbishop, and his house, the Gutenberghof, was permanently lost to him, as documented by the subsequent lease for life to one Conrad Wilvung. The city council of Mainz, led by Dr Humery, had in the beginning of the Archbishops' War supported Archbishop Diether von Isenburg, who was later deposed. After the fall of Mainz it took some time for passions to calm down, but in time relations appear to have resumed some normality, certainly between city officials and their ruler, the Elector-Archbishop; in due course Humery decided to co-operate with him.³⁸

On his side, Adolf appears to have been intent on mending fences. In the years after 1462 he had undoubtedly become aware of the importance for Mainz of the invention of that novelty: multiplication in print. He had witnessed the press as political medium with the broadsides printed by Fust and Schoeffer and issued on behalf of both parties during the Archbishops' War, including one issued by himself.³⁹ He may also have read colophons in books printed by Fust and Schoeffer that celebrated Mainz as the birthplace of printing in exuberant terms. Was it a coincidence that Pope Pius II, who had appointed Adolf and thus precipitated the Archbishops' War, had (as Aeneas Silvius) been the first to write about the wonders of seeing the Bible in print?

However that may be, there are signs that Adolf began to see the value of the novel printing material that he had confiscated. Towards the end of 1464 one of the printing types that presumably no longer formally belonged to Gutenberg, the Catholicon type, was used for the printing of another indulgence.⁴⁰ Because the same state of this type was used three years later in Eltville, in a dated edition, bibliographers have reasoned that the indulgence was printed

37 In Catholicon type: GW 76, 78, 0007610N; ISTC ii00067300, ii00067350, ii00067315; VE A-37, A-38, A-41. Four editions were printed by Fust and Schoeffer: GW 77, 79, 0007710N, 0007910N; ISTC ii00067325, ii00067375, ii00067330, ii00067380; VE15, A-39, A-40, A-42, A-43. Two were printed by Johann Mentelin in Strasbourg: ISTC ii00067340, ii00067345.

38 Humery had belonged to the party favouring Diether von Isenburg, who even came to rely on him. After the fall of Mainz his considerable possessions in Mainz were confiscated and he was probably exiled; a condition of the peace agreement between the archbishops in October 1463 was that his goods would be returned to him, and in 1471 Adolf von Nassau even granted Humery compensation. See Erler, *Mittelalterliche Rechtsgutachten* (1964, see above n. 4), pp. 32–3.

39 GW 225; ISTC ia00053200; BMC I, p. 22; VE15 A-97.

40 ISTC iro0004100; GW M3687110; VE15 R-1. In the same year it was also printed by Fust and Schoeffer. Leonhard Hoffmann, 'Ist Gutenberg der Drucker des Catholicon?', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 93 (1979) pp. 201–12 (202–4).

in that town. However, it was also the state seen in 1461–2 in the Neuhausen indulgences. Since in 1464 Gutenberg's typographical material probably belonged nominally to the Archbishop, he (or his entourage) may well have taken the initiative to transfer it to Eltville, the town of his residence. The immediate purpose in 1464 may have been the printing of the indulgence, granted by Pope Pius II and issued by the general of the Order of the Trinitarian friars; the only surviving copy was issued to a buyer on 11 December 1464, but would of course have been printed earlier. Plausible as this reconstruction of events is, we should not take it for granted that the indulgence of 1464 was printed in Eltville, for on 17 January 1465 (or near that date) Gutenberg appears to be back, residing again in Mainz. This is the date of the document that records that Gutenberg was appointed by the Archbishop to his court in recognition of 'the agreeable and willing service he had rendered and may and shall render in future time to us and our diocese'.⁴¹ These words are most readily explained if the services rendered had been the printing of indulgences, and that the Archbishop hoped for more such services from Gutenberg in the future. The end of the document states that Gutenberg was expected to swear an oath of loyalty to the Archbishop.

The continuation of the document raises some doubt whether Gutenberg's printing material was transferred to Eltville at that time, although three years later this was undoubtedly the case. The terms for the position at court were clearly stated: it was to be for the duration of Gutenberg's life, he would be exempt from military and civic duties and would receive annually court dress, as well as 20 'Malter' of grain and two 'Fuder' of wine (about the equivalent of over 400 kg of grain and two barrels or 2000 litres of wine) for the use of his household, 'free of tax, duty and toll, into our city of Mainz'. From the exemption of local tax it appears that by this time Gutenberg had been allowed to return to Mainz. Furthermore, the large quantity of grain and wine promised for the 'household' seems rather generous for maintaining a small courtly retinue,⁴² but may have been intended for sustaining the personnel of a modest printing house. It was usual for a small community working together to form a household, as it was before 1455 when the Bible was printed in the Gutenberg–Fust

41 Schorbach, *Urkundliche Nachrichten* (1900), see above n. 2, pp. 220–2; Aloys Ruppel, 'Gutenberg einziger Glückstag'. *GhJb* 1965, pp. 64–7; Kapr, *Johannes Gutenberg* (1988), pp. 257–9; Kapr / Martin, *Johann Gutenberg* (1996), pp. 259–61, all with facsimile. Stephan Füssel, 'Gutenberg-Ehrung und italienischer Erstdruck im Jahre 1465: Eine Vorbemerkung zum Festjahr 2015', *GhJb* 2015, pp. 5–11.

42 See Empell, *Gutenberg vor Gericht* (2008, see n. 31), p. 126.

printing house.⁴³ Perhaps the printing house that Gutenberg had maintained for several years but had been forced to abandon was now allowed to resume operations, given that it might be convenient for producing printed matter for the Archbishop if or when required – ‘the services he may render in future time’. But there is no evidence that Gutenberg rendered any further services. Nor is there any evidence that Gutenberg’s ownership of a printing house and typographical material was returned to him at the same time as the right to reside in the city of Mainz. What happened with Gutenberg’s printing material in the period 1462 to 1467 remains almost entirely unknown, except for what a few small typographical details reveal. These link the state of the type with which the indulgence of 1464 was printed to that of the Neuhausen indulgences of 1461–2, and also to the first dated book produced in Eltville, completed on 4 November 1467.

These are the details. The type-case used for the indulgences printed in Catholicon type in 1461–2 did not include the Tironian ‘et’ and the abbreviation for the word-end ‘-us’. These sorts are also absent in the indulgence printed in 1464. Both in 1461–2 and in 1464 the ‘-us’ that belonged to the type of the 31-line indulgence was used as a substitute.⁴⁴ Apparently there was no matrix for this sort when the Catholicon type was cast in the version available in 1461–2. In 1464 the ‘et’ of the 31-line indulgence was added. In this casting the Catholicon type was therefore slightly contaminated with the type of the 31-line indulgence. Also, in the indulgence of 1464 the elegant abbreviation for the word-end ‘-tis’ and a double hyphen for word-breaks at the end of lines are found; these sorts were not listed by Zedler in his very precise analysis of the fount in the *Catholicon* itself, nor in his discussion of its relation to its use in the indulgences of 1461 and later dates, and the *Vocabularius Ex quo*.⁴⁵

The presence of these four sorts marks a state of the type that is distinct from the casting used in the *Catholicon*. The state of type of the 1461–4 indulgences still existed when in 1467 it was used for the *Vocabularius Ex quo*

43 In the Helmasperger’sche Notariatsinstrument Gutenberg reportedly mentioned the cost of maintaining staff for printing the 42-line Bible. See p. 142.

44 Geldner, *Die ersten typographischen Drucke* (1972), see above n. 25, p. 178.

45 Gottfried Zedler, *Das Mainzer Catholicon*. Mainz, 1905. [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft 4], pp. 13, 56–7. Zedler noted also differences in the casting of ligatures, and observed generally that the type was much sharper and looked fresher when used for the indulgences and the *Vocabularius* than for the *Catholicon*. He concluded that these are distinct castings of the type.

printed in Eltville;⁴⁶ in this book it was still contaminated with ‘-us’ and ‘et’ and included the ‘-tis’ abbreviation and the double hyphen. The state of the type used for the 1461–2 and 1464 indulgences would appear therefore to be the same as the one used in Eltville – with one addition. The *Vocabularius Ex quo* was a small, very popular Latin–German lexicon, arranged in alphabetical order of the Latin terms. Each entry begins with a capital, and therefore large numbers of capitals were required for each page. (For the *Catholicon*, most of which is also a lexicon in alphabetical order, albeit a much larger one, the first character of each entry was not printed but had to be filled in by a limner.) The same capitals as in the *Catholicon* are present in the *Vocabularius Ex quo*, with the exception of ‘Z’, which is missing. The press work in Eltville looks rather inexperienced, but in 1467 the type is still fairly fresh. It appears probable that a further casting was added to the type available in 1461–2 and 1464 for printing the indulgences – to augment the supply of type and bring it to the level required for printing a book, even when it was only a quarto printed in half-sheets. It would certainly have been necessary to cast more capitals. It follows that a set of matrices of the *Catholicon* type was available (without the capital Z and supplemented with a few matrices of the 31-line indulgence type). It remains unknown when the material was transferred to Eltville and when further casting took place; the only certainty is that it happened before the printing of the *Vocabularius Ex quo* in the course of 1467.

The first edition of the *Vocabularius Ex quo* has a colophon that names the place of printing (Eltville), date (4 November 1467) and its printers, Nicolaus Bechtermünze and his brother Heinrich (who died during the production of the book) and a Wigandus Spyes, otherwise unknown. It was reprinted with the same type in 1469, this time naming only Nicolaus Bechtermünze in the colophon.⁴⁷ At about the same time an edition of Thomas Aquinas, *Summa de articulis fidei* made an appearance, a small book of 12 leaves in quarto format.⁴⁸ The work is set in what appears to be a version of the 31-line indulgence type which was also used in 1472 in the third edition of the *Vocabularius Ex quo*, its colophon stating Eltville as the place of printing.⁴⁹ For this reason the Thomas Aquinas tract is also ascribed to the printing house in Eltville.

46 ISTC iv00361700; GW M51069.

47 ISTC iv00361800; GW M51071.

48 ISTC it00272800; GW M46409.

49 ISTC iv00361900; GW M51073. Dating of the Eltville Thomas Aquinas tract in 1469 is based on the identification of the paper used both in it and in the *Vocabularius* of 1469. See below p. 169. ISTC dates the Thomas Aquinas tract [1469–72].

I find the status of this type problematic, not least because so little survives that is printed with it. It is so closely related to the type of the 31-line Indulgence of 1454/55 that it was deemed an inferior ‘imitation’ by Zedler, followed in BMC II and later endorsed by Paul Needham.⁵⁰ As we have seen, the type of the 31-line Indulgence was probably made by Schoeffer for Gutenberg, so Gutenberg would have owned its punches. It therefore seems very probable that in 1462 Gutenberg still owned these punches, together with matrices of the Catholicon type, before they were confiscated and eventually transferred to Eltville. Would the changed appearance of the type as used in Eltville be the result of a new strike of matrices? I prefer to leave the question open at this point. However, we can conclude that this material was not among the ‘etliche formen und buchstaben’ on which Dr Humery had a claim and which became his property in 1468. At some point the invisible hand of officialdom must have separated these materials. From the wording of his declaration we learn that the material had been in Dr Humery’s care (as distinct from ownership) for some unspecified time. It appears probable that around the time of Gutenberg’s appointment as courtier, a small part of the type and equipment was handed over to Gutenberg; this would have been the material that ended up in Eltville. The greater part of the equipment and material was entrusted to Dr Humery, who would have a claim on it if Gutenberg failed to pay off his debt before his death.

From January 1465 until his death three years later Gutenberg’s life seems to fade from history, without leaving documentation. The small printing house in Eltville – in the years 1467–72 the successive editions of the *Vocabularius Ex quo* its main production⁵¹ – cannot be directly associated with Gutenberg, its first book appearing just two months before his death. And yet he may have left traces of earlier influence linking the two books, apart from the type in which they were printed. The traces are faint, and inevitably they lead to speculative interpretation.

50 Zedler, *Mainzer Catholicon* (1905), pp. 61–7; BMC II, p. 313. Paul Needham, ‘Mainz and Eltville: The true tale of three compositors’. *Bulletin du bibliophile* 1992, pp. 257–304 (esp. 271–2).

51 Following the editions of 1467, 1469 and 1472 already mentioned (see above nn. 46, 47, 49), two more editions of the *Vocabularius* were printed in Eltville: in 1476 (ISTC iv00362000, GW M51074) and in 1477 (ISTC iv00322800, GW M5107410). From 1480 / 81 four single sheets survive, three indulgences (ISTC ij00273260, ij00273261, ij00273750, VE15 J-27, J-27/10, J-34) and an *Einladung zum Ambrustschieszen*. (ISTC im00082930, VE15 M-2).

In the first place we may wonder if the similar nature of these two publications, the *Catholicon* and the *Vocabularius Ex quo*, both a hybrid form of encyclopaedic lexicon, is a coincidence. In the past the *Vocabularius Ex quo* has wrongly been considered an abbreviated version of the *Catholicon*, not least because it opens with the words: 'Ex quo vocabularij varij autentici videlicet Huguicio Katholicon Brevilogus...'.⁵² It is, in fact, an anonymous text compiled early in the fifteenth century that soon became very popular in schools and universities as a teaching aid. Unlike the *Catholicon*, it not only gives definitions of the entries, but also translates them into German. Before it appeared in print it had a wide dissemination in manuscript. Of the version printed in Eltville no fewer than 80 manuscripts are known to survive.⁵³ In print it was equally successful; just short of 50 editions (of two distinct versions) are recorded in the fifteenth century, but it does not appear to have been published after 1505. Less than a quarter of the size of the *Catholicon*,⁵⁴ the *Vocabularius* was therefore much smaller in scale as a publishing venture, involving less investment and risk; its production also required less organization. Yet there is something of the *Catholicon*'s little brother about it, a member of the same family. Could we perhaps think of it as an initiative connected with Gutenberg, as he or a patron was scaling back ambitions? And might he in the final year of his life have been unable to bring a plan to its end? The Bechtermünze brothers, who were patricians of Mainz and distant relatives of Gutenberg,

**Altiſſimi proſidio cuius nutu infantium lingue fi
unt diſerte. Qui q̄ niſoſe p̄ulis reuelat quod
ſapientibus celat. Hic liber egregius. catholicon.
dñice incarnationis annis M̄ccc lx Alma in ur
be maguntina nationis indite germanice. Quam
dei clemencia tam alto ingenij lumine. dono q̄
tuitio. ceteris terrarū nationibus preſerre. illuſtrare
q̄ dignatus eſt non calami. ſtili. aut penne ſuffra
go. ſi mira patronarū formarū q̄ concordia. p̄por
cione et modulo. impreſſus atq̄ confectus eſt.
Hinc tibi ſancte pater nato cū ſtamine ſacro. Laus
et honor dño trino tribuatur et uno Eccleſie lau
de libro hoc catholice plaudat Qui laudam piam
ſemper non lingue mariam. 1460. 6 R. Ad J. 45**

FIGURE 5.4

The colophon of the Catholicon, printed in a copy printed on 'Tower and Crown' paper.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, IC. 302, FOL. [T]3^a (DETAIL, REDUCED). © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED 2017.

- 52 Contractions expanded and quoted from the edition by Peter Drach, Speier, 29 August 1479, BMC II, p. 490.
- 53 Klaus Grubmüller, Bernhard Schnell, et al. (eds.), *Vocabularius Ex quo*. 6 vols. Tübingen, 1988. For the incunable editions see vol. 1, pp. 176–89.
- 54 The *Catholicon* consists of 187 edition-sheets of royal folio paper, the *Vocabularius* of 42 edition-sheets of Chancery paper.

were surely not active printers. Yet they may have been Gutenberg's final patrons – or perhaps saved the day when he was no longer capable of leading the printing house that by now was unquestionably transferred to Eltville. This can only be raised as a speculative question for which no answer can be expected.

There is evidence for a tighter link in the colophons of the two books, in particular in the unique lines at the end they have in common. Following the preceding ten lines the colophon of the *Catholicon* ends thus (see Fig. 5.4):

Hinc tibi sancte pater nato cū flamine sacro. Laus
et honor dñō trino tribuatur et uno Ecclesie lau
de libro hoc catholice plaude Qui laudare piam
semper non linque mariam DEO.GRACIAS

Notably these lines are not set as verse but as a continuous text over four lines, their length fitting in with the column-wide text block of the colophon, the beginning of each verse marked by a capital. In the colophon of the *Vocabularius Ex quo* the lines are printed as verse, presumably as intended by their creator (see Fig. 5.5):

Hinc tibi sancte pater nato cū flamine sacro
Laus et honor domino trino tribuatur et vno
Qui laudare piam semper non linque mariam⁵⁵

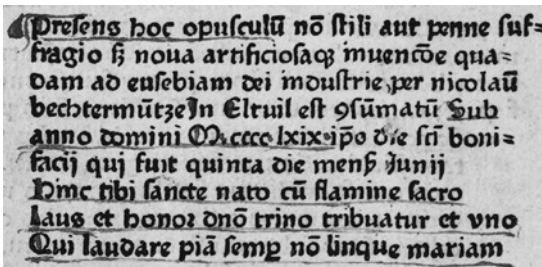


FIGURE 5.5

The colophon of the second edition of the Vocabularius Ex quo, Eltville, 5 June 1469.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, IA 5311, FOL. [R]8^b (DETAIL). © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED 2017.

55 In the version printed in the second edition of the *Vocabularius Ex quo* (in 1469) the word 'pater' in l.1 was omitted, undoubtedly by accident. In Kapr / Martin, *Johann Gutenberg* (1996), p. 231 the lines as occurring in the *Catholicon* are translated: 'Hence to thee, holy Father, thyself, the Son, together with the Holy Spirit. Praise and glory be rendered, the threefold Lord and one; and thou, devout believer in the universe, who never ceases to praise the blessed Mary, join your approval with tribute to the Church for this book'.

It can hardly be a coincidence that these lines of verse, which are not found in any other colophon, occur in books printed in the same type, albeit in a distinct casting. But their different layout is significant. In the *Vocabularius* the third line is missing, which in the *Catholicon* colophon includes the word ‘catholice’ This is possibly a vocative addressed to the reader, and certainly an indirect reference to the book in which it appears; it therefore had no place in the *Vocabularius*. It would appear that the presentation in the *Vocabularius*, as lines of verse, is closer to the original exemplar, whereas in the *Catholicon* the production method (as we shall see) forced the layout that presented the colophon in a squared block of text. At this point questions arise which will recur: where was this little text *written* first? And which colophon was *printed* first, that of the *Vocabularius* or of the *Catholicon*? These lead to the wider questions: the nature of the now lost manuscript exemplar of the *Catholicon* – and, for that matter, of the *Vocabularius*. Where were they, who owned them? To my knowledge these questions have not been addressed, let alone answered.

Conflicting theories about the printing of the *Catholicon*

The Mainz *Catholicon* is a book with a long history of inspiring discord and heated dispute among historians of printing. The text itself is not at issue. The Dominican Johannes Balbus (*d.* 1298) completed the work at Genoa on 7 March 1286. An encyclopaedic compilation by a biblical scholar, it had great appeal and a considerable dissemination in manuscript and in early print: 24 editions printed before 1501 are recorded.⁵⁶ Doubts and mild disputes about the Mainz edition began in the eighteenth century, even passing doubt about its dating in 1460.⁵⁷ The main *casus belli*, still undecided, is whether the book

56 For the manuscript tradition see Gerhardt Powitz, ‘Das “Catholicon” in buch- und textgeschichtlicher Sicht’. *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 13 (1988), pp. 125–37. Printed editions before 1501: GW 3182–3205. *Idem*. ‘Das “Catholicon”: Umriss der handschriftlichen Überlieferung’, in Michael Borgolte and Herrad Spilling (eds.), *Litterae mediaevi: Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*. Sigmaringen, 1988, pp. 209–23.

57 Gerard Meerman expressed doubt about the date ‘1460’ in his *Conspectus originum Typographicarum*, [The Hague?], 1761, on the ground of the formulation of the colophon, so unlike other colophons of books printed in Mainz, and the aspect of the type. He conjectured that the printed date should read ‘1470’, adding an x to the Roman figure. F.W. von Duve, a collector of incunabula in Hannover, drew his attention to the buyer’s date ‘1465’ in the copy at Gotha (see below). Meerman withdrew his suggested amendment in his subsequent publication, *Origines typographicae*. The Hague, 1765, vol. II, p. 95, n.(g).

was printed by Gutenberg or not. There were those who were (and still are) convinced that only he could be responsible for its printing, quoting, among other arguments, the devout formulation of the colophon; others, among them experts with the authority of Paul Schwenke and Aloys Ruppel, have rejected with equal conviction the notion that Gutenberg could have produced a book so inferior in quality of type and printing when compared with the 42-line Bible. Bibliographers and cataloguers have prudently assigned it to the ‘Printer of the Catholicon’. Many antiquarian book dealers, however, tended (and still tend) to favour Gutenberg.

Until 1971 this was the main bone of contention. The date of printing was generally accepted to be 1460, as the colophon states: ‘Hic liber egregius. catholicon. dominice incarnationis annis M cccc lx [...] impressus atque confectus est’. Nothing is more welcome to book historians and bibliographers than a date, a *printed* date; the unusual plural ‘annis’ instead of ‘anno’, and the absence of mention of month and day did not attract discussion until 1973–5.⁵⁸

Ever since Zedler’s extensive monograph on the *Catholicon*, published in 1905, it had been known that the 41 copies of the *Catholicon* listed by him could be distinguished as four groups according to the three paper stocks of Royal paper on which they were printed, as well as copies on vellum.⁵⁹ The paper stocks can clearly be distinguished as three main groups by their watermarks: Bull’s Head, the G for the Galliziani paper mill and a combination of stocks with watermarks representing a tower and a crown. Patterns of pinholes confirmed this division; the copies on vellum showed the same pattern as the copies on Bull’s Head paper. Pinholes, the tiniest possible detail, are in fact significant elements in building up the argument. These are the traces left after putting

58 In the 24 dated editions printed in Mainz between 1457 and the end of 1472, only one is dated only with the year, the Cicero of 1465, ISTC ic00575000. The plural form of the word ‘annis’ is discussed by Hans Widmann, ‘Zur Druckjahr-Angabe “Annis...” im Mainzer Catholicon von 1460’. *GbJb* 1973, pp. 126–8; Hildebrecht Hommel, ‘Annis 1460 im Mainzer Catholicon-Druck’. *GbJb* 1975, pp. 34–7; Paul Needham, ‘Corrective notes on the date of the Catholicon press’. *GbJb* 1990, pp. 46–64; *idem*. ‘Further corrective notes on the date of the Catholicon press’. *GbJb* 1991, pp. 101–26 (108–13). A further interpretation of the dating by Paul Needham, ‘The Mainz Catholicon (1460) and the Great Year of the Sun’, in Pär Sandin, Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe (eds.), *Dais Phileisistephanos: Studies in honour of Professor Staffan Fogelmark*. Uppsala, 2004, pp. 231–77. See below p. 199 and n. 154.

59 Zedler, *Mainzer Catholicon* (1905), pp. 30–5, listed 41 copies: 8 on vellum, 9 on Bull’s Head paper, 12 on Galliziani paper and 12 on Tower and Crown paper.

paper correctly on the press and fixing its position, guided by the points, or pins, attached to the tympan. Between presses their placing is not identical, and in this way individual presses can be distinguished.⁶⁰ It therefore became clear that a 'state' of copies of the *Catholicon* marked by their paper stock (as identified by watermarks) equalled the use of an individual press. In bibliographical terms three 'states' within a single edition of the *Catholicon* had to be distinguished. Although unusual, this did not arouse great curiosity.

This state of affairs came to an end when in 1971 and 1973 Theo Gerardy established that the Bull's Head paper could be dated in 1460, but that the other stocks did not exist before 1468 or even the early 1470s.⁶¹ He proposed therefore that the *Catholicon* would have been printed in the period of the later dates, between 1468 and 1472. This logical solution to what otherwise seemed irreconcilable was received with a storm of refutation which did not abate with Gerardy's further studies of 1978 and 1980.⁶² Gutenberg scholars were quite unwilling to let go of the certainty that the date 1460 seemed to offer. But this was as nothing compared with what was to follow about ten years later. It began in 1980, when Eva Ziesche and Dierk Schnitger published a study of the paper stocks in the *Catholicon* – and the same stocks in 35 other books – using electron-radiography for recording and reproducing a large number of watermarks.⁶³ Their findings confirmed and extended Gerardy's work, dating the paper stocks to 1460, 1468 and 1470 or later. This led them to the conclusion that there had been three distinct editions of the *Catholicon*, printed at these

60 In the early years of printing more points were used and the holes they made are often clearly visible. See Alfred W. Pollard's Introduction to BMC I, pp. xiv–xv; Paul Schwenke, *Ergänzungsband* (1923), p. 40; Philip Gaskell, *A new introduction to bibliography*. Oxford, 1972, p. 119 and Fig. 64; Martin Boghardt, 'Die bibliographische Erforschung der ersten "Catholicon" Ausgabe(n)'. *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 13 (1988), pp. 138–76 (148–52 'Die Punkturen').

61 Theo Gerardy, 'Gallizianimarke, Krone und Turm als Wasserzeichen in großformatigen Frühdrucken'. *GbJb* 1971, pp. 11–23. *Idem*. 'Wann wurde das Catholicon mit der Schlußschrift von 1460 (GW 3182) wirklich gedruckt?'. *GbJb* 1973, pp. 105–25.

62 Theo Gerardy, 'Datierung dreier Drucke in der Catholicontype'. *IPH-Information* 12 (1978), pp. 50–62. *Idem*. 'Die Datierung zweier Drucke in der Catholicontype (H.1425 und 5803)'. *GbJb* 1980, pp. 30–7. A prominent critic was Hans Widmann, 'Mainzer Catholicon (GW 3182) und Eltviller Vocabularii: Nochmals zu einer These der Wasserzeichenforschung'. *GbJb* 1975, pp. 38–48.

63 Eva Ziesche and Dierk Schnitger, 'Elektronenradiographische Untersuchungen der Wasserzeichen', see above n. 16. Cf. Gerhard Piccard, 'Das Mainz "Catholicon" von 1460 und seine Datierung'. *Aus dem Antiquariat* 4 (1982), A125–8.

dates. But they overlooked that the typesetting in their three ‘editions’ is virtually identical. In 1982 Paul Needham presented a solution to the conundrum of identical typesetting of a large book apparently published with intervals of time of as long as eight or nine years.⁶⁴ I shall summarize here the main points of his argument:

1. Needham confirmed the dating of the paper stocks of Royal paper established by Gerardy, Ziesche and Schnitger, with further painstaking distinction of the variations within the main groups.
2. Needham concurred with Zedler (1905) that the three groups of copies distinguished by the paper stocks were printed on three different presses.
3. Needham confirmed what had already been noticed by Zedler: that in the *Catholicon* the impression of text on the pages showed that the columns appeared to be built up with pairs of two lines instead of the usual single lines. In particular he observed numerous lateral shifts of pairs of lines; this was especially evident when comparing copies on a collating machine. He posited that these pairs of lines were not impressions of movable type, but were cast in thin metal as blocks of two lines of text that were assembled and re-assembled after intervals of time, in 1460, 1468–9 and 1472. He called these units ‘slugs’. By collation of copies printed on the distinct paper stocks Needham noted six setting variants between states,⁶⁵ either caused by accidents or as corrections that were carried out by replacing lines of text. In every case these were limited to blocks of two lines, or one line-pair. The two-line variants supported his conclusion that the *Catholicon* was produced with an early forerunner of stereotype, and that this was Gutenberg’s ultimate invention. For the *Catholicon* over 49,000 slugs would have been cast and preserved from 1460 to 1472.
4. Needham examined the two quarto editions of small tracts printed in Catholicon type, Thomas Aquinas, *Summa de articulis fidei*, known in two distinct states with identical typesetting,⁶⁶ and Matthaeus de Cracovia, *Dialogus Rationis et Conscientiae*.⁶⁷ He established that both books were printed on Chancery paper stocks that, as was the case with the

64 Paul Needham, ‘Johann Gutenberg and the Catholicon press’. *PBSA* 76 (1982), pp. 395–456.

65 Needham, *Johann Gutenberg* (1982), p. 4, nos. 5–10.

66 ISTC it00272950, it002723000, GW M46417, M46416.

67 ISTC im00367000, GW M21753.

Catholicon paper, were datable in 1459/60 and c. 1469. Zedler had already established on the basis of the development of the type that the Thomas Aquinas text was produced in parallel with, or even before the earliest part of, the *Catholicon*, and the Matthaeus de Cracovia about halfway.⁶⁸ Needham now posited that both tracts were produced with slugs, each in two distinct states with an interval of about nine years.

5. Needham adduced external evidence for the printing of the *Catholicon* in 1460, the main point the buyer's date 1465 in the copy of the *Catholicon* at the Forschungsbibliothek in Gotha. Regarding the late date '1472' of the copies printed on Tower and Crown paper, he cast doubt on the manuscript inscription with the date 1470 in the copy of the German Bible printed by Heinrich Eggestein, also in Gotha.

This is a very concise summary of Needham's conclusions as they stood in 1982. They were based on extensive investigation of the paper supplies and comparison of copies of the three different states. Of course, the idea can be justified that in a period of experimentation with a new technique, a further development of the achievement of putting movable type to spectacular use was undertaken. But what Needham did not do in his study was to consider whether there might be alternative explanations for the puzzling phenomena, namely the discrepancy between the dating of the paper and the identical impressions. Since he was wholly convinced that the year 1460 was crucial as the date of the first issue of the *Catholicon*, he had little reason to take account of the historical context that determined the course of Gutenberg's final years – and with it the fate of his possessions. In Needham's judgement, the evidence provided by paper prevailed. He deemed it 'improbable' that a supply of paper had been left unused for some nine years and later ruled this out;⁶⁹ therefore the impressions of identical typesetting had to be made at different times. The composition of columns with pairs of lines (that can indeed be observed) presented him with the hypothesis that became known as 'the slug theory'. It was received with enthusiasm by some, with reservations by others.⁷⁰ In December

68 Zedler, *Mainzer Catholicon* (1905), p. 50.

69 Needham argued 'If we accept Gerardy's solution, we must presume that the Catholicon printer had a major supply of stock B [Bull's Head paper] lying fallow for a half-dozen or more years'. He qualified this as 'possible, but not probable', Needham, *Johann Gutenberg* (1982), p. 422. Later he dismissed the possibility that the paper had been 'kept in cold storage' for so many years.

70 Reservations were expressed by experienced printers, e.g. Kapr, *Johannes Gutenberg* (1988), pp. 231–2; Kapr / Martin, *Johann Gutenberg* (1996), p. 233; I add here in translation a passage that was passed over by Martin: 'But after thorough examination of the copies

1985 a colloquium was organized by the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. It was attended by some 20 experts in early typography and history of the book, and the division of opinion was manifest.⁷¹

Among the printers with professional experience attending the conference was Walter Partridge, owner of a hand-press after a lifelong career in the London printing industry. I had invited him to examine the three copies in the British Library that represent the three states. He became particularly interested in the still visible traces of the methods used to lock up the pages and combine the two long columns. He established the differences between the lock-ups, and noted the many traces of blind quads, column dividers and footsticks. The vellum copy shows many deep embossments of these materials, whereas the copy on Galliziani paper showed one-line and two-line bearer quads that should have been blind, showing traces of ink. He suggested that an alternative explanation of the two-line stagger observed by Needham might be differences in width of the bearer quads running parallel to the columns. He also observed marked differences between the states in the quality of the press work and rated the slug-theory improbable. Partridge published his observations in 1986.⁷² Some of his observations of traces left by the page make-up in the form of blind impressions and indentations, well visible in the vellum copy, were illustrated with photographs taken by the British Library's photographers. Similar embossments were examined by Richard N. Schwab in the vellum copy at the Beinecke Library, Yale University. Schwab interpreted rows of short, sharp, angled blind indentations as the impressions of nails with which the slugs would have been attached to a bearer. He illustrated this with a fine photograph taken with raking light which, incidentally, shows a deep indentation of the verso impression – not easily explained if it was made by a thin metal slug.⁷³

of the Catholicon in Gotha, Dresden, Wolfenbüttel and Darmstadt I could not agree with Needham's observation that here and there pairs of lines moved outwards or inwards. I only found that the locking up of columns of the Catholicon was not stable enough, and that therefore on the left-hand side some lines had shifted a little'. Walter Partridge, another experienced printer, made a similar observation, see below n. 72.

71 The proceedings are published in *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 13, Heft 2 (1988).

72 Walter J. Partridge, 'The type-setting and printing of the Mainz Catholicon'. *The Book Collector* 35 (1986), pp. 21–52. Response by Paul Needham, 'The type-setting of the Mainz Catholicon: A reply to W.J. Partridge'. *The Book Collector* 35 (1986), pp. 293–304.

73 Richard N. Schwab, 'Some signs of stereotyping of the Yale vellum copy of the Mainz Catholicon'. *The Yale University Library Gazette* 63 (1988), pp. 8–13.

In 1989 I published a response to Needham's paper, offering an alternative hypothesis.⁷⁴ I shall try to summarize equally briefly my main points.

1. The supposedly three different dates for printing, based on the dating of the paper stocks, have to be reduced to two: the stock 'Tower and Crown', dated by successive paper historians as 'not before 1472' can be shown to have existed by 1470. This is the *terminus ante* of the German Bible, printed on this paper stock in an undated edition by Heinrich Eggestein in Strasbourg;⁷⁵ the dating of this edition is established by an ownership inscription with the date 1470, written on the last page of text in the copy at the Forschungsbibliothek in Gotha. This date is problematic for paper historians, who did not find the state of paper supplies on which this book is printed in dated books before 1472.⁷⁶ Yet the inscription is undoubtedly authentic, for the owner who wrote his name in the book, Steffan Losniczer Zum Stege, can be identified as a member of the lesser nobility in Lower Bavaria. The Losniczer family bought the estate of Steg in the mid-fifteenth century, and sold it in 1550. Steffan was granted the right to collect tolls in 1469 and can also be traced in 1479.⁷⁷ There are therefore no grounds for assuming that this person cannot be identified as living in 1470 (as Needham argued) and that therefore the date is incorrect. The printing of Eggestein's German Bible must be considered as completed by 1470, and inevitably this date applies to the paper on which it was printed. With only two different dates for the paper supplies of the *Catholicon* the question is reduced to: was the book first printed in 1460 or c. 1469?
2. We all agree on the observation that the columns were built up with pairs of lines, and that each page was locked up three times, for three different presses. But there is no unambiguous evidence for how the columns were

74 Lotte Hellinga, 'Analytical bibliography and the study of early printed books with a case-study of the Mainz *Catholicon*'. *GbJb* 1989, pp. 47–96.

75 GW 4296; ISTC ib00625000.

76 See Needham, *Johann Gutenberg* (1982), p. 408: 'I feel some lack of confidence about the validity of this date'.

77 The inscription is illustrated by Hellinga, *Analytical bibliography* (1989), fig. 1, see also p. 88, quoting the source for Steffan Losnitzer taking over the benefice of a church in Landshut in 1479. The late Dr Vera Sack, who was consulted on this point by Dr Needham, added further sources for information on Steffan and the Losnitzer family, which she later shared with me. She referred to Maximilian Prokop von Freyberg, *Sammlung historischer Schriften und Urkunden*, vol. 3, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1830, pp. 461–2. She judged that the writing of the inscription conforms to its date.

built up. I consulted Professor James Mosley on the possible methods of composition. He observed a number of blind impressions of what seems to be wire or cord, and gave me permission to quote his opinion that line-pairs of cast type would have been held together by thin wire. Each 66-line column would have been built with 33 blocks of type.⁷⁸ The collating machines in use in the 1980s showed an exaggerated optical effect of the 'stagger' of the pairs of lines; the lateral movement is in fact very slight, and can also be understood as the result of the pressure of the press. I noted that similar stagger, albeit of one line at a time, was observed when comparing copies of Caxton editions on collating machines.⁷⁹ I illustrated the article with the blind impressions of wire causing damage to the impression, in addition to some of the embossments first illustrated by Partridge.

3. I surveyed the formulations of the sequence of colophons of the 23 unambiguously dated books printed in Mainz and in Eltville between 1457 and 1472. They have phrases and parts of phrases in common, over time with slight variations; treating the *Catholicon* as an undated book (because the date '1460' is disputed), I investigated where it might fit in the sequence. I also noted that all but one give the date of completion as day, month, year.
4. I investigated the evidence for the existence of the Mainz *Catholicon* before c. 1469, which would support the printing of the book on Bull's Head paper in 1460. Without surveying here all the possible pieces of evidence that were later negated for one reason or other,⁸⁰ I noted that, apart from the dating 'annis 1460' in the colophon, the main disputed data were at that point the buyer's date '1465' in the copy of the *Catholicon* in Gotha (of which more below), and the relation to the colophon of the *Vocabularius Ex quo* of 1467. I added as relevant the vellum strips of binder's waste of the *Catholicon* found in two Cologne bindings (Kyriss 100, 'not before c. 1468') in Frankfurt am Main UB (strips printed on one side, and therefore printer's waste) and in the Pierpont Morgan Library (not before c. 1470, strips, not rubricated).

78 For Professor Mosley's advice in more extensive form see Hellinga, *Analytical bibliography* (1989), pp. 75–8. It is also worth noting that in conversation in the 1960s the Dutch typographer Sem Hartz remarked that 'the compositor of the *Catholicon* set two lines at a time in his stick before transposing them to the galley'.

79 J.C.T. Oates noted the effect in his introduction to a facsimile edition of Caxton's *Vocabulary in French and English*. Cambridge, 1964. I noted the same effect when collating copies of Caxton's *Faytes of arms* on the Lindstrand collator, then at the British Library.

80 Hellinga, 'Analytical bibliography' (1989), p. 88.

5. I made a first attempt to put the circumstances of the production of the *Catholicon* in the context of the troubled history of the city of Mainz in the 1460s. This led me to the conclusion that the probable course of events was that the three 'states' of the *Catholicon* were all three printed after Gutenberg's death by a temporary partnership of printers formed for this purpose alone, who marked their stake in the enterprise by the paper (or vellum) on which their copies were printed. The printers would have used the materials left by Gutenberg, including a rather small supply of paper, and two printers would have provided a further supply. This would have taken place in or near 1469. I wrote the sentence 'Perhaps it was the book that Gutenberg had always planned to print',⁸¹ but at the time I did not pursue this thought. I do in the present study.

My publication of 1989 received in 1990 an extensive response from Paul Needham.⁸² It was the first in what became a polemic exchange that lasted until 1993, with in all four articles by Needham, five by myself. There was much repetition of arguments, their inordinate length tolerated by patient editors. The outcome was well summed up by Guy Bechtel in his monograph on Gutenberg '...sans qu'aucun ne cède d'un pouce' as he pointed out weaknesses in both our arguments.⁸³ I shall therefore not attempt to give a blow by painful blow account of these exchanges, but concentrate on some positive outcomes. They resulted from challenging perceptions of the material, seeing more copies of the *Catholicon* and of other early Mainz printing, and arriving at more accurate presentation or analysis of the evidence.

Disputed evidence for dating the *Catholicon*

1 *The Colophon*

Needham provided in 1990 a much better understanding of the final four lines of the *Catholicon*-colophon and its relation to the colophon of the *Vocabularius Ex quo* of 1467 than I had in 1989. Nevertheless, I still think that their relation offers a strong argument for the existence of a common ancestor, for both had antecedents in the form of printer's copy, no longer extant. I shall return to a hypothesis about printer's copy below.⁸⁴ The problem of the plural form of

81 Hellings, *Analytical bibliography* (1989), p. 83.

82 Needham, *Corrective notes* (1990), followed by *Further corrective notes* (1991), see above n. 5.

83 Bechtel, *Gutenberg* (1992), p. 547.

84 See pp. 197–8.

dating ‘annis M cccc lx’ remained unresolved, although Needham adduced no fewer than 28 manuscripts and printed books of the period with a similar plural form, most of them accompanied by a calendar date. If only the *Catholicon*’s date had been expressed with such precision.

2 *The Buyer’s Note in the Gotha Copy*

While these exchanges took place, some specific points could be clarified by examining original documents. Foremost was the inscription in the copy of the *Catholicon* (on Bull’s Head paper) at the Forschungsbibliothek in Gotha.⁸⁵ Since this includes the date 1465, it is apparently the earliest witness of the existence of the *Catholicon*. Because the inscription recurs in most discussions about the dating of the *Catholicon*, it is worth going into detail here.

The Gotha copy includes a purchase inscription, stating that provost Otto Grisz bought the book in 1465 for the monastery Beate Marie Virginis, a house of the Augustinian Canons just outside the town of Altenburg in Thüringen, south of Leipzig. If this inscription is accepted as correct, the Bull’s Head version of the *Catholicon* was obviously not printed in 1469. The text of the inscription, written in red, in what may be called ‘loose’ or informal writing, is as follows (see Fig. 5.6):

Liber presens per venerabilem virum dominum ottonem grisiz tunc temporis || propositum in vtilitatem monasterij beate marie virginis in aldenburgk || confratrumque ibidem existencium Emptus est de bonis monasterij || scilicet xlj antiquis sexagenis anno domini M^o cccc^olxv^o circa festum trinitat⁸⁶

Below it is a transcription written in an eighteenth-century hand, possibly that of Christian Friedrich Wilisch. He published the text in 1721–2 (including the same mis-readings) in his catalogue of the library of the Gymnasium at Altenburg which at that time owned the volume.⁸⁷ Other books, both manuscript and printed, from the monastery in Altenburg, also known as the Bergerkloster or the Marienkloster, now belong to the Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek in Jena. There I saw two incunabula with the monastery’s ownership inscriptions in very different contemporary hands, both small and neat, and placed at the bottom of pages in the middle of the book. They both read (see Fig. 5.7):

85 Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Mon. typ. 1460. 20. INKA 33000638.

86 Contractions and abbreviations expanded. The inscription is illustrated in Hellinga, *Analytical bibliography* (1989), fig. 2, p. 54, and by Needham, *Corrective notes* (1990), p. 53.

87 Christian Friedrich Wilisch, *Index Bibliothecae ... in usum ill. Gymnasii Fridericiani Altenburgi augecit*. Altenburg, 1721–2.

the price seemed rather high.⁸⁹ In 1989 I knew the inscription only from a photograph, kindly provided by Dr H. Claus, the librarian of the Forschungsbibliothek. I was struck by the irregularity of the writing, especially the large figures 'lxxv' of the date, and wondered whether these might have been written over an erasure. Also the formulation seemed retrospective, surely not written by Otto Grisz himself, and I speculated what circumstances it might reflect.

The date of my publication, 1989, has a special significance. Shortly after this date a short research visit to Gotha (in the former German Democratic Republic) became much easier than it had been for a long time. First, Dr Needham asked his colleague Dr Hope Mayo to examine the inscription while she was on a research trip nearby. She reported that the date was not written on an erasure. The figures are indeed written large, in her judgement 'because they were written with a fresh charge of ink'.⁹⁰ Dr Alfred Šwierk, who visited the Gotha library shortly after Mayo and examined the inscription with the help of ultra-violet light, also arrived at the conclusion that the date was not written over an erasure; he ascribed the irregularities in the writing to a bad pen. Šwierk saw no reason to assume that it was written retrospectively.⁹¹

I was the third to pay Gotha a short visit, in November 1991. Now at last I could see what had not been visible on the photograph and had apparently eluded the previous visitors who had entirely concentrated on the writing: the inscription is written on a sheet of thick paper without watermark, Zedler's 'Vorsatzblatt'; this is folded and glued or pressed together, then inserted into the volume on a stub.⁹² It is not integral to this copy of the *Catholicon*, but

89 (Zedler (1905), pp. 31–2. He converted the '41 antiquis sexagenis' to 27 Goldgulden in his 'Die Preise und Auflagenhöhe unserer ältesten Drucke', in *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen Paul Schwenke zum 20. März gewidmet*. Berlin, 1913, p. 268.

90 Quoted by Needham, *Corrective notes* (1990), p. 52.

91 Alfred G. Šwierk, 'Der Kaufvermerk von 1465 im Catholicon-Exemplar der Gothaer Forschungsbibliothek', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 16 (Heft 1), 1991, pp. 1–6.

92 Paul Schwenke conjectured (on the basis of a rubbing?) that the contemporary blind-stamped binding on the volume was bound in Leipzig, according to a note by the librarian Rudolf Ehwald kept in the book. Traces of refurbishment in the eighteenth century are an end-paper with watermark 'H HUBER' and a paste-down of the same paper on the inside of the lower board. The front of the volume begins with two fly-leaves of coarse paper without watermark, the first pasted down on the board. It is followed by two vellum strips with manuscript, one torn. These are followed by the stub of blank paper with attached to it the folded sheet of thick paper without watermark. On the verso, facing the first page of printed text, the inscription is written, followed by the transcription in a hand of the eighteenth century. Stamped on the upper board of the binding is a small, round, gilt stamp with an engraved inscription round a central decoration reading 'BIBLIOTH.

may have been inserted at any time before it was reported by Wilisch in 1721–2. The ‘*liber presens*’ of the inscription (its authenticity beyond dispute) may therefore not refer to the *Catholicon* at all, but to any book bought by provost Otto Grisz in 1465. This opens up an entirely different set of problems, for it means there is no evidence that this copy of the *Catholicon* once belonged to the Augustinian Canons in Altenburg; in the book itself there is no ownership inscription of the monastery as seen in the incunabula and manuscripts in Jena and Frankfurt.⁹³ Books belonging to two monasteries in Altenburg, the Franciscans, who had a substantial library, and the Augustinian Canons, were incorporated into the library of the local Gymnasium after the Reformation.⁹⁴ It is not evident when the *Catholicon* was acquired for the ducal library in Gotha, but it was probably transferred from Altenburg in the period when Duke Ernst II (1745–1804) acquired many early printed books.⁹⁵ Although the early ownership of this copy of the *Catholicon* remains of interest, it cannot be solved on present evidence. What is certain is that the inserted sheet with the inscription has to be dismissed as a witness for the purchase of this particular book, the *Catholicon*, in 1465.

SCHOL. ALTENBURG’. The volume was described with great accuracy, although passing over the inscription, by P.W. Graf, ‘Die Gutenberg-Fust-Schöffer-Wiegendrucke der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha’. *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Gothaische Geschichte und Altertumforschung* 31 (1941), pp. 34–57. I published the state of the inscription in *Eltville and Mainz* (1992), p. 52, n. 26, and in ‘Das Mainzer “Catholicon” und Gutenbergs Nachlaß: Neudatierung und Auswirkungen’. *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 40 (1993), pp. 395–416.

93 See above n. 88.

94 M. Geyer, *Verzeichnis der bis zum Jahre 1517 einschliesslich gedruckten Werke der Gymnasialbibliothek*. Altenburg, 1891. It was still in the library of the Gymnasium in Altenburg in 1789, for it is mentioned in Christian Heinrich Lorenz, *Geschichte des Gymnasii und der Schule in der uralten Fürstlich Sächsischen Residenzstadt Altenburg*. Altenburg, 1789, p. 340, with a note on correspondence with G. Meerman regarding the inscription and the dating of the *Catholicon*.

95 Herman A. Krüger, *Altenburger Bibliothekswesen*. Altenburg, 1930, states (p. 5) that shortly after the publication of Lorenz’s *Geschichte* the *Catholicon* was taken to the ducal library in Gotha together with many other treasures of the Gymnasium’s library. Helmut Claus’s section on the history of the Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek in Gotha in Friedhilde Krause, *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland. Vol. 19: Thüringen*. Hildesheim 1998, pp. 242–8, states (p. 245) that during the life of Duke Ernst II there is evidence that many of the acquisitions of the period were associated with the dynastic links with Altenburg, for example the Mainz *Catholicon*. Several important items were bought from Maugérard, including the 1459 Psalter and the Duranti *Rationale*, but there is no sign that Altenburg was ever included in his itinerary. The dukes could claim ownership of books in the library of the Gymnasium in Altenburg and items could be transferred without formality.

Dating the Thomas Aquinas tract

1 *The Copy in Freiburg im Breisgau UB*

‘We do not know’ is likewise the only conclusion we can draw about the early history of the copy of Thomas Aquinas, *Summa de articulis fidei* in Catholicon type that in 1469 was bequeathed to the Faculty of Arts of the university of Freiburg im Breisgau. It is still in its University Library. In 1877 the 12-leaf printed tract was taken out of a volume that also included three manuscripts, two dated (1458 and 1462), the third undated. The printed tract is a copy of the 36-line state of the little quarto book, printed on Chancery paper which is datable 1459–60 in the same types as the *Catholicon*; this state is distinct from the 34-line state of the same typesetting, printed on paper that can be dated as c. 1469.⁹⁶ As we have noted already, Zedler had established that the development of the type shows that the small tract was printed before or during the early stages of the *Catholicon*’s production. In view of the dates of the manuscripts and the dating of the paper, Dr Vera Sack gave the dating ‘1459/60’ to the Thomas Aquinas tract in her catalogue of incunabula, published in 1985.⁹⁷ It would seem plausible that the four items had been bound together shortly after their production. If so, this would be evidence that not only the Thomas Aquinas tract, but also the *Catholicon* existed around 1460–2.

When in 1989 I argued for a later dating of the *Catholicon*, the question also arose of whether there was any evidence for specifying a date of binding of the four items. Firm end-dates for the binding of the volume are ‘[not before 1462]’, the date of one of the manuscripts, and ‘[not later than 1469]’, the year of the bequest to the university. If they were demonstrably bound around the time of the production of the manuscripts, around 1462, the Thomas Aquinas (and with it the earliest state of the *Catholicon*) would have to be dated in that period. Dr Needham approached Dr Sack with the question of whether rubrication or other marks indicated that they, manuscripts and printed tract, had been together from the time the dated manuscripts were produced. After careful renewed examination, and in consultation with her colleague in charge of the manuscript collection, Dr Sack gave as their opinion that the rubrication might possibly have been carried out by the same hand, although there was

96 ISTC it00272950 (7 copies recorded), GW M46417, cf. ISTC it00273000, GW M46416 (the 34-line state, 43 copies recorded).

97 Vera Sack, *Die Inkunabeln der Universitätsbibliothek und anderer öffentlicher Sammlungen in Freiburg im Breisgau und Umgebung*, 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1985, vol. 2, no. 3388. The volume was probably bound in Andlau (Alsace) where the donor, Johannes Graff, resided for many years.

little to go on, but that it certainly was not done at the same time in any of the four items. As to the date of the binding, she considered this investigation inconclusive.⁹⁸

2 *Establishing Priority of Eltville or Mainz Editions*

There was, it turned out, a way of dating the edition in Catholicon type of the Thomas Aquinas *Summa de articulis fidei* on entirely different grounds, by establishing its relation to another edition of the text. In the ecclesiastical reform movement of the 1450s the text had become important. Nicolaus Cusanus used it as an instrument for introducing uniformity of doctrine and even decreed that it should be read aloud as part of church services; this was adopted in several dioceses in western Germany. Not surprisingly, it fairly soon appeared in print, and 16 separate incunable editions are known, apart from those included in editions of Aquinas's *Opuscula* and in *Statuta provincialia* of the dioceses of Cologne, Mainz and Würzburg.⁹⁹ They were preceded by wide dissemination in manuscript. At the Bibliothèque nationale de France more of the earliest printed editions of this text can be seen together than anywhere else, all but one printed before 1480.¹⁰⁰ Thus, on a visit to the BnF I had the opportunity to see side by side the 36-line edition printed in types of the *Catholicon* and the edition printed in Eltville.¹⁰¹ Also present is the undated edition by Peter Schoeffer, to which I gave less attention because it is printed considerably later than the other two. But the editions printed in Eltville and by the Catholicon-printer could immediately be seen as closely related, for they have largely the same line-endings. Further examination showed that 799 of the total of 829 lines in both editions end at precisely the same point. Of the 30 lines where this is not the case, most have a difference of only one character. The type-setting also coincides overwhelmingly in spelling, and even in the choice of contractions and abbreviations. One compositor must have followed the other, with instruction to follow his exemplar very closely.

The question of which came first therefore arose at once. Neither tract has a colophon or a date. Of the edition assigned to Eltville (from here on

⁹⁸ Dr Sack later copied her opinion to me.

⁹⁹ Needham appended a list of editions before 1501 in his 'Mainz and Eltville: The true tale of three compositors'. *Bulletin du bibliophile* (1992), pp. 257–304.

¹⁰⁰ CIBN T-115-124.

¹⁰¹ Eltville: ISTC it00272800, GW M46409, CIBN T-116; Catholicon type: ISTC it00272950, GW M46417, CIBN T-115. Schoeffer (c. 1475?) ISTC it00273200, GW M46418, CIBN T-117; although it deviates in the beginning, it appears later to follow the Catholicon type version line for line.

designated as 'E'), only four copies are still extant.¹⁰² The edition is printed with the type developed from that of the 31-line Indulgence, and therefore presumably by Nicolaus Bechtermünze, who used it in a dated edition in 1472.¹⁰³ The four still extant copies include paper that is also found in the second edition of the *Vocabularius Ex quo*, with the colophon date 5 June 1469, and appears to be a remainder of one of the stocks of this edition. It can therefore be dated as close to June 1469. The dating of the edition in Catholicon type (from here on referred to as 'M') is disputed. Collation of the two editions provides the evidence for deciding which one of the two used the other as exemplar. I decided that E was set first, and that M used a copy of E as exemplar on the following grounds:

1. Although the typesetting of the two editions is not only line-for-line, but also character-for-character overwhelmingly the same, M has significantly more contractions and abbreviations than E. In frequently used contractions, such as nō for 'non', q̄ for 'qui' or q̄ for 'quod', the compositor of M could reduce the number of characters used in a line. In 12 pages I counted 70 instances where M used a contraction and E did not. The reverse occurred only sporadically (about five times in the pages collated for investigating this specific point).¹⁰⁴
2. M has much more punctuation than E. I counted 405 full points in M that do not occur in E. They are very helpful to a reader who is required to pronounce the text aloud, as stipulated in the Statuta provincialia. They therefore improve the presentation of the text. Capitalization, on the other hand, is identical, except for two instances where E wrongly used a capital.
3. Typos in E are corrected in M. The typos in E are frequent (wrong sort, transposition of characters, possible misreadings of the exemplar), and it seems that E's text was not proof-read before printing. See Figs. 5.8 and 5.9 for comparison.

Observation 1 is decisive. Line for line the compositors kept pace with each other, but the incidental contractions show that the compositor of M was working with constraints of space which the compositor of E did not have

102 Two in BnF (CIBN T-116, Rés. D. 10246 and 10247), one in Munich BSB, (BSB-Ink T-212) and one in the Stadtbibliothek, Trier.

103 For further discussion of this type see above, p. 151.

104 Also sporadic are small differences in abbreviation not affecting the overall length of the line, e.g. vitam eternaz / vitaz eternam.

Contra quē dicitur colo i Qui ē ymago inuisibilis dei
 Quartus est error macedonij qui posuit spiritum
 sanctum esse creaturam Contra quē dicitur cor iij
 Dominus autē spiritus est Quintus ē error grecorum qui
 dicunt spiritum sanctum procedere a patre et non a filio
 Contra quos dicitur Joh xiiii Paracletus autem spiritus
 sanctus quem mittet pater in nomine meo
 quia scilicet eum mittit pater tamquam spiritum filij et a filio
 precedentem Joh xvj dicitur Ille me clarificabit quia
 de meo accipiet Et contra omnes hos errores in
 simbolo dicitur Credo in deum patrem et in filium
 eius unigenitum non factum consubstantialē patri
 Et in spiritum sanctum dominum et vivificantem qui
 ex patre filioque procedit

Hij vero quatuor articuli diuinitatis pertinent ad effectus diuine unitatis quorum
 primus qui est tercius pertinet ad creationem
 rerum in esse nature secundum illud dixit et facta sunt
 Contra hunc articulum primo quidem errauit
 demetrius et epicurus ponentes quod nec materia
 mundi nec ipsa mundi compositio ē a deo sed
 mundus ē factus casu per cursum corporum indiuisi-
 bilium que rerum principia estimabant Contra quos
 dicitur in psalmo Verbo domini celi firmati sunt et secundum rationem
 omnes eternam non autē casu Secundus est error
 platonis et anaxagore qui posuerunt mundum
 factum a deo sed ex materia preterita Contra quos
 dicitur in psalmo Mandauit et creata sunt et ex nichilo
 facta Tercius ē error aristoteli qui posuit mun-
 dum non a deo factum sed ab eterno Contra quem
 dicitur genesi i In principio creauit deus celum et
 terram Quartus est error manicheorum qui posu-
 erunt deum esse creatorem inuisibilium sed uisibilia a
 dyabolo facta Contra quos dicitur hebrei ij fide intelligi-
 mus apertam esse scilicet a uerbo dei ut ex inuisibilibus uisi-

FIGURE 5.8

Thomas Aquinas, Summa de articulis fidei.
 Eltville [1469], fol. [a]2^a.

MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, INK T-212.

ritum sanctum esse creaturam Contra quē dicitur cor iij
 Dominus autē spiritus est Quintus ē error grecorum qui
 dicunt spiritum sanctum procedere a patre et non a filio
 Contra quos dicitur Joh xiiii Paracletus autem spiritus
 sanctus quem mittet pater in nomine meo
 quia scilicet eum mittit pater tamquam spiritum filij et a filio
 precedentem Joh xvj dicitur Ille me clarificabit quia
 de meo accipiet Et contra omnes hos errores in
 simbolo dicitur Credo in deum patrem et in filium
 eius unigenitum non factum consubstantialē patri
 Et in spiritum sanctum dominum et vivificantem qui
 ex patre filioque procedit

Hij uero quatuor articuli diuinitatis per-
 tinent ad effectus diuine unitatis quorum
 primus qui est tercius pertinet ad creationem
 rerum in esse nature secundum illud dixit et facta sunt
 Contra hunc articulum primo quidem errauit
 demetrius et epicurus ponentes quod nec mate-
 ria mundi nec ipsa mundi compositio ē a deo sed
 mundus ē factus casu per cursum corporum indiuisi-
 bilium que rerum principia estimabant Contra quos
 dicitur in psalmo Verbo domini celi firmati sunt et secundum rationem
 omnes eternam non autē casu Secundus est error
 platonis et anaxagore qui posuerunt mundum
 factum a deo sed ex materia preterita Contra quos
 dicitur in psalmo Mandauit et creata sunt et ex nichilo
 facta Tercius ē error aristoteli qui posuit mun-
 dum non a deo factum sed ab eterno Contra quem
 dicitur genesi i In principio creauit deus celum et
 terram Quartus est error manicheorum qui posu-
 erunt deum esse creatorem inuisibilium sed uisibilia a
 dyabolo facta Contra quos dicitur hebrei ij fide intelligi-
 mus apertam esse scilicet a uerbo dei ut ex inuisibilibus uisi-

FIGURE 5.9

Thomas Aquinas, Summa de articulis
 fidei, printed in the type of the Catholicon.
 [Mainz, not before 1469], fol. [a]2^a. The text
 corresponds to the page from l. 3 in the ver-
 sion printed in Eltville.

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to face: the contents of M's lines were determined by those in his exemplar (version E), which was set in a different type. The width of M's lines was the same as that of the columns of the *Catholicon*, both set to the same measure of 80–2 mm. The compositor of M was probably using (or experimenting with) the same technique of setting paired lines, and this may also have set limits to their width. Above all, he was clearly instructed to follow his exemplar very closely. His accuracy in doing so is not impaired by the use of a contraction when it helped him to follow his exemplar line for line.

The compositor of M's meticulous following of the exemplar is seemingly in contradiction to the two improvements he made: the correction of typos and the addition of considerable punctuation (requiring some extra space in the lines where the points were needed). This can be explained by assuming that the copy of E that M had before him was corrected in manuscript. Surviving printer's copy shows that it was far from unusual for the text of an exemplar to be annotated and corrected before the technical procedures of production. There was no shortage of competent correctors in Mainz at the time, and it has long been noted that the *Catholicon* itself was evidently carefully corrected and proofread. Drawing a conclusion on the basis of these observations was quite straightforward: E served M as exemplar, and was therefore printed before M; E was demonstrably printed c. 1469, probably close to June of that year when the *Vocabularius Ex quo* was completed, with which it has paper stocks in common. Therefore M was not printed before June 1469. M was demonstrably printed before or during the early stages of the production of the *Catholicon*. Therefore the *Catholicon* was not completed (and possibly not even begun) before June 1469.

In his response to my first publication on the Thomas Aquinas tracts Paul Needham presented arguments for reversing the order of the two editions: E would have followed M.¹⁰⁵ He failed to convince me that the compositor of E, despite his many mistakes, had deliberately improved the text by omitting most of the punctuation of M and sporadically using his own full point as a 'punctus elevatus'. With this publication (in 1992) the polemic between us came to a halt.

Now, after 25 years revisiting the question how these two tracts relate to each other, I confirm my earlier conclusion. But I also see that further interpretation is possible and should be considered. The two editions of the tracts, E and M, both survive in very few copies; of the Eltville edition E just four are known, of the 36-line version M by the *Catholicon*-printer only seven. In contrast, of the 34-line version in *Catholicon* type 43 copies are at present recorded in ISTC (another one is recorded as lost). The difference in survival is large enough to

105 Needham, 'Mainz and Eltville' (1992), see above n. 99.

be significant. E and M may both have been printed as trials, making use of the typographical material that had belonged to Gutenberg and was part of his 'gezau'.¹⁰⁶ What appears to be a new version of the type of the 31-line indulgence may have been based on punches of this type commissioned by Gutenberg in the mid-1450s and very probably cut for him by Schoeffer. The punches remained in Gutenberg's possession, unused for many years, and would have formed part of the material that Dr Humery came to own. Alternatively, they may have been part of the material that in the final years of Gutenberg's life was moved to Eltville, along with a version of the *Catholicon* type. The *Catholicon* type in the Thomas Aquinas tract is the same version that was used in the *Catholicon* itself, and distinct from the version used in Eltville from 1467.

The printer of E may have set and printed a few copies to try out the new version of the type of the 31-line indulgence; M may have been an experiment of using the *Catholicon* type with the setting technique of line-pairs. We may even venture one further step. Since there was undoubtedly a close connection between the small printing house in Eltville and the enterprise that produced the *Catholicon*, we may consider the possibility that both editions of the tract were trial settings (in the case of E nobody undertook proofreading), set in order to decide which of these types to use for that great book, the *Catholicon*. The 12 pages set in *Catholicon* type would have been left standing for printing a larger print-run for wider distribution. At least this would explain why anyone would have taken the trouble to re-develop the type of the 31-line indulgence, an accomplishment superior to the *Catholicon* type; its main use otherwise is known only for one other book, the *Vocabularius Ex quo*, printed several years later in 1472. The greater economy that the small body of the *Catholicon* type could bring would have clinched the decision.

Investigations after 1993

1 *Type and wire*

In the quarter-century after the polemic between Dr Needham and me had ended, several independent studies were published by others that contributed crucially to further insight into the production of the *Catholicon*. Two studies into very early printing types and methods of typesetting were undertaken outside the context of the *Catholicon* question. Dr Claire Bolton, who has long experience of printing on a hand-press, became fascinated by the techniques

¹⁰⁶ Zedler, *Mainzer Catholicon* (1905), p. 50, held it for certain that the version in *Catholicon* type was a trial.

of early printers, and the visible evidence that can be found in copies of early printed books. This brought her fresh understanding of printing-house practices of the period before 1480, for example of methods of measuring.¹⁰⁷

Among the material she scrutinized are images of impressions of single pieces of type that had accidentally been pulled out when a forme was inked and had fallen on typeset pages. These incidents are very rare, and have over the years been noted and discussed as precious eyewitnesses of what the type that was handled by early compositors really looked like.¹⁰⁸ Reproduction of these often imperfect accidental impressions is difficult. Bolton noted that most of the impressions showed round holes in the shank of the type, with a diameter of about 2.5 mm. Their regular, uniform shape indicates that they were bored into the type after casting. She listed eight such impressions of ‘bored type’ (all in books printed by different printers) and reproduced two.¹⁰⁹ From her examples and a few archival records it appears that the practice of drilling holes in the type had ended by about 1480. Bolton briefly discussed what the purpose of these holes might have been. Perhaps, she writes, it was to thread letters onto 2.5 mm diameter wires for each line of text. However, she refrains from drawing a conclusion: ‘...although the evidence is accumulating, I do not feel there is enough to go beyond speculation at the present time’.¹¹⁰

Almost simultaneously an article appeared on ‘bored type’ that, although cautious in its final conclusion, ventures an explanation for the method of typesetting that would have been served by the holes in the type.¹¹¹ Professor Olivier Deloignon examined a copy of Conradus de Alemania, *Concordantia Bibliorum* printed in Strasbourg by Johan Mentelin in an edition datable as ‘not after 1474’.¹¹² Each page of this book consists of nine columns, the three widest composed with four or five words, each linked to a reference to a text in the Scriptures consisting of not more than seven characters; between these sets of two columns a one-character column serves as a reference system.

107 Claire M. Bolton, *The fifteenth-century printing practices of Johann Zainer, Ulm, 1473–1478*. Oxford, 2016. [The Oxford Bibliographical Society, third ser. 8; Printing Historical Society Publication 18.].

108 Bolton, pp. 82–4 discussed the main earlier literature. In the copies of the *Catholicon* I examined I found three such instances and published them (with unsatisfactory reproductions) in ‘Slipped lines and fallen type in the Mainz Catholicon’, *GbJb* 1992, pp. 35–40.

109 Bolton, *Printing practices* (2016), pp. 82–90, Table 3.1 and figs. 3.3 and 3.4.

110 Bolton, *Printing practices* (2016), p. 90, n. 25, with reference to James Mosley in Hellinga, *Analytical bibliography* (1982).

111 Olivier Deloignon, ‘Un double “accident typographique” dans la Concordantie Bibliorum de Konrad von Halberstadt, Strasbourg, avant 1474’, *GbJb* 2016, pp. 81–92, with 14 figs.

112 GW 7418, ISTC ic00849000.

In such an adventurous layout, with (like the *Catholicon*) 66 lines to the page, problems of stability of the type would be encountered while pages were set and imposed.¹¹³ The body of the type (Mentelin's Type 5:92G) is larger than that of the *Catholicon*, but the printer was faced with having to manage nine columns instead of two. Deloignon noted many blind impressions of bearer type between the columns, similar to the blind impression between columns observed in copies of the *Catholicon*. The two printers seem to have dealt with their problem of stabilizing columns of small type in the same or similar way.

Perhaps it was due to the difficulty of holding together these pages, each with so many columns, that the copy examined by Deloignon¹¹⁴ includes several pages with fallen type; they are shown in 14 excellent illustrations, strikingly resembling the specimens illustrated by Bolton, especially the position of the holes in the shanks. Like Bolton, Deloignon was sure that the holes were bored after the type was cast, but he did not hesitate to offer an explanation for their use: in order to stabilize the multi-column pages as they were built up by the compositor, the holes would accommodate wire that held lines of type together. In his judgement the available evidence does not permit deciding whether the type was linked line by line, or whether small blocks of several lines were tied together. Deloignon also considered the possibility that the wire was pulled out after the page was completed. But he offered as firm conclusion that Mentelin worked at that time with movable type, not with some system of stereotype, and that threading type with wire was a particular application of the invention of printing with movable type. Finally, he reflects, in words that could serve as motto to any publication on the technique of early printing: 'L'effort de traduction et de contextualisation des traces matérielles se heurte pour l'instant à un univers technologique qui nous est encore trop étranger et à un manque patent d'indices supplémentaires'. Despite all reservations, these observations bring us a step closer to James Mosley's suggestion that the line-pairs in the *Catholicon* were formed by movable type held together by wire through holes bored in the shank of each individual piece of type.

2 *Printing Ink*

Analysis of the ink used by the earliest printers began with a project based at the University of California at Davis. On the initiative of Professor Richard Schwab a team of physicists applied from 1982 the technology of proton milliprobes

113 Deloignon also observed that the foot of the type appears squared off instead of ending with a slight angle. This part of his exposé deserves more attention than I can give it in the present study.

114 Copy at Strasbourg, Médiathèque André Malraux, côte c6.

with a cyclotron for analysing the chemical composition of the inks used by Gutenberg in his 42-line Bible, as well as for comparison a few samples of ink used in other incunabula.¹¹⁵ The investigation of an entire volume of the Bible – the New Testament, at the time belonging to the Estelle Doheny Library at the St. John's Seminary, Camarillo, California, now at Keio University, Tokyo – confirmed much about the production of the Bible that had already been established by different means, in particular by Paul Schwenke.¹¹⁶ The concurrent production of six sections of the book, the setting and printing a page at a time and various incidents and interruptions were all reflected in the use of the ink. The significance of this result was no less for this: it showed that this elaborate and costly method was viable for gaining insight into production processes. However, one outcome was entirely new. To quote the authors: 'The high copper and lead content found in the Gutenberg 42-line Bible black ink differentiates it from all other incunabula inks we have analysed'. In other words it appeared that Gutenberg's printing can be identified by its ink. He would have used a unique recipe, rich in metal.

It was therefore a logical step to apply this new forensic method to the Mainz *Catholicon*. This time the initiative for a research project focused on the *Catholicon* came from German scholars, and in particular Dr Martin Boghardt at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.¹¹⁷ Methodically it was correct to test the slug theory this way. If the ink used for the *Catholicon* copies printed on vellum or Bull's Head paper featured the characteristics established on the 42-line Bible, it would prove that this state of the book was printed by Gutenberg, and therefore in 1460. But a wider-ranging question was also addressed: whether it was possible to generalize from what the Californian project had claimed for Gutenberg, namely that printing houses might be identified by the composition of the ink they used. If so, the question of which printers were responsible for the later impressions of the *Catholicon* might also find an answer.

115 The initial report was published by Richard N. Schwab *et al.*, 'New evidence on the printing of the Gutenberg Bible: The inks in the Doheny copy Bible'. *PBSA* 79 (1985), pp. 375–410. See also above, n. 16.

116 Paul Schwenke established the concurrent production, the division of work between compositors and the number of presses on which the Bible was printed in his posthumously published *Johannes Gutenbergs zweiundvierzigzeilige Bibel: Ergänzungsband zur Faksimile-Ausgabe*. Leipzig, 1923, pp. 28–31.

117 The project described below was preceded in Germany by other experimental projects, mainly in contact with the team at Davis. For the resulting literature see Peter Zahn, 'Gutenbergdrucke im Teilchenbeschleuniger. Papier- und Druckfarben-Analysen in Kalifornien', *Bibliothek: Forschung und Praxis*, 12, 1988, pp. 71–87 (nn. 1, 2).

The research on the *Catholicon* was carried out from 1994 to 1996 at the Institut für Strahlen und Kernphysik in Bonn by a team of physicists, working on the basis of bibliographical input from Dr Martin Boghardt. The project was supported by a grant from the German government and by the Herzog August Bibliothek. Reports on methodology and results were published in 1996 and 1998.¹¹⁸ The method used was X-ray fluorescence with synchrotron radiation in order to measure trace elements of metal that are present in the impressions of ink on the paper. Obviously it is impossible to use this technology for investigating books in their entirety, and even sampling had to be fairly limited. A total of 185 pages were subjected to the analysis. On Dr Boghardt's advice four copies of the *Catholicon* were chosen, one each with Bull's Head and Galliziani paper, and two with Tower and Crown watermarks. Nine other incunabula and a block-book were added for comparison, all printed before 1475 and selected because their printers had been mentioned as possible producers of the Galliziani and Tower and Crown copies. A single leaf of Gutenberg's 42-line Bible was also analysed; the result confirmed the abundant data established by the Californian team regarding the composition of the ink used by Gutenberg.

The team's full report, published in 1998, was extensive and its conclusions were carefully formulated. Its authors sound almost apologetic for the inability of the data to produce clear-cut, simple answers. They explain at some length the instability of the data obtained by their measurements: the concentrations of measurable elements are very small in relation to accidental interference by invisible soiling and the presence of trace elements in the paper; irregular thickness of inking can vary the measurements considerably; traces of lead may have been introduced by the pressure on type. The data show that not once is the ratio of the most frequently found metals, copper and lead, consistent throughout a single book. The great sensitivity of the synchrotron, they observe, is in these circumstances no longer an advantage.

Despite its cautions, however, the report has some very interesting observations and conclusions. A decisive outcome is that the data resulting from the measurements do not allow the establishment of profiles that can serve to typify an individual printer or printing house. Analysis of ink has therefore to be ruled out as a means of identifying printers. Instead, the physicists found that very similar recipes were used by many printers, but that over time developments took place. Three distinct types of chemical profile emerged, each of

118 Hans Mommsen *et al.*, 'X-ray fluorescence analysis with synchrotron radiation on the inks and papers of incunabula'. *Archaeometry* 38 (1996), pp. 347–57. Achim Rosenberg *et al.*, 'Röntgenfluoreszenzanalyse der Druckerschwärzen des Mainzer Catholicon und anderer Frühdrucke mit Synchrotronstrahlung', *Ghfb* 1998, pp. 231–55.

which could be linked to specific periods of time. Ink used in the earliest datable books, including Gutenberg's Bible, and also in books printed by others not later than 1462, had a relatively high content of metal trace elements (mainly lead and copper). This confirmed the findings of the Californian project, but extended it to printers other than Gutenberg. After 1462 a transitional phase with less metal content became discernible; this progressed in subsequent years until ending by 1475. From then on a final phase can be observed, when ink with a chemical profile containing hardly any metal trace elements was the norm. This ink remained in continuous use until the end of the incunable period, and presumably beyond. An interesting exception to this development was the *Vocabularius Ex quo* printed in Eltville in 1467, which showed a relatively high metal content. However, there is a possible explanation for this. As discussed above, Gutenberg probably moved to Eltville between 1465 and 1467, taking along some of his materials. An old-fashioned recipe for printing ink may well be a less obvious trace of his part in the origin of this small printing house.

I shall summarize here the team's report on their investigation of the four copies of the *Catholicon*.¹¹⁹ Even with the reservations they express, the physicists reached the conclusion that the copies of all three states of the *Catholicon* are coherent, in that the ink in all of them falls beyond doubt into the intermediate category, having low levels of trace elements; they are therefore all to be dated '1463–1475'. However, the nature of the profile is more specifically similar to dated books of the late 1460s and early 1470s. There is one clear exception. Leaf 65 recto and verso in the copy on Bull's Head paper (the first two pages of the alphabetical section, which are also generally understood to be the first pages of the book that were printed) has the chemical profile of 'pre-1463' or Gutenberg's ink. The physicists rightly point out that this phenomenon needs to be investigated in more copies of this state of the book, but suggest nevertheless that a remnant of ingredients for earlier ink may have been used up at the beginning of the job. For the degree of coherence of the *Catholicon*'s ink profiles the physicists offer two opinions without expressing a preference. Either the measurements should be interpreted as indicating one coherent group, the four *Catholicon* copies having one general profile in common, or one may interpret the data as distinguishing three subgroups (1a–1c) within the 'middle' category of ink. Of these, subgroup 1a is found in all three states. I quote the physicists' own words here in full, in translation:

119 For the report see above n. 118. I published a summary in English with a translation of the main conclusions in Lotte Hellinga, 'The interpretation of measurements of pinholes and analysis of ink in incunabula', *The Library*, 7th ser. 2 (2001), pp. 60–4.

Opinion 1: The validity of sub-divisions 1a–1c of the ink may be open to doubt. Doubt can be justified due to very low metal-content overall, strong variation of the even smaller lead component and, furthermore, inconsistency of repeated measurements. If the sub-division 1a–1c is not validated, the ink in all the copies examined should be considered identical. The wide dissemination of this type of ink, with the content of copper in relation to lead as its chief characteristic, may in any case not lead to an unambiguous conclusion that all copies were printed at the same time. Distinct print-runs or even distinct workshops using this common type of ink cannot be ruled out.

Opinion 2: If, however, chemical composition is considered as characteristic for particular inks, and the subgroups 1a–1c are therefore accepted as distinct, then the occurrence of the same type of ink in the different states would indicate the printing of these states within a limited period of time. In that case it must be assumed that the different states were not printed together, but staggered over a short period of time. For ink-type 1a occurs in each of the three states, 1b only with the Bull's Head and Galliziani paper, 1c only in the Bull's Head copy. The same page in the four copies that were investigated sometimes has different types of ink. [The authors refer for documentation to their appendix.] This might mean that some states were still being printed when others were already completed. In this interpretation it has to be remembered that the analysis is based on sampling, which makes it possible that one or other subgroup of ink remained undiscovered in individual copies. Also, with this interpretation the fact that ink with low lead content was widely used by the late 1460s should not be left out of consideration. That applies in particular to the subgroup 1a, practically without lead, which is found in all four copies of the *Catholicon* we examined. It is therefore not possible on the basis of the analysis to offer firm conclusions or further evidence for either the place of printing / printer or the dating of the three states of the *Catholicon*.

Failure of the data to identify individual printers to whom the printing of distinct states of the *Catholicon* can be assigned should not lead to dismissing the outcome of this investigation as inconclusive. Even with all the caution expressed, there is no room for doubt that the ink used in the Bull's Head copy does not have the characteristics of ink used before 1463. Therefore, taking the copy that was investigated as representative of the whole Vellum / Bull's Head state, the date of 1460 has now to be ruled out. The data confirm what had already been apparent once Zedler had noted the different systems of pinholes:

the three states were produced on separate presses. We can now add that they were not working precisely in tandem, but it all took place ‘within a limited period of time’. It is a result that had not been achieved in almost a century of discussion.

3 *Scribes, Rubricators, Limners, Painters*

Production of the *Catholicon* did not end when the last formes were inked and the last sheets left the presses. With only a few exceptions, the copies of the *Catholicon* are full of colour, with a wealth of small Lombard initials, one, two or three lines high, often alternating in red and blue. Spectacular initials mark the beginning of each letter in the alphabetical part of the book and adorn the opening page, and red and blue paragraph marks are sprinkled throughout. The colour was all added by hand. It conforms precisely to the levels of organised ‘hand-finishing’ of the production of books established for Peter Schoeffer’s printing house and discussed in the previous chapter.¹²⁰ However, it took a long time before I came to understand how this too applies to the production of the *Catholicon*, as over the years I gradually examined more copies along with many other books decorated and painted by artists in Mainz.

The decoration of *Catholicon* copies has one element that is not represented in books printed by Peter Schoeffer, who excelled in two-colour printing. The work consists of two parts, with the main part, the alphabetical dictionary that begins on leaf 65, being preceded by a text setting out the principles of grammar. This text is structured in four sections that are each divided into chapters to a total of 133. These chapters require captions, for which the compositors of the Mainz *Catholicon* carefully left the required space to be filled in by hand in red ink. Only the Vellum / Bull’s Head copies have a single instance of red printing, the title of the whole work on fol.1^a. For the Mainz *Catholicon* the category ‘scribes’ is therefore to be added to the ‘hand-finishers’ that I distinguished as working for Schoeffer’s enterprise.¹²¹

The captions in the *Catholicon* caught the attention of Dr Gerhard Powitz, who for many years had investigated the textual tradition of the work in the numerous still extant manuscripts, and had become interested how this was reflected in the early printed versions. In the seminar held in Wolfenbüttel in 1985 he reported that the Mainz *Catholicon* is independent from the edition printed by Günther Zainer in Augsburg with the date 30 April 1469, but that parts of the undated editions printed by Adolf Rusch in Strasbourg in the early 1470s were derived from the Augsburg edition and other parts from the

¹²⁰ See above, Chapter 4, pp. 113–21.

¹²¹ See above, Chapter 4, p. 119.

Mainz edition.¹²² In 1994 Dr Powitz published further research on the Mainz *Catholicon*, this time focused on the text of the captions in the grammatical part that, as we have seen, had to be added in manuscript.¹²³ It had become clear to him that copies he examined showed a significant degree of uniformity in the captions, and it did not take him long to decide that – in so far as present – they must have had a model in common in the form of a ‘Tabula rubricarum’ as is known to have been used by, for example, the rubricators of Gutenberg’s 42-line Bible. The deviations from the manuscript tradition that he noted with great precision are of less interest in the context of the present study than his recognition that for many copies the work of the scribes was well organized, and that it completed the presentation of the text. Without captions, the text of the work was defective.

Powitz examined in all 23 copies of the *Catholicon*, aiming to give equal attention to representatives of the three distinct states: seven of the Vellum / Bull’s Head group, nine on Galliziani paper and seven on Tower and Crown paper. He found that the attitude to textual perfection in the three distinct states of the work was markedly different. He established that the most consistent completion of the text with captions is found in copies of the group Vellum / Bull’s Head paper. On palaeographic grounds he distinguished three hands, the work of three scribes working together and writing in similar hands that matched the style of the printing type (see Fig. 5.10).

From recording the work of each scribe, it appeared that the material was distributed among them with quires as units. They may then have proceeded to work a sheet at a time, completing sets of sheets following their model precisely and uniformly. Occasionally captions were missed, and some very small variations were noted. This was obviously highly organized work of

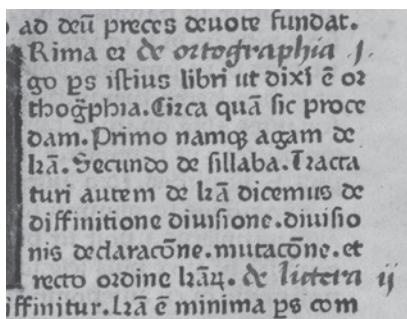


FIGURE 5.10

In the first part of the Catholicon, in which the rules of grammar are discussed, the text is divided into sections; most of them have a caption written in red ink. In a number of copies the rather similar hands of three scribes can be recognized and distinguished. Here are captions written by one of them.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, G.11966 FOL. [A]1^a (DETAIL). © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED 2017.

122 Gerhard Powitz, ‘Das “Catholicon” in buch- und textgeschichtlicher Sicht’ (1988, see above, n. 56), p. 136. The Augsburg edition: GW3183, ISTC ib00021000; the Strasbourg editions GW 3184-5, ISTC ib00022000, ib00023000.

123 Gerhard Powitz, ‘Die Tabula rubricarum des Mainzer Catholicon’. *GbJb* 1994, pp. 32–49.

well-trained professionals, and it was beyond doubt that this belonged to the production of the books before they were offered for sale.

The nine copies printed on Galliziani paper gave a different impression. Two of them remained entirely without captions, or any form of decoration. In some of them only the first page, with the title of the work and one caption, was touched by a scribe; in other copies the manuscript captions were seemingly added at random, and in only a few the full complement of captions was written out. But in so far as present they were closely related to the textual model seen in the Vellum / Bull's Head copies; where they deviated they showed internal coherence. Powitz found only in one copy (in Basel UB) the hand of a scribe he had seen in the first batch,¹²⁴ but other hands appeared in more than one copy. If the Galliziani group looked somewhat careless from the point of view of textual completeness, the seven copies on Tower and Crown paper that Powitz examined are an inferior lot. No fewer than five had no captions at all and presented (in his words) a defective text. But two other copies seen by him (in London BL and Vienna ÖNB) have a substantial number of captions that are textually related to the two other groups, and are possibly written by the same scribes. Dr Powitz ended with summing up that his observations led him to assume that the three distinct groups of copies were the products of three distinct commercial enterprises, each with different standards regarding the accuracy with which the text of the captions was transmitted. Unlike the analysts of the printing ink, he was in no doubt that the three enterprises all worked in Mainz and commissioned local scribes to write the captions; he was also confident that there was some cohesion between the groups. But – unlike the analysts of the printing ink – Dr Powitz did not offer an opinion on how they related in time. It took yet another approach to glimpse a further view on this point.

In the same year, 1994, I published a first study of the book trade in Mainz as conducted by Peter Schoeffer, based on a record of Mainz bindings and of the decoration in Mainz of copies of books printed by him as well as printed by others.¹²⁵ An extension of this work is included as Chapter 4 of the present book. From the Appendices with which this chapter concludes it will be clear that over the years I have seen many books that had passed through the hands of painters and limners in Mainz, especially in the period 1467–c. 1475.

124 I also found later the same hand in the copy in Paris BnF Rés X.145, on Galliziani paper with eight leaves on Bull's Head paper.

125 Lotte Hellinga, 'Peter Schoeffer and the book-trade in Mainz: Evidence for the organization', in Dennis E. Rhodes (ed.), *Bookbindings & other bibliophily: Essays in honour of Anthony Hobson*. Verona, 1994, pp. 131–83.

For the earlier period Eberhard König's studies of the illuminator he called the Fust Master provided much material on the painter who decorated many copies of books in Mainz in the years 1459–67.¹²⁶ None of the work of this artist is represented in any copy of the *Catholicon*. König argued that the Fust Master worked exclusively for Johann Fust, who died in 1466; only a short time later, in 1467, he must have left Mainz. Since we all seem to agree that the *Catholicon* was not printed by Fust and Schoeffer, the Fust Master's absence as an illuminator in copies of the *Catholicon* is not an argument that affects the discussion about the date of its printing. In fact, there is very little painting that can be recognized as Mainz work in the many copies of the *Catholicon* I have examined in the years following my publication of 1994. Usually this was on library visits connected with other professional duties, and it never took the shape of a systematic research project. The visits were sometimes all too brief, and notes made at the time show that sometimes I might have been more interested in the text of the captions or the traces left by press work than in the 'hand-finishing' of the books. But I noted styles and levels of execution, made photographs when permitted and ordered photographic material – slides and prints – in so far as private means allowed.¹²⁷ Also, there are now digitized versions of nine copies of the *Catholicon* freely available online.¹²⁸ I append to this chapter a list of the 79 copies at present on record, divided according to the three well-recognized states, with brief notes on the presence or absence of captions and on the styles of rubrication and decoration. In all, I assembled notes and material on 66 copies. The list as it stands demonstrates two aspects of the final production phase and early trade of the *Catholicon*: the diversity of styles of decoration and illumination shows the wide dispersal of copies at an early date; rubrication and decoration also show that there is significant overlap between the three states defined by the use of paper. This is in line with the finding of the analysis of the printing ink.

The earlier survey of books decorated in Mainz made it possible to recognize features that have to be linked to workshops or individual painters and limners working in association with the Mainz book trade. In only a few copies we find

126 Eberhard König, 'Für Johannes Fust', in Hans Limburg *et al.* (eds.), *Ars impressoria: Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchdrucks. Eine internationale Festgabe für Severin Corsten zum 65. Geburtstag*. Munich, 1986, pp. 285–313.

127 Dr Powitz also stressed in his study of the captions that his research, like mine, was not supported by a subsidy.

128 The Datenbank of the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke and/or ISTC provide links to digitized versions of copies at München, BSB and Boston PL (both vellum), Frankfurt a. M. UB, Paris, Ste-Geneviève, Stuttgart WLB, Washington DC, LC (all Bull's Head), Kiel UB, Madrid, Acad. (Galliziani). The digitized version of the copy at Madrid BN is accessible on Facebook.

the work of painters as seen in particular in the great law books (Justinianus, Gregorius) and in copies of Peter Schoeffer's Hieronymus of 1470, who have as signature motive the little pyramid of parallel lines that Dr K.H. Staub saw as a section of a spider's web (see Chapter 4, figs. 4.6 and 4.7). This painter (or painters) worked with rich colours and gold, especially in borders and column dividers that end in bursts of leaves and flowers. I encountered this workshop only once in the *Catholicon* copies I examined, in the Tower and Crown copy in Darmstadt ULB. In many other copies elaborately painted initials, occasionally historiated, are found, and also some fine borders, but they have no affinity to any work associated with Mainz. It may be possible to localize the illumination of some of them (in König's footsteps), but for my present purpose they all fall into the category 'Not Mainz'.¹²⁹

Almost all the work that can be recognized as carried out by limners in Mainz was executed at lower cost, the one exception being the copy in Darmstadt. The uniformity of the rubrication (paragraph marks and Lombard initials) leaves no doubt that a substantial proportion of the copies of all three states were prepared by them before they were offered for sale. In the paragraph marks the style of individual workshops in Mainz can be recognized: the top lines are often lengthened above the following words, and in a few copies some even end with arrow points into the margins (see Chapter 4, Fig. 4.2). The rubricators produced thousands of small Lombards (of 1-, 2-, or 3-lines height) in many copies of the *Catholicon*, showing only little variety of form, while a few, e.g. the flagged A, are characteristic (see Fig. 5.11).

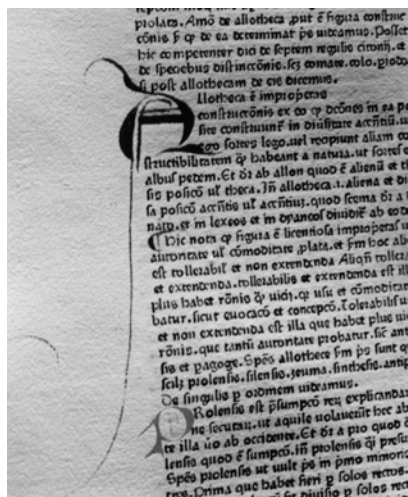


FIGURE 5.11

The flagged Lombard initial A, a distinct form in Mainz rubrication, is also often found in copies of the Catholicon.

TRIER, STADTBIBLIOTHEK, NOLDEN (TRIER) 342 (DETAIL).

129 The copy British Library G.11966-7, illustrated in Fig. 3.2, is a fine example of illumination executed outside Mainz.

Throughout many of the copies blue and red Lombards are carefully alternated. In the grammatical part small guide-letters prepared the sheets for the limners; they may have been written by the scribes of the captions. In many copies some small signatures (letter and numeral) remain visible at the foot of recto pages in the first half of the quires. Usually these marks are thought to help binders to keep quires in order. I noticed that in the Galliziani copy in the British Library (C.14.e.1) some small signatures are written in red, suggesting that we see here 'limners' signatures' rather than the more common binders' signatures.

It becomes clear that for many copies this is where the preparations in Mainz ended. For the Vellum / Bull's Head state, where Dr Powitz established the consistent work of the three scribes, the rubricators were equally consistent, but with two, or possibly three exceptions the nine vellum copies and 15 Bull's Head copies I examined received their final decoration with initials elsewhere. The Galliziani and Tower and Crown copies received less consistent care by rubricators, conforming to Powitz's assessment of the scribes (see Appendix). But the large initials tell a different story.

In general the initials that can be ascribed to Mainz are interlocking, with simple external and internal lines. Their colours are bright red and blue with infills of fine geometric pen-work in contrasting soft colours, often pink or purple, sometimes red. They are distinct from interlocking initials with more complicated patterns and infills, including bright green which may perhaps be associated with Trier. Two limners working in Mainz can be recognized without fail: one adorned the sides of the interlocking initials with finely drawn images of creatures of fantasy, sometimes with pointed clowns' hats, but also dragons, griffons and human faces on animals' bodies. Again it was Dr Staub who found a telling term for them: 'monstrous clowns' (see Fig. 5.12). They are found in many Mainz books from about 1472, but in the *Catholicon* I encountered them only in five copies: on the opening page of the vellum copy at Paris BnF, which appears to be decorated in Mainz throughout, and on the opening page of the vellum copy at Munich BSB, where I feel doubtful about the location of the rest of the decoration. I found them also in the copies at Chatsworth and Berlin SB (both on Galliziani paper) and the Tower and Crown copy at Karlsruhe BLB. Both the Chatsworth and the Karlsruhe copy have been particularly well decorated, with curly line-fillers; see Fig. 5.12 and colour illustrations. The Chatsworth copy also has remarkable drawing on the opening page, an unfinished border with images associated with hunting.

The 'monstrous clowns' often overlap with a style that is abundantly present in copies of the *Catholicon*. The interlocking initials as ascribed above are adorned with pen-work flourishes, usually in soft purple. They reach either in long, freely drawn loops down the entire margin or sprout in little bundles,

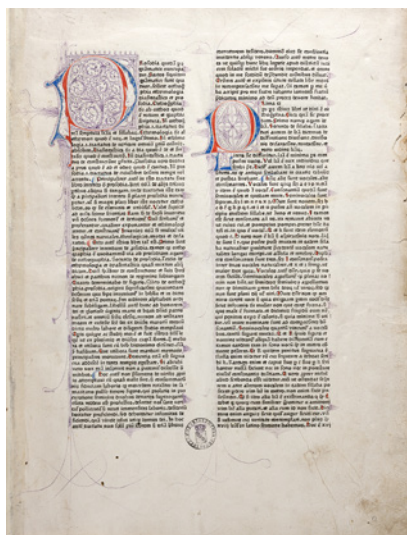


FIGURE 5.12

Monsters and clowns are found decorating initials in a few copies of the Catholicicon.

KARLSRUHE, BADISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK, BA 107, FOL. [A]1^a (DETAIL).

tufts of fine lines, from the sides of the initials; in this form they occur also as line-fillers. see Figs. 5.12–14 and colour illustrations. The exuberant pen-work sometimes gets personal, with grotesque profiles emerging from the side of initials (see Fig. 5.13). They are as unmistakable as an individual's handwriting. 'Loose' seems to be the best term to characterize this style. It was familiar to me from its occurrence in books printed by Schoeffer, among them many copies of the Hieronymus *Epistolae* of 1470 (e.g. the Göttingen, Würzburg and Strasbourg copies and the copy at the time of writing in the Musée des Lettres in Paris, where it is found along with splendid painting). Two initials with infills based on Peter Schoeffer's printer's device link the work of these so recognizable limners to Mainz.¹³⁰ It is still somewhat more restrained in the copies of Schoeffer's Thomas Aquinas editions of 1467 and 1469, but in full flow in 1470 and 1471. The British Library has splendid examples in the Tower and Crown copy of the *Catholicicon* (IC. 302) and Schoeffer's Latin Bible of 1472.¹³¹ The presence of the work of these limners in Mainz printing, fully identified by place and date, leaves no room for doubt that this is the work of a small organization located in Mainz that had its heyday in the early 1470s.

All three states of the *Catholicicon* have copies decorated with initials in the 'loose' style: the vellum copy in Paris BnF, the Bull's Head copies in Frankfurt

¹³⁰ See above Fig. 4.1.

¹³¹ British Library, IC 302 and 168, BMC I, p. 28, 40.

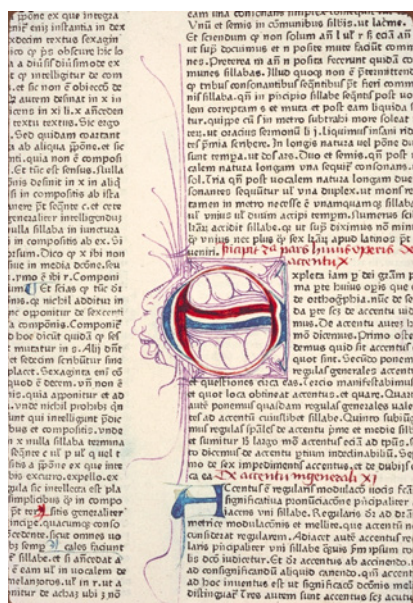


FIGURE 5.13

Initials decorated with pen-work profiles are also found in copies of the Catholicon.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, LENOX COPY
(DETAIL).

a. M SUB and Manchester JRL, the Galliziani copies at the Houghton Library at Harvard and at Kiel UB, and as many as eight copies on Tower and Crown paper: Cambridge UL, London BL, Naples BN, New York PL, Princeton NJ, Scheide Library, Providence RI, John Carter Brown Library, Trier SB, Vienna ÖNB (see Fig. 5.14)

Rather more restrained in execution but still belonging to the same style are the Galliziani copy at Berlin SB and the Tower and Crown copy at Paris, Arsenal.

The occurrence of the work of the same limners in all three states is significant. If the Vellum / Bull's Head copies were printed in 1460, we would have to assume that after the copies had been textually completed by the scribes, and after they were uniformly rubricated, they would have been left unsold for about ten years until limners in Mainz drew the initials in some copies that had been left unsold. Theoretically, this is not impossible. Once the production of books is completed, especially when they are large, selling them can be a slow process. Besides, the caption writing and rubrication of so many copies must have stretched out over considerable periods of time, although we have no way of estimating how long they were in what appears to have been a complicated feat of internal organization. But the outcome of the analysis of the printing ink – that the three states were produced with no significant gap in

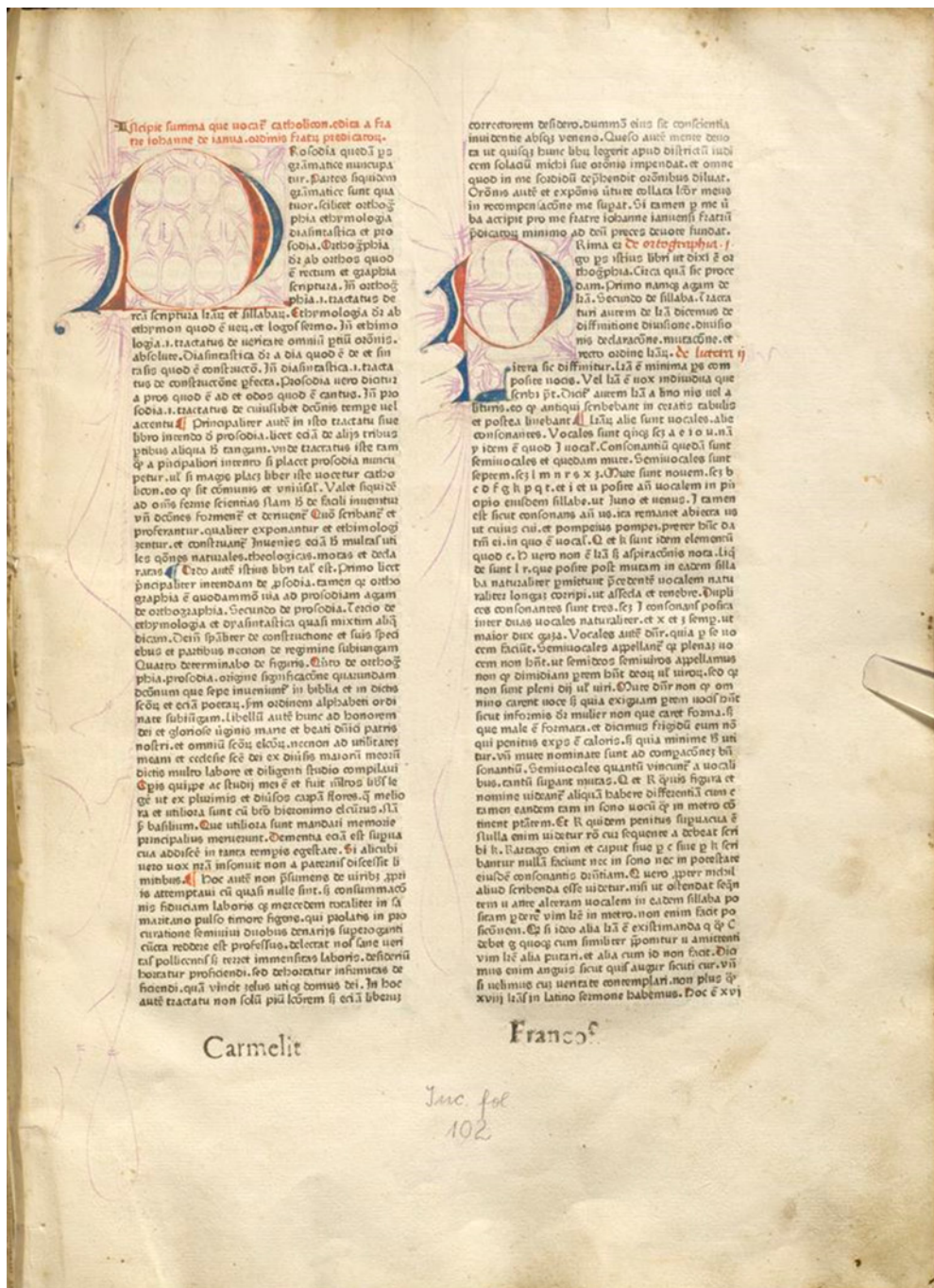


FIGURE 5.14 This opening page of the Catholicon is in a copy on Bull's Head paper, decorated in the 'loose' Mainz style.

FRANKFURT AM MAIN, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK. OHLY-SACK 352,
FOL. [A]1^a.

time – invalidates any assumption that copies of the *Catholicon* had lain unsold for a decade. In fact, the decoration by the same hands in all three states supports the conclusion of the physicists – that they were all produced close together in time.

There is even more unambiguous evidence to support this conclusion once due attention is paid to the hand-finishing of copies. Ever since Gottfried Zedler's extensive observations published in 1905 it has been known that most copies are consistent in their use of paper, but that several copies include sheets or even quires of paper of one of the other states.¹³² Sometimes this is obviously caused by events in a later stage of the history of a copy. The Bull's Head copy at Paris BnF (Rés.g.X.20) has 14 leaves on Galliziani paper. These leaves are rubricated in a style that is different from the rest of the book, showing that this is undoubtedly a made-up copy. It may have been doctored in connection with confiscation and transfer of a copy from the Brera in Milan to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, an event that occurred during Napoleon's Italian campaign in 1797.¹³³ But the copy in the Bodleian Library, also on Bull's Head paper, has a whole quire at the beginning of the alphabetical part of the book that is printed on Galliziani paper, but its rubrication does not differ from that of the book as a whole. It is therefore likely that sheets from the press working with Galliziani paper got mixed in when loose sheets were sent to the scribes and the rubricators.

This is also the likely explanation for the curious case of the extra sheet in the Bull's Head copy at the John Rylands Library, bound in two volumes (as are many others). In this copy a sheet on Galliziani paper is found in the second volume. It had been noted by Zedler, but was more extensively described by Martin Boghardt.¹³⁴ Here it is correctly placed as sheet 3/8 of quire [D], but a sheet of Bull's Head paper with the same content is also found placed (wrongly) almost at the end of the grammatical section. Clearly, the Galliziani sheet was used to fill in a gap in the sequence when the Bull's Head sheet had gone astray. The sheets include the initial P marking the beginning of this section of the alphabet. Remarkably, in the two sheets of distinct states the initials P are almost indistinguishably executed by one of the Mainz limners, interlocking, fine infills with a flower motive and soft purple flourishes. (see Figs. 5.15 a and b) The mistake and its correction must have taken place in his workshop.

¹³² Zedler, *Mainzer Catholicon* (1905), pp. 35–7 notes stray leaves and sheets. See also Appendix below.

¹³³ For the provenance of this copy see below, Appendix.

¹³⁴ In an unsigned note in the section 'Notes and News', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 67 (1985), pp. 561–6.

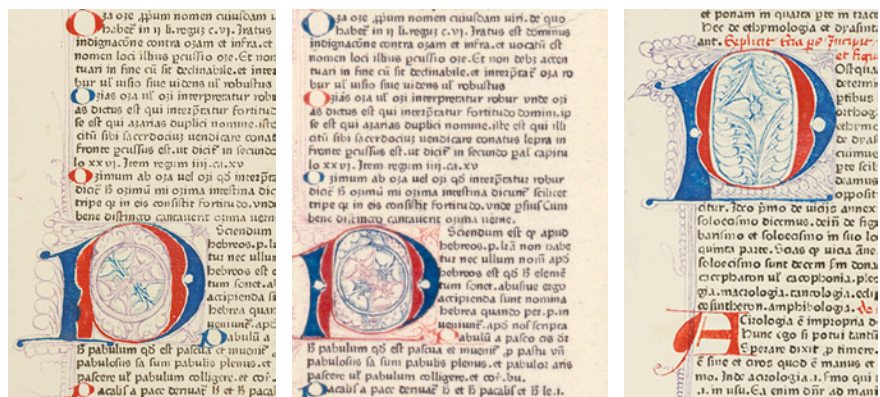


FIGURE 5.15 A, B, C Three initials and rubrication executed by the same hand found throughout the Bull's Head paper copy of the work: 15A: detail of the sheet mistakenly inserted in quire [g]; 15B: correctly placed sheet printed on Galliziani paper; [D] 8^b; 15C: for comparison, initial P on [d]1^r, col. b.

MANCHESTER, JOHN RYLANDS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY 3383 (DETAILS).

In the copy at Paris BnF on Galliziani paper (Rés. X.145) a Bull's Head sheet travelled in the opposite direction, to the Galliziani copy. In the grammatical part sheet [b] 2.9 is printed on Bull's Head paper. Captions are written throughout (including the Bull's Head sheet) by one of the scribes of the Bull's Head copies who also wrote the captions in the Galliziani copy in Basel UB.¹³⁵ Similar mixtures are found in copies printed mainly on Tower and Crown paper. The Scheide copy at Princeton UL has a quire printed on Galliziani paper, but in this case I have not been able to verify the styles of the decoration or rubrication. The Tower and Crown copy at Trier SB surpasses all others: it includes two whole quires and 12 sheets spread over five other quires printed on Bull's Head paper, while the whole book is rubricated in the same hand and generously decorated throughout by the 'loose' limner.¹³⁶

So far my discussion has been limited to the work of limners whose work I can recognize beyond doubt. It is possible that other limners in Mainz worked on copies of the *Catholicon* who may not have been as prolific, or as frequently found in books connected with Peter Schoeffer. For example, the vellum copy once owned by the Benedictines of St Jakobsberg near Mainz and now in the

¹³⁵ Dr Powitz confirmed this identification in a letter to me dated 2 January 1995.

¹³⁶ See Zedler, *Mainzer Catholicon* (1905), p. 37. Reiner Nolden, *Die Inkunabeln der Wissenschaftlichen Stadtbibliothek Trier*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden, 2015, no. 342.

Hofbibliothek in Aschaffenburg may well have been given its initials at the abbey, but they are not in the same pronounced style that I have found elsewhere.¹³⁷ A number of copies have fine initials, usually blue or red, with small decorative figures in white. I have not been able to ascertain whether this often recurring style can be associated with any place in particular. It is found, for example, in the fine vellum copy at the Beinecke Library, which according to De Ricci once belonged to 'the metropolitan Bibliotheca Moguntina' (the library of the Dom in Mainz). Its modern history can be traced back to the sale of Munich duplicates in 1858 – which does not preclude early ownership in Mainz. But this is not sufficient ground to declare this style as linked to Mainz.

Yet, despite the fact that much of the material cannot be identified as to location or artist, patterns do emerge – and they conform to the division in the production of the *Catholicon* that has been known for more than a century. They testify to the interdependence of its producers, reflecting their co-operation but also revealing their individual decisions and responsibility. There are consistencies within each group of copies.

The work of Paul Needham and Martin Boghardt has shown that before the Vellum / Bull's Head copies were printed the text was carefully corrected; the traces left by these corrections prove that the printing of this state preceded that of the other two states. It is in these copies that Boghardt found most instances of cancels (i.e. substituted leaves), evidence of an ambition to produce a flawless text.¹³⁸ Powitz demonstrated how diligently the captions in the grammatical part of this group of copies were written by scribes. Finally, most copies were consistently rubricated before they were offered for sale; in the grammatical part, tiny guide-letters for the Lombards are often visible. Once they were consistently finished to this level, they were sold with blank spaces where the large initials had to be filled in. In only a few copies were these initials commissioned from limners in Mainz. For the Galliziani copies their producer profited from the careful textual correction that had been bestowed on the Vellum / Bull's Head copies; but they exhibit the worst quality of

137 Seymour de Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence (1445–1467)*. Mainz, 1911. [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft 8–9.] De Ricci's no. 90 (pp. 129–39) is the census of copies of the *Catholicon* with notes of earlier ownership. The copy, now in Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek, is De Ricci 90.33, transferred to Aschaffenburg in 1792.

138 Boghardt, *Bibliographische Erforschung* (1988, see above n. 60), pp. 152–63, 172–4.

printing and were also treated with less care as regards the finishing by hand. Some were sold without any captions or decoration; in a few others this was limited to only the first page. In some copies less than one-third of the captions were filled in, but in at least two of the copies the captions were fully written out by one of the scribes identified in the Vellum / Bull's Head copies. In most Galliziani copies rubrication and the painting or drawing of initials was left to the buyers, who occasionally indulged in elaborate painting. But in three of the copies examined the work of Mainz limners, sometimes remarkable, is apparent; the unfinished design for a border in the copy at Chatsworth is reminiscent of other Mainz work, but the initials in the alphabetical part suggest that the decoration of the book was completed elsewhere. The producer of the Tower and Crown copies may also have been fairly indifferent to the quality of the text. There are typographical mishaps such as upside down lines that must have been caused by transferring formes to another press; they remained uncorrected. Yet about half of the copies I examined have captions, and there is a remarkable concentration of copies decorated by the most prolific Mainz limner. They form a character-full subset of the total production of the Mainz *Catholicon*.

The various research projects of the years after 1992 converge in revealing images of the complicated circumstances under which this book was produced. The indications that production took place without significant intervals of time are now stronger, and since printing would have taken place a page at a time, production of the three states must have been carried out in tandem. The dating of two of the paper supplies shows that this was probably at the end of the 1460s; the production of the book was perhaps not completed until 1470. The further examination of copies in the course of the research projects, each research project concentrating on different focal points, has produced this result. After 25 years, and with hindsight, I find it regrettable that the discussion in the years before 1992 became so narrowly preoccupied by the technique with which the *Catholicon* was set and printed: slugs versus two-line blocks of type. Needham's and Boghardt's accurate establishing of the correction states of the three groups was a valuable contribution to understanding how these relate to each other, but did not account for the actual time involved. Too much depended on the notion that paper had to be used up within a short period of time after its manufacture. Thus what was deemed a technical impossibility had to be explained by positing a new invention – resulting in the 'slug' theory. But paper is not a perishable commodity, as can be observed in the perfect condition of the paper in thousands of incunabula printed more than 500 years ago. Should it really have been considered impossible that a supply of

paper remained unused during the destructive conflict in Mainz and its aftermath, when Gutenberg's goods were confiscated and he was exiled?¹³⁹

Who were the printers of the *Catholicon*?

This is as far as facts can take us. In what was produced, in the surviving copies of the *Catholicon* that have been examined, we can perceive more than the distinctions made obvious by the three paper supplies on which they are printed (the copies on vellum conforming to one of them). We can observe three distinct sale strategies or, in other terms, three distinct standards applied to the quality of the product and the market for it. It is no big step to assume that more than one and probably at least three individuals were behind the execution of this anonymous enterprise. They used mechanical means to produce a very large book that, despite distinctions between copies, is printed so uniformly that only intense scrutiny in later ages would reveal the differences. Facts alone cannot give names to these people; but facts do point to the circumstance that they formed an organization, in what now appears to be a complex experiment in the production and trade of printed books. Although Paul Schwenke proposed as early as 1906 that the *Catholicon* was produced and marketed by an association of printers, his admirably succinct formulation was ignored by printing historians and bibliographers alike.¹⁴⁰ It surely is wrong to think of 'the' printer of the *Catholicon*, as bibliographical convention has it, and aim to identify a single individual. As always, the actual production was carried out by nameless compositors, correctors and press crews. The individuals leading the organization, whom we may call sponsors, patrons, financiers or publishers – the

139 At present 16 copies on Bull's Head paper are known to survive. If we estimate a survival rate of one in four (slightly less than that of the 42-line Bible), $64 \times 187 = 11,968$ sheets (or about 24 reams) of Bull's Head paper would have been kept in store. This is of course a very approximate figure, but it suggests an order of magnitude. It would represent considerable value, but also a manageable quantity in terms of storage.

140 Commenting on Zedler's identification of Gutenberg as printer of the *Catholicon*, Schwenke wrote 'Dagegen ist es [i.e. the different paper supplies] wohl begreiflich, dass bei einer Mehrheit von Gesellschaftern jeder einzelne sein Papier beschaffte, um es mit dem auf gemeinsame Rechnung hergestellten Satze zu bedrucken, wobei er auch alle Gefahr der Fehldrucke allein trug, und dann auch seine Exemplare gesondert zu vertreiben' (Review of Zedler's *Mainz Catholicon*, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 23 (1906), pp. 213–8). Kapr, *Johannes Gutenberg* (1988), also wrote of 'eine Art Werkgemeinschaft' (p. 231), translated as 'divided between various working partnerships' by Douglas Martin, *Johann Gutenberg* (1996), p. 233.

term ‘printer’ as misleading as ever – remain also nameless, except that we may assume that Dr Humery retained an interest in putting the materials he owned to work. There is a faint but intriguing trace linking him to the *Catholicon* itself. In the Vatican Library a collection of lecture notes is preserved which includes notes written in 1430 ‘per me Conradum Homery de maguncia’ when he was a student in Bologna. In a neat hand he marked that they were made ‘sub auditorio famosissimi decretorum doctoris ... Sicilia’. Kept with the manuscript dating from his youth was a relic of Humery’s later years, leaf [n]10 of the *Catholicon*; it is printed on both sides but not rubricated, and has no watermark.¹⁴¹ Was Dr Humery inspecting proofs? In any case it is a sign of engagement with the book while it was in production.

The watermarks in the paper on which the different copies were printed served in this exceptional case not only to identify the makers of the paper, but also the stake of each of the main participants in the enterprise. We may note in passing that the survival of copies of the three distinct groups is remarkably similar: 26 / 27 / 26 (and one unknown), but that the number of surviving copies on Bull’s Head paper (16) is much lower than those on Galliziani or Tower and Crown paper.¹⁴² I leave it to the reader to judge whether this should be taken as a sign that a supply of Bull’s Head paper may have remained unused when Gutenberg’s activities and plans were interrupted by civil war, confiscation and exile.

Facts, other than the material that is preserved in the form of copies and fragments of the book, are scarce, even if they can be supplemented by the historical context. But in the end, a coherent picture of a chain of events, of causes and effects and, most risky of all, people’s intentions, cannot be achieved without imagination. There is no need to draw on imagination for ascribing to the makers of the *Catholicon* the intention of selling copies of the book; we can risk a little imagination in supposing that they each had access to particular markets. The previous chapter created a picture of Peter Schoeffer rapidly building a wide-ranging network for his trade. The restrictions imposed by the Archbishop on the use of the typographical material left by Gutenberg may have excluded Schoeffer from taking part in the printing of the work,¹⁴³ but would

141 Dr Leonard E. Boyle O.P. very kindly answered my questions about the leaf in a letter of 10 October 1987. The leaf is now separated from the manuscript (Palat. Lat. 672) and has the shelf-mark S 241 bis.

142 See above n. 138 and Appendix, pp. 453–66.

143 Schoeffer must have decided not to buy the typographical material from Dr Humery. He owned and routinely used a very superior small-bodied type (Schoeffer Type 3). Other

not have prevented him from engaging in its marketing – perhaps buying copies for retail in the same way that he bought books from other printers in order to sell them on.¹⁴⁴ The connections he had already made may even have been instrumental in bringing about the co-operation of the patrons / publishers in the production and distribution of a very large book. We may speculate whether the plan to use a single typesetting for a very large book, probably for an unusually large print run, may have been the incentive for forming a consortium of entrepreneurs who would share both the investment and the risk. In 1989 I suggested printers with early contacts with Gutenberg as possible partners in such a consortium of printers, including Ulrich Zell and Heinrich Keffer. Now we may consider Schoeffer's wider business contacts as other potential participants in the enterprise: Johann Mentelin or Heinrich Eggestein in Strasbourg (who 'not after 1470' used the same paper supplies in his German Bible), Berthold Ruppel or perhaps other printers in Basel. Dividing large print runs among presses and even printing houses had already been tried and tested in Mainz with the printing of indulgences – the indulgences of 1454–5 and later the Neuhausen indulgences, printed by Fust and Schoeffer and Johann Mentelin, as well as in the *Catholicon* type, probably by Gutenberg.

So far imagination has led us to consider the possible commercial structure of the enterprise behind the production of the *Catholicon*. But we should not lose sight of the fact that an organization (as we may see it) could have come together for the purpose of using the materials that until that fatal night in October 1462 had belonged to Gutenberg, and then in 1468 became the legal property of Dr Humery. If we accept that the intent of the organization was to use these materials, we can reverse the question: why were they to be used for printing this particular work?

Nicolaus Cusanus, the Reform movement and the *Catholicon*

To answer this question, and others left hanging earlier, notably the wording of the colophon, we have to return to the years before 1462. There is little tangible

grounds argue against Needham's assumption that Schoeffer printed the Galliziani and Tower and Crown copies. His own books show exemplary red printing, so spectacularly lacking in the *Catholicon*. In his management of production, resetting long texts never was an obstacle.

144 Schoeffer offered the *Catholicon* for sale in the advertisement that was probably issued in 1470, before September of that year. See Chapter 2, n. 12.

fact about Gutenberg after the conclusion of the court case with Fust in 1455. What we know we owe mainly to the analysis of typographical materials by Ferdinand Geldner and Albert Kapr, and of the Notariatsinstrument by Michael Empell. From this we can plausibly identify the printing materials owned by Gutenberg; they would have been kept, if not all used, at his independent printing works in Mainz. While Fust and Schoeffer proceeded in 1457–9 with their substantial books, the two psalters and Duranti's *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, the known production of Gutenberg's workshop consists only of small and unspectacular pieces of printing – although it is probable that his main accomplishment in this period was developing the type of the 36-line Bible.

However, a much larger project may have been in preparation in this period about which we have so little direct information. It is not difficult to let our imagination fill in the gap, but the one document that provides irrefutable evidence is Dr Humery's declaration of 1468. We can infer that he had granted Gutenberg a loan for the investment required for the production of a large book, and perhaps even that Gutenberg mortgaged his printing house to him (which Humery would equally have forfeited after the events of 1462). A similar arrangement with Johann Fust had worked out well enough for the production of the Bible, in so far that it produced a splendid book of which both could be very proud. Empell's analysis of the Notariatsinstrument has given a reasonable and business-like slant to the relations between Fust and Gutenberg.¹⁴⁵ A costly part of the preparations for the new book would have been a small-bodied type; it was probably commissioned from an (unknown) punch-cutter and was an extremely economical design for the production of a very large book of scholarly appearance. Even more economical than Peter Schoeffer's small text-type,¹⁴⁶ it would serve equally well for printing indulgences. The book Gutenberg planned to print with it – quite possibly in some form of partnership with Dr Humery – was the *Catholicon*. But what determined the choice of this work? This too is a matter for speculation.

In his studies of Gutenberg, Albert Kapr has demonstrated how all early Mainz printing is linked to the reform movement in the German lands in which Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus took a leading part. In 1450–2, as papal legate to northern Germany and the Netherlands, Cusanus was instrumental in initiating the monastic reform movement, but his spiritual presence in the region of his birth lasted much longer. His influence on religious practice reached beyond the monastic orders, and its recurring theme was unity in the

145 See above pp. 141–2.

146 For a discussion of Peter Schoeffer's Type 3 and its relation to the Catholicon type, see above Chapter 3, pp. 81–2. See also above, p. 143.

observance of the liturgy. A uniform text of the Scriptures was a precondition for achieving such unity. It has therefore been convincingly argued that the printing of Gutenberg's Bible was a direct response to the demands of the reform movement. The fact that Cusanus was present in the region in 1450–2 makes his direct influence on the undertaking of the printing of the Bible a feasible conjecture. It accords with his commitment to deep understanding of the Scriptures derived from his education in the school of the Brethren of the Common Life in Deventer and permeated his actions for the rest of his life. Kapr suggested that Cusanus and Gutenberg knew each other;¹⁴⁷ and there are indeed indications that Cusanus had been close to the beginning of printing in Mainz. Giovanni Andrea Bussi, his secretary from 1459 until his death, relates that Cusanus ardently wished that the sacred art of printing, 'hec sancta ars', would be brought from its place of origin in Germany to Rome.¹⁴⁸ The notion that Cusanus's own spiritual convictions were close to the earliest phase of printing in Mainz is certainly attractive. But should we extend this to the possibility that he also instigated the printing of the *Catholicon* as a logical further step for improving understanding of the Bible?

Fust and Schoeffer followed the completion of the Bible almost immediately with the printing of great liturgical works: the Psalter, the Benedictine Psalter and the Canon Missae. Perhaps we may even recognize the influence of Cusanus in the publication in print of Duranti's *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, completed by Fust and Schoeffer on 6 October 1459.¹⁴⁹ It is a didactic work, explaining every detail of liturgical observance: in Cusanus's view, the liturgy had to be understood to be a meaningful expression of devotion. We have already noted Cusanus's instruction that the tract of Thomas Aquinas, *Summa de articulis fidei* should be available in every church and read aloud at services. Its frequent appearance in print until the end of the century is

147 Albert Kapr, 'Gab es Beziehungen zwischen Johannes Gutenberg und Nikolaus von Kues?', *GbbJb* 1972, pp. 32–40. Also his *Johann Gutenberg* (1988), *passim*.

148 Bussi wrote this in 1468 in his preface to the Sweynheym and Pannartz edition of the *Epistolae* of Hieronymus, GW 12421, fol. [a]1^b, ll. 17–19 (contractions expanded): 'Hoc est quod semper gloriosa illa: et celo digna anima Nicolai cusensis cardinalis sancti Petri ad uincula peroptabat: ut hec sancta ars que oriri tunc videbatur in Germania: romam deduceretur'. Cf. Massimo Miglio (ed.), *Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Prefazioni alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz, Prototipografi romani*. Milan, 1978, p. 4. See also the observations by Johannes Röhl, 'A crayfish in Subiaco: A hint of Nicholas of Cusa's involvement in early printing?' *The Library*, 6th ser. 16 (1994), pp. 135–40.

149 GW 9101, ISTC id00403000.

another example of the lasting effect of his mission of ensuring that the foundations of faith were understood by all the faithful.

The *Catholicon* fits very well in the sequence of books that appeared in Mainz in the earliest years of printing, with a well-defined place in a strongly logical progression. Its function to elucidate the Bible text is similar to that of the *Rationale* in relation to liturgical practice. It is rightly called an encyclopaedia, for it does not promote a particular doctrine or liturgical function, but aims to provide all the information needed to overcome ignorance that may obscure the Bible text from the reader. The work is destined for clergy and lay readers, rather than for theologians with higher learning. Many of its early owners were monastic houses. Yet we should beware of seeing all initiatives for printing these works due to Cusanus alone. It would underrate his influence on other members of the clergy and beyond them on significant lay personages; it is equally possible that such ideas percolated through the clerical hierarchy to erudite people such as Dr Humery.

One obvious reason for caution is that Cusanus did not leave Italy from 1458 until his death in 1464, retained against his wishes in Rome by Pope Pius II. Yet in 1458 his immediate reaction to the papal ruling was to found the St Nikolas Hospital in the place of his birth, the small town of Kues, on the Moselle near Trier. In his last will he left to this foundation all his worldly goods, including his learned library, and it was at its altar that he wished his heart to be buried. There can be no doubt that his connections with his native land remained strong, whether or not they included printers. No material trace is known to link Nicolaus Cusanus to the *Catholicon*. In 1989 I had to point out that the book is not listed in the inventory of the books he left to the St Nikolaus Hospital.¹⁵⁰ The copy on vellum that is still there must have been acquired after his death.

Cusanus had assembled a very large collection of manuscript books: 270 are still in the library of the Hospital in Kues and 72 have been identified in other collections, with 68 listed in the inventory now lost. Many were acquired by Cusanus from monasteries in Germany. I therefore succumb to the

¹⁵⁰ The date of Cusanus's death, 11 August 1464, is therefore not a *terminus ante* for the printing of the *Catholicon*, as proposed by Needham. See Hellinga, *Analytical bibliography* (1989), p. 87, with reference to Giovanni Mantese, 'Ein notarielles Inventar von Büchern und Wertgegenstände aus dem Nachlass des Nikolaus von Kues'. *Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft* 2, 1962, pp. 85–116. Concetta Bianca, 'La biblioteca Romana di Niccolò Cusano', in M. Miglio (ed.), *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento*. Vatican City, 1983, pp. 669–708.

temptation of imagining a scenario: among the numerous manuscripts of the *Catholicon* still extant, none has been identified as printer's exemplar, but of course a manuscript was used by the printers.¹⁵¹ Planning often begins with the presence of a manuscript deemed appropriate for reproduction in print. If we are prepared to give credence to Cusanus's influence on early printing in Mainz, and even specifically to the printing of the Bible, then it is not altogether too speculative to wonder whether it was Cusanus, that resourceful collector, who had provided a manuscript of the *Catholicon* to be used for printing. If this were the case, we can further indulge the imagination: when printing was completed, a copy on vellum would have been presented to the Hospital in Kues in recognition of its founder's initiative as well as a form of compensation.

Whatever the source of the *Catholicon*'s manuscript exemplar, one important text was certainly not included in it: the famous colophon. Appearing at the end of the book, the text was probably drafted long before the printers reached this point, perhaps even well before printing had begun. Drafts would have included the opening lines '...the most high on whose command the tongues of children become fluent and who often reveals to the little ones what he conceals from the wise...'. Such words express the spiritual values attached to the appearance of this work in print, drawing on terms that paraphrase the Old Testament and the Gospels.¹⁵² It appears to me that these lines may well belong to the early planning phase of the book, as they express the motivation from which it sprang. Clearly devotional but written in a different spirit, with a sudden change in rhythm and tone, are the concluding four lines of verse. In the questions of dating the *Catholicon* they are problematic, for three of the four lines occur in the *Vocabularius Ex quo* that was printed in Eltville in 1467, where their layout is more appropriate to the verse form.¹⁵³ But assuming the lines of verse to have been written before preparations for the printing of the *Catholicon* collapsed in October 1462 would explain how they came to be printed in 1467. It seems to me probable that part of the *Catholicon*'s colophon as it appeared in print derives from earlier drafts. The colophon may be the conflation of more than one draft that became interspersed with the formulaic praise of printing in Mainz that is found in many of the colophons of books

151 Powitz, *Das Catholicon* (1988), pp. 133–7 noted that the version of Zainer's Augsburg edition (1469, GW 3183) differed from the Mainz version; it cannot have served as printer's copy in Mainz.

152 Wisdom 10:21, Matthew 11:25, Luke 10:21.

153 See above pp. 152–4 and Figs. 5.4, and 5.5.

printed by Fust and Schoeffer. This would account for the changes in tone that occur within its 14 lines.

Paul Needham uncovered a surprising new layer of meaning in the much debated colophon dating: ‘annis dominici incarnationis M cccc lx’.¹⁵⁴ He encountered the figure 1460 in the tract *De correctione kalendarii* that Cusanus prepared for the Council of Basel and presented in 1436. Needham explains that medieval astronomers, and many others, had long been well aware that the Julian calendar was out of step with celestial reality. This concerned the Church especially for establishing the dates of Easter, which are based on the vernal equinox and the four-week cycle of the moon.¹⁵⁵ I shall not repeat here Needham’s clear explanation of the various concepts of astronomical chronometry. It should suffice that right at the beginning of his tract Cusanus refers to diverse systems for calculating the length of the year in various cultures and cults, and mentions as an extreme example the Egyptian calendar with the longest cycle of 1460 years based on the cycle of the sun. When used in the colophon of the *Catholicon*, the date ‘1460’ would have had no obvious connection with the astronomical calculations of the Egyptians, but if applied to a date in the Christian era it might for some have retained the connotation of completing a cycle, of fulfilment and perhaps of being ‘all-encompassing’, as the title ‘Catholicon’ also implies. Needham writes: ‘it marked, *within the Christian era*, the first complete cycle equalling the Egyptian “great year of the sun”’.

One question is not answered by these considerations. When ‘1460’ is understood as relating to an exact astronomical date, how can it accord with the plural ‘annis’ instead of ‘anno’? Too much ink has been spilled about this plural

154 Needham, *The Mainz Catholicon (1460) and the Great Year of the Sun*, see above, n. 58, pp. 251–62, with reference to Viktor Stegemann with Bernhard Bischoff (eds.), [Nicolaus de Cusa], *Die Kalenderverbesserung, Lateinisch und Deutsch*. Heidelberg, 1955. [Schriften des Nikolaus von Cues. Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften]. The passage, after mentioning practices of Greeks, Persians and Romans, runs: ‘Aegyptiis ex contraria causa, ne scilicet uno tempore fixa sacrificia forent, additionem quarti respuentibus. Qui annum sacrificiorum plenae revolutionis ex MCCCCLX annis, quem maximum solis annum asserunt, constare dixerunt’. In the translation by Stegemann / Bischoff: ‘Umgekehrt die Ägypter: Damit ihre Opfer nicht auf eine bestimmte Zeit festgelegt seien, verschmähten sie die Hinzufügung des Vierteltages und behaupteten, der Zeitraum einer vollen Umdrehung betrage 1460 Jahre, was sie das Große Sonnenjahr nennen’.

155 Cusanus’s tract did not lead to reform. It was not until 1582 that reform was introduced with the Gregorian calendar.

form, and I shall not add more. Perhaps there was the precise date ‘anno’ in an original draft, perhaps a draft with these beautiful first lines was related to Cusanus, if not written by him,¹⁵⁶ but some ten eventful years later, in the hands of others, words may change form and meaning. Yet, even if the form of the colophon is not what was drafted in the early 1460s, the fact that these words were used may perhaps be understood as a sign that those behind the printing of the *Catholicon* still associated it with Cusanus and were aware that they were following his direction when accomplishing this. It was certainly a commercial enterprise, but completing it was also an act of devotion.

Epilogue

There are so few precise data on which to found the story of the Mainz *Catholicon*. They are the fall of Mainz on 28 October 1462, an unexpected turn in the Archbishops’ War which in my view was also a crucial turn in the printing history of the *Catholicon*; Archbishop Adolf von Nassau appointing Gutenberg to his court in January 1465; Gutenberg’s death on 3 February 1468, followed within weeks by Dr Conrad Humery gaining full possession of his printing materials. And there are the 80 copies of the *Catholicon* itself, now dispersed across the globe. Forensic investigations of many of these copies have multiplied the questions about them and offered only a few unambiguous solutions. No wonder then that successive scholars have proposed quite diverse reconstructions of events that resulted in the printing of the book. Here, in summary, is the story I built from and round these materials. Some of it has changed since my first publication on the subject in 1989. The reader will find my arguments in the previous pages.

1. Gutenberg was preparing to print the *Catholicon* before 1462, a loan from Dr Conrad Humery enabling the investment needed before printing could begin. The early expenses included commissioning a small-bodied text-type, the *Catholicon* type. The type, once manufactured, was the security for the loan.
2. A manuscript was available as printer’s copy.
3. By 1461 the type was ready to be used for small indulgences.
4. The fall of Mainz on 28 October 1462 followed immediately by Gutenberg’s exile put an end to the plan that had not yet reached fruition.

¹⁵⁶ Kapr, *Johannes Gutenberg* (1988), p. 229. Kapr / Martin, *Johann Gutenberg* (1996), p. 231 points out the parallel with the formulation in Cusanus’s own *De conjecturis libri duo*.

5. Gutenberg's goods, including his house and his printing materials, were confiscated by the Archbishop.
6. Gutenberg was 'by special dispensation' allowed to return to Mainz by the end of 1464. In January 1465 he was appointed by Archbishop Adolf von Nassau as courtier in return for some subsistence. This was in the expectation that he would render useful services in the form of printing to the episcopal chancery.
7. Planning for the printing of the *Catholicon* was not resumed in the years 1465–8. The bulk of Gutenberg's typographical material remained either confiscated or in legal limbo while Dr Humery had a claim on it. It included a supply of paper of about 12,000 sheets (or about 24 reams), according to a rough estimate.
8. The Archbishop returned some of his printing materials to Gutenberg. They ended up in Eltville, the Archbishop's residence.
9. The modest printing house in Eltville was perhaps initiated by Gutenberg. Its first product, the *Vocabulariius Ex quo*, was, like the *Catholicon*, an encyclopaedic dictionary intended for teaching, but it was a book on a far more modest scale. That work was completed just weeks before Gutenberg's death. By this time the printers were named as the patrician Bechtermünze brothers, possibly a form of rescue operation.
10. The declaration addressed by Dr Humery to the Archbishop shortly after Gutenberg's death in February 1468 shows that until then the Archbishop had authority over the materials. He released these to Dr Humery, but imposed strict conditions for their use.
11. Once the material was in Dr Humery's full possession, he decided that it should be used for the purpose for which it was created: printing the *Catholicon*.
12. Dr Humery's decision to produce the *Catholicon* in print was not only motivated by financial considerations, to get at last a return on his loan. It was also driven by a desire to bring to fruition a plan that had its origin in the 1450s, when the invention of printing was used in Mainz to serve the causes of the reform movement.
13. Even when applied to a noble cause, printing a very large book required substantial investment and organization.
14. The Archbishop imposed the condition that the material should be used in Mainz or, if sold, that a citizen of Mainz should be given the advantage. Peter Schoeffer, who was not a citizen, could therefore not benefit. He could have been allowed to buy the material, but since his printing house was well equipped with superior material this course was not taken. There was no other printer in Mainz.

15. Instead Schoeffer lent Dr Humery his experience and his rapidly growing network of contacts, and applied his organizational skills to marshalling a group of printers and patrons to fund and execute the project in Mainz. We may conjecture that Dr Humery had a financial stake in the organization, following the Fust / Gutenberg and Fust / Schoeffer model.
16. Who the participating partners were remains a matter for conjecture. The printers with whom Schoeffer traded from the late 1460s on include some of those who in the 1450s had worked on the printing of the 42-line Bible. They may have participated in the organization.
17. Participating partners took responsibility for the production and marketing of an agreed number of copies, each representing one-third of the total. Their stakes were identified by the watermarks in the paper they supplied. One partner supplemented the smaller supply of excellent paper left by Gutenberg by providing vellum in order to reach the agreed total. The total print run was probably significantly larger than was considered normal at that time. Fewer than one in five copies of the print run may survive.
18. Partners based as printers in other cities (e.g. Basel, Strasbourg) sent compositors and press men to work on the book. The varying quality of the press work in the distinct stakes left visible traces.
19. A room or space for printing with multiple presses was installed and equipped.
20. A short text – Thomas Aquinas, *Summa de articulis fidei* – was printed in two types, both from the material left by Gutenberg, in order to decide which was to be used for the *Catholicon*.
21. The partners agreed to share the typesetting. This would be a single operation and correction of the typesetting would be thoroughly executed.
22. Typeset pages were then printed successively on three presses, presumably located in the same working space. This meant that the press crews had to overcome the drawbacks of having to transfer each page from one press to the next, necessitating repeated lock-ups for every page. This would have slowed progress, but on the other hand it allowed a larger print run.
23. Pages would be in circulation and therefore standing in type for longer than would normally be expected. This meant that a larger supply of type was required for the production of the book than was usual at the time.
24. The technical difficulty of transferring pages from press to press may have been aggravated by the difficulty created by having long columns of 66 lines set with a small type (and, it has to be said, a type not as good as Schoeffer's small text-type). The problem was largely overcome by the

technique of using thin wire through pierced type. This stabilized the pages, but left some traces.

25. This arrangement precluded all notion of red printing, although colour printing in Mainz was superb from the beginning. Each page with two-colour printing would have had to pass twice through the press.
26. Instead, the production of each individual copy had to be finished by scribes, limners and painters. Copies were offered for sale hand-finished to the standards deemed appropriate by each stakeholder.
27. The division of responsibility for sale of the copies resulted in a very wide dissemination of the book.
28. Schoeffer took an active part in the marketing of copies. The earliest evidence that the book was completed is in the sale advertisement he issued in the first half of 1470.

Sharing investment for printing a large book was not new; it had happened before the printing of the *Catholicon*, when the Bible was printed in the 1450s. The practice would remain a feature of publishing ventures throughout the history of printing, but not usually with such anonymity. Much has to remain speculative when attempting to unravel the unusual circumstances of the *Catholicon*'s production, undeniably a remarkable technical accomplishment. Yet above all it was an experiment in organization. One or more backers and more than one printer configured a new kind of organization to achieve an ambitious project. Seen in this light, the production of the *Catholicon* may be ranked in the sequence of subsidiary inventions that occurred after the appearance of the first works printed with movable type.

Fragments Found in Bindings: The Complexity of Evidence for the Earliest Dutch Typography

The history of ownership of this *Donatus* fragment, traceable to the fifteenth century, is perhaps not without importance for future studies investigating the dissemination of the early Dutch *Donatus* editions.¹



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Introduction

Dr Vera Sack, writing in 1973, chose the words quoted above with characteristic care in an article in which she meticulously described eight sets of fragments,

1 Vera Sack, 'Unbekannte Donate: Neue Funde in Freiburg und Frankfurt', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 13 (1973), cols. 1461–1512. In concluding the description of a *Donatus* fragment found in a binding from the library of the Dominicans in Frankfurt (see below Appendix, no. 39), Dr Sack wrote '... es sei denn, daß die Besitzgeschichte dieses Donatfragments, die man bis ins 15. Jahrhundert zurück verfolgen kann, vielleicht nicht unwichtig ist für eine spätere Arbeit, die das Verbreitungsgebiet der frühen niederländischen Donate untersucht'. The first bibliographer to draw attention to the evidential value of fragments for localization and dating, deploring the lack of use made of these materials and making a distinction between printer's waste and binder's waste, was Henry Bradshaw in his *List of the founts of type and woodcut devices used by printers in Holland in the fifteenth century*. Cambridge, 1871. Reprinted in Bradshaw's *Collected Papers*. Cambridge, 1889, pp. 258–80 (esp. pp. 262–3).

all of Donatus editions. She had brought these to light from bindings while cataloguing the incunable collections in Frankfurt am Main and in the University Library of Freiburg im Breisgau. Between them these eight fragments spanned the whole incunable period, showing how the demand for this text continued in areas where the traditional teaching of Latin had not yet been replaced by more modern humanist methods. More than 20 years later Paul Needham deplored the fact that insufficient use was still made of the wealth of material that survives as fragments of early printing, largely for want of reliable records of their origin.² The present chapter seeks to survey what records relate to the location of early owners and bindings in which a distinct group of fragments of schoolbooks were found, all published without place of printing and date. Exploring this methodology may lead to yet another path through the maze of details that surround the Haarlem legend about the invention of printing.

Fragments of manuscripts and early printing survive in bindings as a by-product of processes that have little or no connection with the context of the original documents; they were never intended to be interpreted as texts or as documents when they were incorporated into the objects in which they later came to light. Usually they are found by accident. The researches they entail, including painstaking attempts at identification, aim to determine the significance of a particular needle chanced upon in a haystack. The answers range from 'none' to new and illuminating insights into the spread of printing, the dissemination of books and the length of time they remained in use.

Systematic research may bring together collections of fragments which, pieced together, have a coherence amounting to evidence for a course of events. Thus Neil Ker could reconstruct the recycling of medieval manuscripts in Oxford in the sixteenth century,³ and Reiner Nolden trace a similar onslaught on Carolingian Bibles that took place in the 1470s in the Abbey of St Maximin in Trier.⁴ Two other instances, where the fragments consist of printed material, are closer to the subject of this book and deserve to be told in some detail. The earliest items of western printing with explicit dates are the indulgences

2 Paul Needham, 'Fragments in books: Dutch prototypography in the Van Ess library'. In Milton McC. Gatch (ed.), *'So precious a foundation': the library of Leander van Ess at the Burke Library of Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York*. New York, 1996, pp. 85–110 (esp. pp. 101–2).

3 Neil R. Ker, *Fragments of medieval manuscripts used as pastedowns in Oxford bindings, with a survey of Oxford binding c. 1515–1620*. Oxford, 1954. [Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications, n.s. 5].

4 Reiner Nolden, 'Über die Reste einer Nordwestfranzösischen Bibel aus der Karolingerzeit in der Stadtbibliothek Trier'. *Scriptorium*, 43 (1989), pp. 239–47. Reiner Nolden, 'Über die Trierer Fragmente der touronischen Bibel von St Maximin'. In Franz J. Ronig (ed.), *Schatzkunst Trier: Forschungen und Ergebnisse*. Trier, 1991, pp. 147–66.

issued by Paulinus Chappe and printed in Mainz in 1454 and 1455; in most of the still extant copies the date and location of their sale are filled in by indulgence pedlars.⁵ This makes each copy with such manuscript entries a direct witness to the earliest spread of printed material, and from late in the eighteenth century collectors (in particular Lord Spencer) valued them as such. No wonder that agents hunted for such treasures. Partly due to their success, over 50 are known to be still extant. Most of the copies had first been preserved in family archives, but occasionally their survival took a more complicated route.⁶ Thus between 1827 and 1829 a copy of the 30-line indulgence was discovered as a paste-down in a binding at the University Library in Leuven.⁷ Not long after it turned up for sale at J. Techener in Paris, where it was acquired for Lord Spencer in exchange for a copy (a duplicate!) of the not nearly so rare 31-line indulgence. This copy had also served time in a binding before it was bought in 1800 on Spencer's behalf by his agent Alexander Horn, who had discovered it in the library of the monastery St Emeram in Regensburg, bound in as a fly-leaf.⁸

- 5 GW 6555 and 6556; the GW database now records 50 copies of the 31-line indulgence, and nine of the 30-line editions, including the lost ones. ISTC ic00422400 and ic00422600. VE C-14, C-15. Seymour de Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence (1445–1467)*. Mainz, 1911. [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft 8–9], nos. 47–53 (discussed here are nos. 51, 50–5.); Gottfried Zedler, *Die Mainzer Ablassbriefe der Jahre 1454 und 1455*. Mainz, 1913. [Veröffentlichungen, as above, 12–13], 1 (Plate IV). See also pp. 141–5, Fig. 5.3.
- 6 For examples mainly found in archives, including a copy of the 31-line indulgence, see Falk Eisermann, “Hinter Decken versteckt”. Ein weiteres Exemplar des 31zeiligen Ablassbriefs (GW 6556) und andere Neufunde von Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts’, *GhJb* 1999, pp. 58–74; included is a list of 49 copies and their provenance of the 31-line indulgence. In n. 11 Eisermann lists seven copies (and one lost) of the 30-line indulgence. Eisermann errs in conjecturing for no. 32 the copy of the 31-line indulgence at the Pierpont Morgan Library, proposing as the provenance ‘wohl aus der Kartause Buxheim’; it is the copy sold on 13 April 1455 to ‘Erasmus Damoder presbiter Pataviensis diocesis’, with the later provenance Regensburg-St Emeram, Horn, Spencer, exchange 1835, Payne & Foss, Sir Thomas Phillips. See n. 9 below. Date of sale and name establish the identity of this copy.
- 7 It was discovered by Franz Joseph Mone (1796–1871). See Frédéric de Reiffenberg, ‘Note sur un exemplaire des lettres d’indulgence du pape Nicolas V pro regno Cypri’, *Nouveaux mémoires de l’académie royale des sciences et belles lettres de Bruxelles*, 5 (1829), 1^e série, pp. 1–12, with facsimile.
- 8 Letter of Alexander Horn to Lord Spencer, 1 June 1798, BL Add MS 75964, quoted by Kristian Jensen, *Revolution and the antiquarian book: Reshaping the Past, 1780–1815*. Cambridge, 2011, p. 60. Jensen gives an interesting overview of the activities of agents for Lord Spencer, in particular Jean-Baptiste Maugérard and Alexander Horn. For this particular episode see his note 76 (where he confuses the two indulgences remaining in the Spencer collection after the exchange of 1835).

When, after lengthy negotiations, Horn at last persuaded the monks to part with it (and two other incunabula), it was in exchange for modern reference works.⁹ The copy retrieved from the binding in Leuven, is now in the John Rylands University Library. It bears the names of its buyers, Georgius de Amsbergh and his wife Frederica, of the diocese of Cologne – the city where it was sold on 27 February 1455.¹⁰ Names, locations and dates in several other copies found in bindings were not filled in, however; presumably they had remained unsold when the indulgence expired, and became binders' material.¹¹

For later printing, small vellum strips were the remains of indulgences printed in Westminster and London; they were found in several Oxford bindings and led Christopher de Hamel to reconstruct the itinerary of an indulgence pedlar in 1480. Again, once the indulgence had expired, they were only worth the vellum they were printed on.¹² Fitting together 77 guard-strips found in six copies of the Gouda Blaffert, in three different institutions, revealed not only an unrecorded block-book and a Pater Noster book printed in a hitherto unknown typeface, but gave also an insight into the relationships between punch-cutters, printers and binders in Gouda in the 1490s.¹³

These examples had a clear focus, and could therefore lead to a systematic record of fragments and the places where they were preserved. It is much more difficult to achieve this when no such focus can be defined. This is especially the case when the material is very widely dispersed and described according to varying standards, by many hands, possibly over very many years. I propose to consider here the case of fragments of schoolbooks from what is collectively known as Dutch Prototypography, which were scattered over an extensive area. I shall precede this, however, with some general remarks on fragments of early printing. The insights gained from material less weighed down by centuries of

9 It took Horn two years to complete the transaction in August 1800: letter from Horn to Lord Spencer, quoted by Jensen (see above, n. 8), n. 138. The former Spencer copy was offered in the catalogue of Payne & Foss of 1835 (no. 6265) for £31.10.00, sold to Sir Thomas Phillips. It is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, accession no. 22226, Goff N48. The copy of the 31-line indulgence that was retained by Spencer was deemed superior, as the seal was still attached; it was acquired in 1801 and is now at Manchester, John Rylands University Library, JRL 17250.2.

10 Manchester, John Rylands University Library, JRL 17250.1.

11 Eisermann's list (see n. 6 above), nos. 7, 16, 21, 35, all apparently from the same binding. Another copy was used as a wrapper for an archival document, but was filled in (Eisermann no. 15).

12 In unpublished lectures. See also BMC XI, pp. 119, 237. ISTC ik00010600-800.

13 HPT vol. 1, pp. 86–7. Lotte Hellinga in *Le cinquième centenaire de l'imprimerie dans les Anciens Pays-Bas*. Brussels, 1973, pp. 85–8, 446–8 and Pl. 12. ISTC ip00148600.

controversy may help in attempting a systematic presentation, and may also lead to the formulation of new questions.

Fragments of early printing: Printers' waste and binders' waste

Early printed fragments, like fragments of manuscripts, are most commonly found in bindings as paste-downs, leaving a sizable surface of printed vellum or paper intact. In later bindings an even more fortunate find can be a pile of sheets used to form a paste-board. Equally important documents have survived as guard-strips, cut and shaped to protect the paper fold in the middle of a quire, or as narrow strips used to line a spine. Sharp-eyed antiquarians have retrieved some thin vellum strips which had been twisted to serve as strings in archival documents (Fig. 6.1).¹⁴ We can observe here the technical preferences of individual binders, which in turn may have been determined by local traditions.

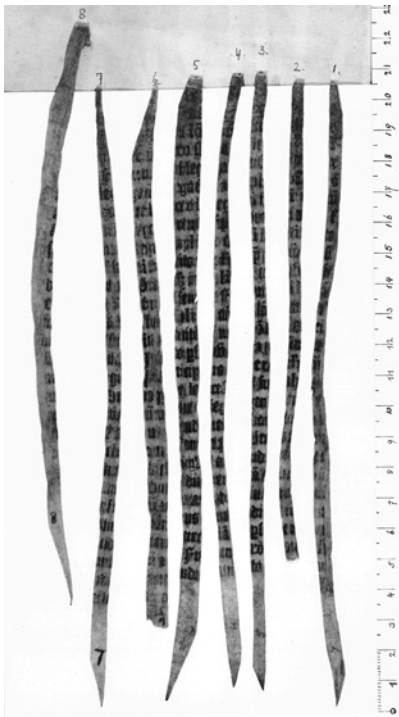


FIGURE 6.1

Binder's waste of Netherlands Prototypography. These slim vellum fragments of a printed Donatus were discovered in an archival document where they served as sewing strings.

HAARLEM, STADSBIJLIOTHEEK, INV. II, NO. 12. JASPERS 24.

¹⁴ Nos. 40, 41 in Appendix.

More generally there are some important cultural distinctions. Fragments are mainly found in bindings produced in the German-speaking countries, the Netherlands and England, for instance, but occur less often in bindings from France, and much less often in those from Italy and the Iberian Peninsula (with the exception of paste-boards). The much accelerated cataloguing projects of early printed books which have come to fruition since the 1970s have brought to light many interesting fragments; interpretations attached to their occurrence are now influenced by the rapid developments of the History of the Book as an academic discipline. It may therefore be useful to reconsider the kind of evidence early printed fragments may offer to the modern historian – who may be expected to be interested not only in the history of the spread of printing, but also in methods of book production, the dissemination of books through the book trade, ownership and the phenomenon of survival.

Printed fragments, designated as ‘Makulatur’ in the German-language tradition, have in English terminology traditionally been distinguished as either printers’ waste or binders’ waste. Printers’ waste comprises leaves of paper or vellum that for one reason or other were discarded by their printers, while binders’ waste results from the recycling of books no longer useful for their original purpose. As evidence they have entirely different value – a difference heightened by the expansion of historical interest we see in the present time. Printers’ waste has, by definition, never been part of a book. Sometimes it is evidently discarded by printers because the sheet is printed on only one side; or it may show faulty imposition, bad smudging or other such flaws. We may also recognize it as waste because it lacks rubrication and decoration where this would have been appropriate and, of course, it has no notes made by users. Such material will also lack any traces of previous binding such as sewing holes. It happens not infrequently that printers’ waste is the sole evidence for the erstwhile existence of a book; alternatively, sheets which were discarded by the printers during the printing process can show preliminary states of the text, before the product was completed and issued. Most recently Oliver Duntze and Falk Eisermann distinguished in a study of fragments of incunabula the various phases of production that are witnessed in printer’s waste surviving as fragments in bindings.¹⁵

Some fragments of printer’s waste offer strong evidential value for determining the location of a bindery. Fragments of this kind have played an important

15 Oliver Duntze, Falk Eisermann, ‘Fortschritt oder Fidibus? Zur Bestimmung, Bewahrung und Bedeutung von Inkunabelfragmenten’. In Hanns Peter Neuheuser, Wolfgang Schmitz, (eds.), *Fragment und Makulatur: Überlieferungsstörungen und Forschungsbedarf bei Kulturgut in Archiven und Bibliotheken*. Wiesbaden, 2015, pp. 281–308.

role in linking groups of bindings with particular printers: Günther Zainer in Augsburg, Peter Schoeffer in Mainz, Anton Koberger in Nuremberg and William Caxton in Westminster.¹⁶

It may also be possible to develop further Graham Pollard's thesis that printers' waste seldom strays far from the place where it was first considered waste.¹⁷ The numerous instances now known of Zainer, Schoeffer and Koberger waste-sheets have substantiated this. We may even seek to invert this reasoning where the location of a printer is uncertain. If printers' waste is found in a binding known to be produced in a particular town, we may consider whether the printing took place in or near there.

This potential inversion may lead to some reconsideration of the many surviving fragments of Dutch Prototypography for which the place of printing is unknown.

Fragments as evidence for the dissemination of printed books

This line of investigation can also help in applying our improved understanding of the wholesale and retail book trade. The great printing centres, foremost among them Venice, Basel, Strasbourg, Paris and Lyon, produced great quantities of books, particularly Latin texts in theology, law and other areas of academic or professional concern, and an effective trading network was essential in order to get them to the consumers.¹⁸ Bindings produced by the retailers provide an important body of evidence for the existence of these trade channels. Peter Schoeffer, for example, was a large-scale importer; his retail

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- 16 On Zainer: David Rogers, 'A glimpse into Günther Zainer's workshop at Augsburg c. 1475', in Lotte Hellinga and Helmar Härtel (eds.), *Buch und Text im 15. Jahrhundert / Book and text in the fifteenth century*. Hamburg, 1981, pp. 145–63. [Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung 2]. On Schoeffer: Vera Sack, 'Über Verlegereinbände und Buchhandel Peter Schöffers', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 13 (1972–3), cols. 249–88. See also above, p. 90 and Appendix 1 to Chapter 4. On Koberger: Lotte Hellinga, 'Hunting for early proof-sheets', *The Bodleian Library Record*, 15 (1996), pp. 368–71. On Caxton: see George D. Painter, 'Caxton through the looking glass', *Gbjb* 1963, pp. 73–80; Howard M. Nixon, 'William Caxton and bookbinding', *Journal of the printing Historical Society*, 11 (1976), pp. 92–113; Paul Needham, *The printer & the pardoner*. Washington DC, 1986.
- 17 Graham Pollard, 'The names of some English fifteenth-century binders', *The Library*, 5th ser. 25 (1970), p. 196.
- 18 Explored for the English book trade by Margaret L. Ford in 'Importation of printed books into England and Scotland', in Lotte Hellinga & J.B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, vol. 3, 1400–1557. Cambridge, 1999, pp. 179–201.

market covered a proportionately large area, as we still can judge from the early owners of the books he is now known to have sold after they were bound in Mainz.¹⁹ There were book dealers who retailed to a market far beyond their own horizon. Johannes de Westfalia in Leuven, for example, was instrumental in the trade in continental books to the Oxford stationer Thomas Hunt.²⁰ De Westfalia traded principally in books printed by himself and by printers in Cologne, and was less active than Schoeffer in playing the role of intermediary between customers and the great producers in Venice and Basel. This fell to a contemporary of De Westfalia in Leuven, Ludovicus Ravescot, who printed less but was a wholesale importer of books from distant cities, as can be deduced from the books surviving in his bindings. A list of Ravescot bindings and their early owners, compiled by Georges Colin, gives a clear picture of Ravescot's trade and clientele, including religious houses in the Brabant area around Leuven and Brussels and learned buyers such as Archbishop Schevez, who bought books in Leuven to take home to Scotland.²¹

The following table, based on the three studies referred to above, compares the main sources for retail trade (so far as have been traced to date) of the three printers/book dealers. Their transactions covered different areas but were destined for a rather similar kind of clientele, not restricted by local or regional usage. They all catered for an academic and professional readership, as well as for religious houses. The texts all belonged to a body of mostly traditional learning that had relevance for the whole of the reading world of its time.

The fact that printed works of learning were likely to be traded over long distances becomes important when assessing the value of the evidence presented by many fragments of the second kind: those cut from books after they had been bought and used, better known as binders' waste. Printed material, especially strong material such as parchment, was cut up by binders once it had served its natural life span. This could be short, as in the case of ephemera or indulgences with a strictly limited period of validity. If by the end of that time they had not been sold, their only value was as scrap. Substantial liturgical

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- 19 See the studies by Vera Sack (see above n. 16); also above, Chapter 4, and Cornelia Schneider, *Peter Schöffer: Bücher für Europa*. Mainz, 2003. Schneider (p. 31) lists the agencies Schoeffer had in Frankfurt am Main, Basel, Trier and Angers; he imported books from Strasbourg, Cologne, Leuven, Basel, Venice, Padua, Speyer, Vienne en Dauphiné and Freiburg im Breisgau. Cf. Appendix 1 to Chapter 4, pp. 405–43.
 - 20 The most recent study, referring to earlier literature, is by Paul Needham, 'Continental printed books sold in Oxford, c. 1480–3', in Martin Davies (ed.), *Incunabula: Studies in fifteenth-century printed books presented to Lotte Hellinga*. London, 1999, pp. 243–70.
 - 21 G. Colin, 'A new list of the bindings of Ludovicus Ravescot', in *Incunabula* (see above, n. 20), pp. 353–70.

Peter Schoeffer ^a Ludovicus Ravescot Johannes de Westfalia			
Percentage of titles from			
Venice	23	19	9.5
Percentage of titles from			
Basel	14	6	2
Strasbourg	10	13	1 (?)
Cologne	5	19	35
Leuven	–	13	32
Mainz	19	4	–
Other	29	26	20

a The figures for Schoeffer are based on Appendix 1 to Chapter 4, pp. 405–43.

works, often printed on vellum, regularly fell to the binders’ knives, for liturgy was regularly updated and obsolete versions were discarded. Alternatively, books could simply become worn out, as often happened to schoolbooks. To adapt Graham Pollard’s thesis: binders’ waste seldom strays far from the place where it was last used as an integral part of a book before falling into the hands of binders.

Two examples of schoolbooks surviving as fragments in bindings may illustrate this. Six leaves and fragments of a Donatus printed in Antwerp between 1481 and 1483 by Mathias van der Goes, now in the Royal Library in Brussels, were found in the binding of a manuscript containing lecture notes written in Leuven between 1510 and 1520.²² The Donatus had been rubricated and was obviously a used copy, worn out by the time it was cut up. The distance between Antwerp and Leuven is short, and the lives of the schoolbook, main text and binding seem to be confined to this small area. A *Vocabularius Ex quo*, a Latin dictionary for the use of students, printed between 1486 and 1488 by the Leuven printer Aegidius van der Heerstraten in a version with Dutch translations, survives only in two vellum leaves.²³ Some 25 years after its publication, when more modern dictionaries had become the norm, the two leaves were used by

22 ISTC id00327775. ILC 861. Hellinga, *Le cinquième centenaire* (see above, n. 13), p. 166.

23 ISTC iv00364950; unique copy BL, 1A.49358. ILC 2202.

Jan Ryckaert in nearby Ghent as end-leaves when he bound around 1511 a book printed in Parma in 1506.²⁴

Unlike works of learning for the academic and professional world, schoolbooks were often, though not invariably, the work of printers providing for the needs of a local market. Many Latin schoolbooks include some elements of vernacular text, possibly reflecting local traditions of teaching that schools and schoolmasters were loath to relinquish. Only a few centres, notably the printers in Deventer and Speyer, specialized in schoolbooks for wider distribution, whereas Cologne produced textbooks used in many universities. School curricula would sometimes prescribe modern texts to replace the outmoded traditional ones. In the Low Countries, a few printers in Deventer and Antwerp attempted to enter the market for English schoolbooks. They produced editions of John Anwykyll's grammar, the *Vulgaria* of Terence with examples in English and some other schoolbooks with English connections.²⁵ In the 1490s, however, they were successfully seen off by Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson, the first printers in England to produce regular supplies for schools across the whole country, establishing a tradition that continued from then on.

Printed fragments, as noted above, are sometimes the only surviving witnesses for the existence of what once was an edition of a printed book. This happens occasionally with books of academic learning, but much more often with schoolbooks, made of extra strong materials to withstand rough handling. Schoolbooks were cut up when worn out or when they had become obsolete, and the most common schoolbooks only rarely survive in complete form. If we turn our attention to the many early printed schoolbooks whose place of printing is uncertain or disputed – such as the schoolbooks in the types of Dutch Prototypography – we may wonder whether reversion of Pollard's thesis is also applicable to this material. Is it possible to suggest that the location of the binders who used them as binder's waste may indicate the area where the texts were originally distributed and last used?

What follows is mainly concerned with editions of the *Ars minor* of Aelius Donatus and the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei. Both texts had been used for many centuries across a wide area of continental Europe for elementary

24 The binding is dated by Mirjam M. Foot, *The Henry Davis gift*. London, 1978–2009, vol. 2 (1983), p. 343 (Davis 291), quoting earlier literature. Bound in it is Franciscus Marius Grapaldi, *De partibus aedium*. Parma, 1506. Early ownership inscription: 'Gabriel [...?] Brugensis, Emptus Lovanij 1562'.

25 Nicholas Orme, 'Schools and school-books', in *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain* (1999), vol. 3 (see above n. 18), pp. 449–69 (esp. p. 461).

Latin teaching. Once multiplication in print became possible, it would be perfectly reasonable to suppose that these texts, firmly established by lengthy traditions, could have been produced in various places in a uniform way, to be sold through the channels of the book trade to wherever schools used them. They might have been produced in one centre and then widely disseminated, or printed in many different towns for local or regional schools. There is no *a priori* case to suggest one or the other.

Schoolbooks printed in types of the Netherlands Prototypography

During the last 250 years numerous fragments of Netherlands Prototypography (otherwise known as ‘Costeriana’) have been found; many are all that survives of editions of schoolbooks otherwise lost. In the long and acrimonious debate about the invention of printing they were seen as important witnesses. As with the first Mainz indulgences, and even at earlier dates in the eighteenth century, they were avidly collected as they emerged from bindings and were recognized as early specimens of printing. The fact that the first fragments to come to light were found in archival documents in Haarlem has always been used as a strong argument by those defending the Haarlem position against the champions of Gutenberg and Mainz.²⁶ Later, when links with the city of Utrecht could be demonstrated from fragments emerging from early Utrecht bindings, along with other evidence, systematic bibliography assigned Prototypography to this city, while ceding priority to Mainz and Gutenberg.²⁷

As far as bibliographical systematization in the ‘Proctor order’ is concerned, this is where matters still stand. But any concept of what actually took place remains complicated by the debate about the interpretation of words used by contemporary or near-contemporary witnesses of events surrounding the invention of printing. Their ambiguity suggests that even to these early witnesses the story did not appear straightforward. Two early authorities, regarding the printing of Donatus, *Ars minor*, or *De octo partibus orationis* and Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale* have to be quoted in the present context. The gradual

26 For example, J.H. Hessels in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, eleventh ed., s.v. ‘Typography’, with a massive survey of earlier literature from the sixteenth century on.

27 Henry Bradshaw, *List* (see above, n. 1) and *Collected Papers* (1889), pp. 258–80 (pp. 261–2). Later discussions about the evidential value of fragments, in particular in relation to the place of printing of Prototypography (by J.H. Hessels, B. Kruitwagen, G.A. Evers) is summed up in HPT, vol. 1, pp. 7–8, leading to the observation that each instance has to be documented with great care.

emergence of fragments of these schoolbooks may give some substance to their remarks, which in isolation make little sense.

The first, well known, is Ulrich Zell, Cologne's first printer. In 1465 he had moved from Mainz to begin a successful career in Cologne, towards the end of which, at a great age, he reflected on its beginning, as reported in the *Cologne Chronicle* (1499). His reminiscences took him back to Mainz in the 1450s and to the printing of the Latin Bible; he continued: '... Item wiewail die kunst is vonden tzo Mentz / als vursz. up die wijse / als dan nu gemeynlich gebruycht wirt / so is doch die eyrste vurbyldung vonden in Hollant uyss den Donaten / die dae selfst vur der tzijt gedrukt syn. Ind van ind uyss den is genomen dat begunne der vursz. kunst'.²⁸

Information on the *Doctrinale* was recorded by Hadrianus Junius, who had access to well-informed sources in Haarlem when he wrote his *Batavia* in 1569 (published in 1588). In a discussion of the merits of the city of Haarlem, he dwelt at some length on the invention of movable type by Laurens Janszoon Coster and the first books he was reputed to have printed there. This is the first full account of the Coster legend, with a few pieces of tangible evidence woven into a memorable story. It claims that Coster's servant Johannes Faustus stole the inventory of Coster's workshop one Christmas evening; he disappeared with it, moving first to Amsterdam, then to Cologne and finally arriving in Mainz. In the beginning of the year 1442, wrote Junius, '... ijs ipsis typis, quibus Harlemi Laurentius fuerat usus, prodisse in lucem certum est Alexandri Galli doctrinale, quae Grammatica celeberrimo tunc in usu erat, cum Petri Hispani tractatibus ...'²⁹

The work of recent decades has developed insights which may help to reconcile these traditionally opposed beliefs about the origin of printing – and may even suggest that there is some truth in all of them. The study of the printing types of Dutch Prototypography has revealed internal links between them, suggesting that they were all the work of one punch- cutter. As early as 1911, J.H. Hessels was the first to observe, in his famous article 'Typography' in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, that there are differentiations in the state of the types, a suggestion further elaborated in Wytze and Lotte Hellinga's *Printing Types*.³⁰ When in 1972 I summarized the results of a survey of Dutch Prototypography that I had carried out in 1966–7, I took this a

28 *Cronica van der hilliger stat van Coelen*. Cologne, Joh. Koelhoff, the Younger, 23 August 1499, GW 6688, fol. gg2^a. ISTC ic00476000.

29 Hadrianus Junius, *Batavia*. Leiden, Ex Officina Plantiniana apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1588, fol. kk1^a (p. 257).

30 HPT, vol. 1, pp. 4–9.

step further by suggesting that the body of editions collectively designated as 'Dutch Prototypography' (and consisting of many more distinct editions than had been thought before) was the work of more than one printer, working in different towns which included Haarlem and Utrecht, who had all obtained type made by one punch-cutter.³¹ I have come to think of this anonymous punch-cutter as the 'Dutch Prototypographer'.

This is not the occasion to go beyond this mere outline, let alone to summarize the vast literature about the invention of printing and the disputes about its origins. I intend here merely to explore whether, in the light of recent findings and the principles set out at the beginning of this chapter, a record of the circumstances of the fragments' survival can provide some further insight into these age-old questions.

It is a good moment to make such an attempt. The *Doctrinale* and *Donatus* fragments, none of which can be dated with certainty,³² are not only scattered over hundreds of books and locations; they have also been recorded and discussed in numerous publications, bibliographies, supplements, supplements to supplements and so forth. Now, however, 191 sets of fragments (many consisting of more than one leaf or parts of leaves, and any number of narrow strips) have been brought together in one listing, in *Incunabula printed in the Low Countries: a Census* (commonly abbreviated to 'ILC'). With this comprehensive listing an up-to-date framework for further research has become available – although no such list can ever be considered final: the Appendix to the present chapter, for instance, includes four items (nos. 23, 24, 34 and 35) which are not in ILC. The ILC is no more or less than it claims to be: a list of

31 Lotte Hellinga, 'Further fragments of Dutch Prototypography: a list of findings since 1938'. *Quaerendo* 2 (1972), pp. 182–99. I do not propose to enter the (to date) inconclusive discussions about the methods by which the types of the Prototypography were produced. An overview of early theories was presented by Talbot Baines Reed in the first chapter of his *A history of the old English letter foundries*. London, 1887, revised and enlarged edited by A.F. Johnson, London, 1952, pp. 1–11. Reed considered the technique of the Dutch Prototypography as a primitive and 'rude' development, independent of the 'more mature' typography that 'appears to have arrived at once at the secret of the punch, matrix, and adjustable mould' (p. 11).

32 The earliest date suggested for an edition of Prototypography is c. 1463 for the *Doctrinale* fragment (below, Appendix no. 1). See Needham, *Fragments in books* (1996), see above, n. 2. His argument depends on the date of the binding in which the fragment was found, which strictly should be 'not before 1463', that year being the date of the manuscript in the binding. The four Prototypography editions of Cato, *Disticha*, three in type 1 (ILC 521–3) and one in type 5 (ILC 520), are left out of consideration here since particulars about their provenance are uncertain.

editions in short-title format with locations. It does not include transcriptions or information about provenance, nor details of where fragments were found. Regrettably no record of provenance exists for the majority of items.

Until recently, the study of Prototypography fragments was oriented towards reconstructing the editions, resulting in the realization that an astonishing number of different editions once existed, each presumably produced in a small print run. When librarians discovered fragments in bindings, they were usually detached, identified and incorporated into collections as separate items, or even further dispersed through the antiquarian book trade. This is how most of the fragments in the world's largest and most representative collections of incunabula were acquired: through the antiquarian book trade, without any record of their early origin.

Fortunately there are some exceptions. There are painstaking articles by scholars such as J.H. Hessels, M.J. Husung, C.F. Bühler, Vera Sack, P. Simoniti, J.M.M. Hermans and Paul Needham that trace fragments to their origins and consider the implications of these finds.³³ Some libraries have also kept records of the bindings from which fragments were detached; the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Düsseldorf, where many fragments were found in early bindings, is an outstanding example.

When I surveyed Dutch Prototypography in 1965–6 and assembled a comprehensive photographic documentation, I was primarily concerned with the history of production by distinguishing editions.³⁴ I also began to be intrigued by the geographical distribution of the fragments, and kept a record when information was provided by the many libraries I contacted. This remained patchy and inconsistent, however, and therefore I did not include it in my publications on the project. Since further information has come to light in recent years, further questions arose – not least because we now tend to think more carefully about the book trade as the mechanism for wide dissemination. I have therefore revisited the documentation, now kept in the Royal Library in The Hague, in order to put together the available information about

33 J.H. Hessels (see above, n. 26); M.J. Husung, 'Ein unbekanntes Blatt vom holländischen Frühdrucker'. *Ghjb* 1933, pp. 36–42. Cf. below, Chapter 7, pp. 262–66 and Fig. 7.3.; Curt F. Bühler, 'New Coster fragments of the Doctrinale'. *Ghjb* 1938, pp. 59–68; Vera Sack, *Unbekannte Donat* (1973), (see above, n. 1); P. Simoniti, 'Ein weiteres Costerianum'. *Ghjb* 1974, pp. 47–51; Jos M.M. Hermans, 'Notes on some Donats of fourteen, fifteen and sixteen leaves of twenty-seven lines, printed in the Saliceto fount', *Quaerendo*, 8 (1978), pp. 75–98; Needham, *Fragments in books* (1996), see above, n. 2.

34 The survey was funded by ZWO (later TNO), the Dutch organization supporting independent research on behalf of the government. For a publication of results see above, n. 31. The present and following chapter are partly late fruits of this research project.

provenance and early ownership. This time my focus was on dissemination, not on the reconstruction of editions and putting the fragments into a chronological timescale, which is a separate (and difficult) question. Incomplete though this record undoubtedly is, it may indicate a new line of interpretation for the data and offer a new angle on the interpretation of this category of early printing; the outcome may lead to becoming a little less confident in designating it all categorically as printed in the Low Countries, as in the current term 'Netherlands Prototypography'. The details of my recent trawl through the earlier documentation are found in the Appendix.³⁵

Surveying the fragments

All known fragments of Prototypography are printed on vellum, which lent them value for later use as binders' material. As discussed above, unused fragments – usually presumed to be printers' waste – may bring us close to the production process, but there remains a possibility that instead they passed through the trade at an early time. The absence of initials in red, other rubrication or indeed markings of any kind may mean that they never left the printing house before being sold off to a binder; in that case they reached their penultimate destination (a book binding) earlier than did the fragments that first existed as parts of complete books, used by children learning Latin. But it is equally possible that the books remained in a pristine state as part of a supply of copies. They may have been first sold wholesale by a printer to a retailer, who may in turn have transported them over a great distance, only to fail to sell them; he may then have finally remaindered the stock to a binder.

Only two sets of the 'unused' fragments I have listed (Appendix nos. 1 and 9) show evidence of having been discarded by a printer as waste-sheets; no. 9 is clearest of all, namely three identical sheets printed on one side only. The seven other unused fragments show no such defects, and therefore do not provide clear evidence for the location of production. To add further ambiguity, it remains possible that red initials were sometimes added in the printing house to finish the production process manually, although this can usually be expected in books of greater value.

Used fragments – binders' waste – are not difficult to recognize: contemporary annotation and scribbles leave no room for doubt that they once formed part of books used by pupils (Fig. 6.2). Fragments with painted initials and

35 I am very grateful to the late Gerard van Thienen, at the time of the Royal Library, The Hague, for giving me all possible help in consulting this material.

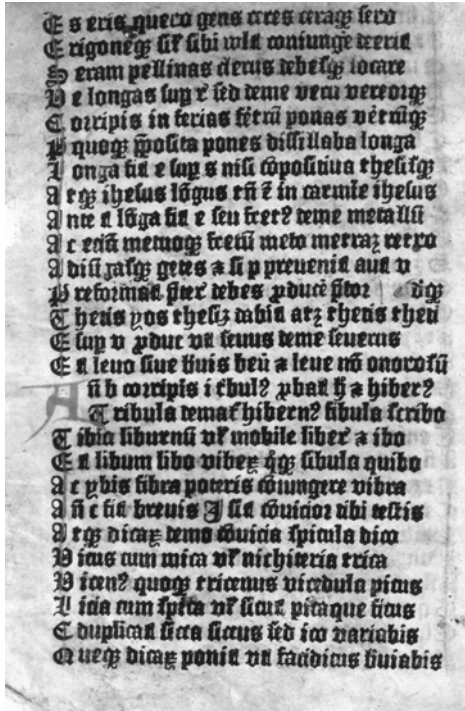


FIGURE 6.2

Binder's waste of Netherlands Prototypography. A page printed on vellum of Alexander de Villa Dei, Doctrinale, is carefully rubricated. It was therefore probably used in a schoolbook before it was discarded and ended up strengthening a binding.

HAARLEM, STADSBIJLIOTHEEK, INV.
II, NO. 13. JASPER 13 (DETAIL).

rubrication also suggest that they were once part of a copy, ready to find a buyer. They reached their destinations through the book trade, over long or short distances. When it is beyond doubt that fragments once belonged to a book used by students, they are an unambiguous testimony to dissemination; the location of the bindings in which they were preserved, or details of their early owners, gives at least an approximation of the area in which they were used as schoolbooks. Some obviously remained in use for a long time. We shall see that their use can be divided into a small 'western' area, including Holland and Utrecht, and a very large 'eastern' area, with Cologne apparently its focal point. Historically these two areas were distinct, each defined by language, trade connections and their particular culture. Only in the course of the sixteenth century did political events begin to shape the future nations, and their demarcations changed. The right bank of the river IJssel, with the cities of Deventer and Zwolle, was the westernmost part of the eastern area which stretched far eastward into Lower Saxony. Within it were the cities of Cologne and Frankfurt, among the great trading centres of their time. The western area is best defined as the counties of Holland and Flanders and the bishopric of Utrecht.

We do not need, for present purposes, to go into more detail about the various political changes and shifting boundaries which took place within that area.

On the basis of the documentation of Prototypography as it now stands, two key questions may be formulated.

1. Were the schoolbooks the work of several printers or of only one printer (as traditionally thought)?
2. Were they disseminated via extensive trading networks (if produced in one or only a few places) or were they, on the contrary, printed by many different printers working for local markets?

In the Appendix 46 sets of fragments of *Doctrinale* and *Donatus* editions are listed. Given that the ISTC lists a total of 191 items (to which at least four have to be added), this may just be considered a significant proportion. I have included a list of the fragments known to me that show no sign of use (nos. 1–9), because, despite reservations, their evidence for production and trade is different from that provided by the used fragments. Of the used fragments – much the most common sort – I have listed only those for which documentation on their (approximately) contemporary binding or early ownership was retrievable, many of them indicating the location where they were probably last used before they became binders' waste (nos. 10–46).

Of the 37 sets of used fragments in the list, five have come to light in documents connected with Haarlem and its environment (nos. 29, 31, 32, 40 and 41). These have long been cited to support the claim that printing was invented in Haarlem. Two come from a Utrecht document (nos. 19 and 44) and, together with sets of other Prototypography printing found in bindings of undoubted Utrecht origin, add to the suggestion that part of the printing in the types of Dutch Prototypography took place in Utrecht.³⁶ The fragments found in a document connected with the monastery of Den Hem near Schoonhoven, itself a site of fifteenth-century printing (no. 20), may also originate from a Utrecht workshop, although a connection with Haarlem cannot be ruled out. A manuscript written in Muiden c. 1467, in a contemporary binding, that had belonged to the Mariaklooster in nearby Weesp (just east of Amsterdam), contained 17 strips of a *Donatus* in type 5 (no. 27). In any case ten or eleven sets of fragments, or more than a third of the total of sets of used fragments listed here, come from books firmly located in the north-western part of the Low Countries, in the county of Holland and in Utrecht. The two fragments

36 For the material evidence for the printing of humanist texts in Utrecht with types of the Prototypography see below, Chapter 7, pp. 267–71.

connected with Groningen (nos. 37 and 45), which were probably used there at an early date, are more likely to have arrived there from eastern connections than through the west.³⁷ One used fragment (no. 38) comes from a Paris binding, with the name of the binder, Karolus de Quercu, perhaps suggesting a Netherlandish connection (Van Eijck?).³⁸ The history of this fragment, first used as waste in Paris, from where it was taken to Salamanca and subsequently to Vienna, is a vivid illustration of why thorough investigation and cautious interpretation are imperative.

The items associated with the southern part of the Low Countries cannot all be considered to have belonged to the western sphere of influence. The *Doctrinale* fragments recorded with provenance in Limburg, in Venlo and Wittem (nos. 11 and 16) are firmly located in the area where Cologne was dominant. It is impossible to guess with any confidence whether the items associated with Groenendael and the Benedictine Abbey of Affligem, both religious houses near Brussels (nos. 13, 24 and 36), and the Praemonstratensian Abbey of Tongerlo, near Antwerp (no. 7), found their way there via the book trade from Cologne or from the north-west. Trade connections with both areas were intense. The fragments formerly in Affligem (nos. 24 and 36, now in the Lilly

37 The fragment was extensively described with illustrations by the late Jos. M.M. Hermans, see above, n. 34. Hermans mentioned its provenance only in passing; it was found in the binding on a manuscript of the *Gesta Romanorum*, dated 1463 (HS 162 in de Groningen UB), which was bequeathed at an early date to the library of the Martini Church in Groningen. Hermans designated the binding as 'Groningen, late 15th, early 16th century'. He probably arrived at this localization and dating on the basis of the article by E.R. Kluyver, 'Groningsche boekbinders in de 15e eeuw', *Het Boek*, 19 (1930), pp. 267–72, where on p. 272 the stamp of a lily in a square double frame is shown (no. 23). This stamp closely resembles one of the stamps on HS 162, where a lily with the same dimensions has a single square frame. It is found on two bindings, each on two incunabula bound together and printed in 1489, 1490, 1491 and 1493 (Roos 105, 169, 170, 188, ISTC ih00097000, iso0654000, ia00721000, im00749500). Since the stamps are not identical, the result of this investigation is inconclusive. It is the outcome of much patient help from Gerda Huisman in the Groningen University Library, who sent me rubbings and photographs of HS 162, and Elly Cockx-Indestege, who searched her entire Wrijfselarchief of rubbings of bindings of the Low Countries, without finding a precise match to what is still visible of the stamps on this binding. I owe both much gratitude.

38 Appendix no. 38 comes from the binding on a copy of *Biblia latina* (Lyon, Fradin & Pivard, 1497), GW 4279 (Vienna ÖNB, Ink. 18.F.4) which has a stamp with the name of De Quercu, described and illustrated by Otto Mazal, *Europäische Einbandkunst*. Graz, 1990, no. 62. The book has a note of purchase stating that it was bought in Paris for a monastery in Salamanca. I am very grateful to the late Mr G. Wilhelm, Vienna, ÖNB for kindly giving me further information on this volume.

Library) were retrieved from the contemporary binding of a book printed in Deventer, as were the Tongerlo fragments. The binding on the book printed in Leuven in which two fragments were found (nos. 5 and 30) is too worn to be identified. The booksellers and printers in Leuven had their own wide ramifications in the trade; its later provenance (from the Culemann sale) is no help here.³⁹

The remaining 18 used fragments (almost half of the total) can all with reasonable certainty be connected with the eastern area, given that its influence went beyond territorial borders due to Cologne's extensive trade connections. The immediate Cologne area is represented by bindings produced in the city itself (nos. 18, 21, 28, 33 and 35).⁴⁰ Of the fragments so carefully recorded by G. Gattermann in the Düsseldorf Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, no. 25 comes from a binding that had belonged to a convent in the city itself; this is also the provenance of fragment no. 15. Fragment no. 46, in the same collection, was recycled from an earlier binding in about 1562 and may have a similar provenance. Unused fragment no. 8, however (the only unambiguous instance of printer's waste) has obviously been in Düsseldorf for a long time, but, very significantly, its earliest history is in or near Haarlem. How and when the book in which it was bound travelled from Haarlem to Düsseldorf remains utterly obscure; if anything it offers a warning that in other instances lack of precise data can be misleading.

Cologne's sphere of influence was, however, much wider than its immediate environment: we have already seen that it extended northward to include Groningen (nos. 37 and 45), westward to Limburg (nos. 11 and 16); it stretched

39 The late professor Conor Fahy very kindly made for me a rubbing of this binding, now in the Cambridge University Library.

40 Fragment no. 21 was originally noted by Joseph Benzing, 'Buchgeschichtliche Beiträge zu einigen Frühdrucken der UB Mainz'. In H. Eibel (ed.), *Gedenkschrift zur Einweihung der neuen Universitätsbibliothek der Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz*. Mainz, 1962. Benzing identified the panel binding as Parisian. Mrs Elly Cockx-Indestege searched her documentation of bindings, het Wrijfelarchief, and found five other instances of the panel: Xanten, Stiftsbibliothek, Nr 1735B (K. Kollins, *Eversio Lutherani*, Cologne, 1527). The panel combined with the arms of Cologne and a house-mark with the monogram C.A. of a binder identified as a Cologne binder by I. Schunke. The same binder bound Brussels, Royal Library, LP 3029 (*Biblia*, Lyon, 1524). The panel is also found on a Ghent binding, with the initials 'Pe C' for Pieter de Keysere (Ghent, UL, Res. 644). Two other bindings were formerly in private ownership and their present location is unknown. On the basis of these records a Cologne origin of the binding on the book in the Mainz UB is probable, although a Flemish binder cannot be ruled out. Dr Kurt Hans Staub, together with whom I examined this binding, came to the same conclusion.

eastward to Lower Saxony in the direction of Hildesheim (no. 14) and above all southward, along the Rhine. Along that route we can follow a trail that takes in the Cistercian Abbey of Altenberg, equidistant from Düsseldorf and Cologne (no. 12), Mainz (no. 10), Frankfurt am Main (no. 39), the Upper Rhine area (nos. 22, 26 and perhaps 17), and Augsburg (no. 42). One Donatus even penetrated to Zürich (no. 23), where it cannot have been in use for very long before it was used locally in a binding believed to date from about 1473.⁴¹ Perhaps this book had strayed too far and represented a style, and possibly a text, too unfamiliar to be acceptable for elementary teaching in Zürich, so that it was soon discarded. The provenance of no. 34, now in the Ljubljana National and University Library, suggests that this fragment strayed even further south-east. The owner of the book in which it was found can be traced to Lower Austria, just north of the Danube, some time after 1480. The style of its binding suggests the same area, Lower Austria if not Vienna.⁴²

To this picture of dissemination of used fragments can be added some less clearly defined elements, although a distinction has to be made based on how they arrived in their present locations. In Haarlem nine further sets of fragments are preserved, but since their provenance cannot be traced to any dates before the nineteenth century when the Coster-feud was at its height (for the earliest phase see above p. 215), they cannot be adduced as evidence for origin in Haarlem; all were purchased from unknown sources or donated.⁴³ Likewise the collections in the Royal Library and the Museum Meermanno

41 The identification of the binding on the volume in Dublin, Trinity College (Appendix no. 17) rests precariously on only one tool out of four used on this book; it may be linked to the binder Conradus de Argentina, EBDB Werkstatt w000851. While unravelling the many confusions regarding location created by Ilse Schunke, Michael Laird, 'Three Strassburg binders of the late fifteenth century', *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1998, pp. 7–36 has argued that Conradus, or more probably a successor, worked in Strasbourg from 1475. The one tool is close to EBDB s010319, Laird's tool 9, if not identical, but the other three tools on this binding are not recorded by Laird or in EBDB. The identification of the location has therefore to remain very doubtful. I am very grateful to Mr Vincent Kinane, Trinity College, Dublin, for sending me rubbings and other particulars of this volume. For the Zürich binding see Vera Sack (see above, n. 1), cols. 1503–7.

42 Dr P. Simoniti sent me a rubbing of the binding in Ljubljana before the publication of his article in *Gblb* 1974, see above, n. 33. The layout and the tools are similar to those on a binding identified as being by Master Mathias in Vienna, illustrated by Otto Mazal, *Einbandkunde: Die Geschichte des Bucheinbandes*. Wiesbaden, 1997, Plate 13. If not in Vienna by master Mathias or his 'Nachfolger', it was certainly produced in Lower Austria.

43 Haarlem, Museum Enschedé: ILC 150, 815, 836. Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek: ILC 147, 750, 753, 802, 814, 835; for description with notes on provenance see G.J. Jaspers, *De blokboeken en incunabelen in Haarlems Library*. Haarlem, 1988, nos. 13, 14, 15, 17, 19 and 22.

Westreenianum in The Hague were largely purchased through the antiquarian book trade.⁴⁴

More useful evidence may be found in other collections, where there was no particular interest in Haarlem's claims to the invention of printing. The Cologne Universitäts und Stadtbibliothek preserves 11 sets of fragments (of unrecorded provenance and therefore not listed in the Appendix)⁴⁵ that had come to light in bindings in its own collections, largely of local origin. The Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Düsseldorf has four sets of fragments with unknown provenance in addition to the five of which it is known, listed in the Appendix.⁴⁶ Fragments in the collections in Trier (four sets), Darmstadt, Heidelberg (two sets each), Hildesheim, Frankfurt, Giessen and Münster (one each) can all be expected to have come out of bindings from early local or regional collections.⁴⁷ To these may be added ten sets of fragments which once belonged to Dr G.F.B. Kloss of Frankfurt am Main. Five are now in the Bodleian Library and five others were given by Kloss to Baron van Westreenen; these are now in the Museum Meermanno Westreenianum.⁴⁸ Dr Kloss, whose collection was sold at auction in 1835, found the sources for his collecting activities primarily in locations along the Rhine and in adjoining areas. The dukes of Braunschweig, assembling in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries what was later known as the Helmstedt collection, gathered their books from a wide range of sources, but mainly in the German-speaking lands.⁴⁹ This

44 Drs Jos van Heel, at the time curator of the Museum Meermanno Westreenianum, sent me a list of the provenance of fragments in the Museum based on his exploration of the archives. Relevant for the present study is that the *Doctrinale* fragment ILC 115 and the *Donatus* fragments ILC 751, 770, 782 and 818 were obtained by Baron van Westreenen from Dr Kloss; his source for one other *Donatus* fragment (ILC 745) and two *Doctrinale* fragments (ILC 114, 119) was the Cologne bookdealer Heberle; Dr J.H. Wyttenbach, librarian of the Stadtbibliothek in Trier, gave him the *Doctrinale* fragment ILC 88 (cf. no. 16 in the Appendix). Later acquisitions in this collection are ILC 86, 741, 761, 785, 807, 819 and 853. The acquisition history of fragments in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag, has not been explored: ILC 92, 111, 123, 124, 135, 137, 146, 747, 752, 758, 768, 769, 775, 790, 794, 798, 824 and 846.

45 ILC 103, 104, 113, 118, 739, 756, 764, 778, 806, 820 and 842.

46 ILC 754, 755, 767 and 795.

47 Trier: ILC 149, 749, 760, 826; Darmstadt: 756, 776; Heidelberg: 757, 764; Hildesheim: ILC 107; Frankfurt a.M.: ILC 155; Giessen: Ink. C1169(2); Münster: ILC 748.

48 For the Kloss fragments in the Museum Meermanno Westreenianum see above, n. 45. In the Bodleian Library the fragments obtained from Kloss are ILC 85, 101, 779, 808 and 813 (Bod-inc A-178, A-177, D-127, D-129, D-130).

49 See Appendix no. 19. Otto von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel. I Die Helmstedter Handschriften*. Wolfenbüttel, 1884. Cf. the provenance index in vol. III.

is in contrast to Senator Friedrich Hermann Culemann, whose Prototypography fragments now survive in the Kestner Museum, Hannover and Cambridge University Library. As a collector Culemann cast his net very wide, and there is no record of these fragments' origin.⁵⁰

Distinguishing the material as 'printer's waste' and 'binder's waste' provides only a few instances of printer's waste, and therefore little evidence as to the place of production. Nor do we find unambiguous answers about the modes of dissemination of this large group of schoolbooks as a whole. The following table differentiates for clarity the raw material further by distinguishing texts and types with the location of the sources divided into 'east' and 'west'; the items found in sources in Paris and near Brussels and Antwerp are kept separate. There are no editions of the *Doctrinale* on record printed in Type 4, either with or without known provenance.

	East	West	Paris /nr. Brussels/ Antwerp
<i>Donatus</i> Type 1	22, 23		7, 24
<i>Doctrinale</i> Type 1	1, 10, 11, 12		13
<i>Donatus</i> Type 4	45, 46 (?)		
<i>Donatus</i> Type 5	3, 6, 25, 26, 28, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 42	27, 29, 31, 32, 40, 41, 44	36, 38
<i>Doctrinale</i> Type 5	14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21	19, 20	
<i>Donatus</i> Type 6		8 (?), 9	

The numbers refer to the items as listed in the Appendix. Excluded from this survey are nos. 2, 4, 5 and 43.

Conclusions

This presentation confirms that the number of fragments from sources in the eastern area, with 25 items, is far larger than the number of items from the small western area that encompasses Haarlem and Utrecht, which is 11. The five items found in bindings connected with Paris and the southern part of the Low Countries cannot be determined as belonging to either category. The nine unused fragments confirm this impression. There is a strikingly clear

50 ILC 96, 129, 787. K. Ernst, *Die Wiegendrucke des Kestner-Museums*. Second edition revised by Christian von Heusinger, Hannover, 1963.

connection with Cologne binding, at an early date, in two or three fragments of printer's waste (nos. 1, 3 and possibly 6). Two unused fragments, both in Type 6 (nos. 8 and 9), clearly belong to the western group. Significantly this group is strongest on books in Type 5 (including the only two fragments of the *Doctrinale* in this group), but it has no representatives at all of editions in Types 1 and 4. However, in Chapter 7 I shall argue that there is strong evidence for assuming that Utrecht is the place of printing of the 'humanist' texts, including the *Singularia* of Pontanus, printed in Types 4 and 5. The provenance of the *Donatus* fragments in Type 6 points to production in the West. This is the only type that is not internally linked to the three other types of Prototypography used for schoolbooks, although stylistically it is similar.

In a presentation based on survival to the present day an important factor still eludes us: the time of production and use. We should bear in mind that the traditional numbering of the types does not necessarily indicate a chronological sequence of introduction, let alone use, because so few real dates can be connected with them. For Type 1, the earliest dating so far is 'not before 1463', thanks to Paul Needham's investigation of the Van Ess fragment of the *Doctrinale* in this type (Appendix no. 1), whereas the copy in Munich UB of the first edition of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, also printed in Type 1, has the manuscript date '1471'.⁵¹ The humanist texts that were probably printed in Utrecht can be dated c. 1470. The use of Types 1, 4, 5 and 6 for the fragments listed below in the Appendix (and the intermediate states of Types 2 and 3) may therefore stretch over many years. During this time the appearance of elementary schoolbooks was changed as little as possible, probably intentionally. Teaching of the *Ars minor* took place in the familiar traditional form, with the sources of the fragments in a cultural area that is rather strikingly circumscribed: the Low Countries and in the German lands the Lower and Middle Rhine and as far east as Lower Saxony and Augsburg.

The typographical style they have in common is therefore significant as a key to understanding how it is that so many survived, albeit in fragmentary form; the answer has to be that they must have remained in demand over a considerable period of time. The text belongs to a centuries-old tradition in education, and the form in which it was printed, without commentary, had stabilized by the fifteenth century.⁵² The style of their early appearance in

⁵¹ ISTC iso0656000, ILC 2006.

⁵² The version of the text that remained the standard for the *Ars minor* without commentary was edited by Paul Schwenke, *Die Donat-und Kalender-Type: Nachtrag und Übersicht*. Mainz, 1903. [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft 2]. See also the useful introduction to 'Donatus' in GW vol. 5, cols. 582–3.

print is the continuation of this tradition. It is a typographical expression of the *textura* style – not only a style of writing, but also one that everyone in the regions where the fragments survive (and well beyond) would have seen carved in stone, in ecclesiastical and also secular inscriptions. Above all this was a style associated with the traditional formalities of the Church. That is how we may understand it as the style of choice for elementary teaching: it would familiarize every pupil with this particular visual form of verbal communication, especially important for those whose only contact with Latin would be when attending church services.

The dissemination of all the surviving fragments gives some indication of the regional spread of this cultural tradition, although the limitations of the reach of trade routes for materials such as these also partly account for it. Such trade is quite distinct from the trade routes along which the learned tomes produced and sold by Peter Schoeffer travelled to their destinations. But more significantly, the *Ars minor* of Donatus was used not much or at all in the teaching traditions of large parts of Europe: France, Italy, the Iberian Peninsula and the British Isles. A very clear image of the area where, until the end of the fifteenth century, the *Ars minor* was taught in the form in which it was reproduced in the early Dutch Prototypography and Mainz editions can be found in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. Here a list of places of printing precedes entries 8675–9017 covering the *Ars minor*.⁵³ When projecting this alphabetical list of 32 place names (Antwerpen–Zwolle) on a map, they form a corridor from Stockholm to Brünn (Brno), Vienna and Strasbourg; only a few sporadic exceptions fall outside this area, in Burgos and Geneva – where they were produced by printers with roots in the German-language area. The French and Italian places in this list have to be excluded, for subsequent research has corrected the *Gesamtkatalog*'s identification of the text, and established that the editions recorded as printed in those places are of the *Janua*, an introduction to Latin grammar unrelated to *Donatus*.⁵⁴

It has also to be remembered that the types of Dutch Prototypography were not the only *textura*-style types used for early *Donatus* editions. Gutenberg's DK, 42-line- and the 36-line Bible types were used in Mainz, likewise for an unknown number of editions, produced during an unknown number of years.

53 GW vol. 5, cols. 582–4.

54 W.O. Schmitt, 'Die *Ianua* (Donatus) – ein Beitrag zur lateinischen Schulgrammatik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance'. *Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde*, Dritte Folge, 4, pp. 43–80. Cf. summary in BMC XI, p. 266. Also included in GW's list are some editions of Donatus, *Ars melior*.

One of the editions in the 42-line Bible type bears Peter Schoeffer's name.⁵⁵ Perhaps we may surmise that either the Dutch-style *Donatuses* were produced in competition, or that they filled a vacuum when the Mainz *Donatus* editions were no longer produced. Or conversely, and altogether more improbably, we may take Ulrich Zell at his word, and consider the Dutch *Donatus* editions as the 'Vurbyldung' – a word that can be translated as an instance, or perhaps even the model for those printed in Mainz.⁵⁶ To date there is no evidence that proves any of these possibilities. Yet, at the very least, we can take Zell's words as the recollection of a substantial influx of *Donatus*-editions from Holland at an early date, and probably also as an acknowledgement that their technique was less sophisticated than that of the books produced in Mainz.

Such speculations do not lead to answers. We may, however, be justified in concluding that the schoolbooks printed in the types made by the Dutch Prototypographer met the requirements of elementary Latin teachers in an area well beyond the town in Holland where he made his type. The type was adequate for this specific purpose, at a time when in Mainz and Cologne 'fere-humanistica' types were developed to meet the taste and needs of a different, highly educated market. The Prototypographer was not a primitive, as he is to modern eyes, but a specialist. He made a particular style of type for a specific purpose. It remains very probable that he worked in the west. The fragments found concentrated in Haarlem suggest that this was indeed the place where he made his types, while most of his work survives in towns in western Germany.

To me it appears probable that the result of his work, in the books printed in his types, reached their users in Germany by two different ways. The Prototypographer would have sold his types to a few printers in the western Low Countries, who concentrated on printing elementary schoolbooks, especially *Donatus*; through the trade they sent a significant proportion of their production eastward, mainly to Cologne. From there, schoolbooks produced in the west would, propelled by an already vigorous trade from Cologne, reach a wide area. At the same time the evidence indicates that the Prototypographer sold some of his printing types to Cologne, where especially editions of the

55 GW 8718; ISTC id00318500.

56 The meaning of the Middle-Low-German word 'Vurbyldung' reportedly used by Ulrich Zell, is close to the Dutch 'voorbeeld'; it can mean 'model' but also 'instance', as in 'the instance of this phenomenon ...'. Victor Scholderer's suggested translation 'harbinger' is poetic, although less accurate, but may be appropriate for what seems to be Zell's less than precise recollection.

Doctrinale were printed in his Types 1 and 5 (and some waste went to local binders). With this interpretation the two main traditional narratives about the Dutch Prototypography, of Ulrich Zell and of Hadrianus Junius, may each have contained a grain or remnant of truth. Both mention links between the movement – of books or of a person – from the town of Haarlem to Cologne and up the Rhine beyond. They each may express a vague memory of what happened long ago – not ‘once upon a time’, but over a substantial number of years.

Prelates in Print

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Introduction

Sometimes typography disguises the nature of texts. Many texts associated with Italian humanism of the fifteenth century first appeared in print in elegant clear founts – if not in early roman types, then at least in the style called ‘fere-humanistica’. This clear and simple style was derived from the script developed by early humanists; their sense of innovation in literature also found expression in graphic forms that became characteristic of their culture. Yet a heavy, *fractura*-style of type was used for the printing of a group of books with humanist texts. Several of them were published under the name of Pope Pius II, in his earlier life the prolific humanist Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini.

The types in which this group of books was printed have long been recognized as belonging to the earliest printing in the Low Countries. Unavoidably it became their fate to be drawn into the often choleric polemics about the invention of printing, the place where this took place and the identity of the printer of the Costeriana, whether or not the legendary Laurens Janszoon Coster was the inventor. The witnesses that figure most prominently in these discussions are the many surviving fragments of grammatical works, Donatus and the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, that were printed in these types.¹

¹ See above, Chapter 6.

The four editions of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Latin and Dutch, with rich woodcut illustration, form yet another category of their own.

All this diverse material is printed in founts of type conveying something of the formality of inscriptions, and of liturgical and sacred texts as presented in north-western Europe in a tradition well established by the mid-fifteenth century. The style was therefore appropriate for elementary instruction in Latin: it was a form of script that anyone who could read was bound to encounter, even if pursuing a life devoid of any other literary culture. It remains strange to see these types used for texts allegedly written by an erudite humanist such as Aeneas Silvius.

In modern bibliography these founts of type are often labelled as 'Netherlands Prototypography'. Modern bibliography of Dutch early printing begins with the work of J.W. Holtrop and M.F.A.G. Campbell. In his comprehensive bibliography of fifteenth-century printing of the Low Countries,² Campbell chose 'Prototypographie néerlandaise' as a collective term to apply to all the works printed in these types. He probably wished to avoid being seen as a champion for the Coster claims. Taken on its own, the term 'prototypography' can be seen as misleading,³ for by the time the earliest works in one of these types appeared, probably not long before the late 1460s, the technique of book printing had taken root. Hundreds of books had been printed and major trade in printed books was developing in Mainz, Rome, Venice, Strasbourg, Basel and Cologne, to name only the major centres. But in the context of printing in the Low Countries the term is correct. Most of the works printed in this group of types were produced before 1473, the year in which printers who identified themselves as individuals settled in Aalst, Leuven and Utrecht and began to publish books in typographical styles more in accordance with the taste of educated readers. Here therefore lies an explanation of the oddity of texts with strong humanist associations being presented in an apparently inappropriate style: no other printing type was available, at that time, in the place where they were printed.

Detailed analysis of the eight founts of 'Costerian' type shows that several of them are interrelated; they therefore probably emanate from a single designer and producer.⁴ Yet this does not mean that they were used by one single printer, in one single place, as has often been assumed in the historical phases

2 M.F.A.G. Campbell, *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XVe siècle*. The Hague, 1874. Supplements I–IV, 1878–90.

3 As observed by Paul Needham in an unpublished lecture, The Hague, April 2013.

4 See HPT, pp. 4–9.

of the long discussion. I have argued in Chapter 6 that the schoolbooks were probably produced in more than one place by different printers. They survive in an apparently endless variety of typesettings, and must have been printed in small print runs when ordered by teachers of elementary Latin. This would have taken place over an unknown number of years, probably spanning a decade or even more. Typesetting of these texts, wherever it took place, was repeated again and again.

Although printed in the same types, the production methods of schoolbooks and humanist texts could hardly be more distinct. The humanist group of books, most conveniently called the Saliceto-Pontanus group after the two longest texts they contain, is not only coherent, but also interconnected: they have a number of typeset pages in common. This was possible because the texts were all printed in the same folio format on chancery paper. To what extent they are interrelated has only gradually come to light.⁵ One interpretation of this unusual phenomenon was concisely summed up in a recent catalogue description of one book in this interconnected chain:

‘... all of the pages of this group must have been standing in type over a period of time, thereby demanding a quantity of type extraordinary for the 1460s–1470s. Furthermore, blocks of set type were rearranged and combined to create new page-settings [...] The individual tracts, rather than being printed in separate quires and treated as separate units, have been reimposed for each issue, requiring a number of pages standing in type over time.’⁶

Keeping type standing runs counter to all we think we know about the practices of the first decades of printing in the fifteenth century. I shall arrive below at a somewhat different interpretation, but the interconnection of the books is indubitable, suggesting that in any case their production must have taken place concurrently, or during a relatively short span of time. Due to a dated

5 J.W. Holtrop extensively described the books printed in these types in his *Monuments typographiques des Pays-Bas au quinzième siècle*, The Hague, 1868. He pointed out that the fact that they have pages in common proves that Saliceto and Pontanus were printed by the same printer (p. 31).

6 Christie's, London, 29 November 1999, the Fitzwilliam copy of Saliceto 11, now in the Scheide Library, Princeton UL.

ownership inscription in a copy of this group, we know that they were printed not later than 1472, while the paper suggests a date around 1469.⁷

It appears therefore that in the Saliceto-Pontanus group we see the work of an unusual printing enterprise with strong individual characteristics. Of these the production is only one aspect, the selection of texts another. The books have the character of anthologies, collected by an 'editor' who would have had reasons for putting these texts together or who had specific themes in mind. Identification of the texts may therefore help in establishing a background to their production.

Once the texts are identified, further questions can be raised. On the basis of what links were these texts assembled: intellectual or diplomatic? For whom were they intended? Was this a commercial enterprise? To answer these questions I have chosen to start with an extensive analysis of the production methods. Should we really deduce that an exceptionally lavish supply of type allowed a printer to keep so many pages standing in type?

As it stands today, the group can be divided up into four entities, extant in more than one copy with the same contents. With a plethora of typeset pages appearing in various positions, they defy the conventions of bibliographical terminology – should they be described as 'editions', 'issues' or 'variant issues'? Perhaps the neutral term 'books' suits the purpose best, at least provisionally. In what follows the books are designated as Saliceto I, Pontanus, Saliceto II and Pseudo-Homerus.⁸ Another edition of Pontanus seems to have been in the planning, but there is no evidence that it was ever published.⁹ The Aesop edition in the Latin translation of Laurentius Valla,¹⁰ which includes some of Poggio's *Facetiae*, is also connected to modern humanist learning, and even to

7 The copy of Saliceto II in Darmstadt ULB has the ownership inscription 'Johann heyse, viserer zu franckenfurt, 1472', as well as many more ms notes by Heyse. Peter Amelung quotes Gerhard Piccard on dating the Saliceto 1468–9 on the basis of the paper. See his 'Die niederländischen Inkunabeln der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart'. In A.R.A. Croiset van Uchelen (ed.), *Hellings Festschrift / feestbundel / mélanges. Forty-three studies in bibliography presented to Prof. Dr Wytze Hellinga*. Amsterdam, 1980, pp. 1–27 (no. 59, p. 22).

8 The two copies of 'Homerus' fragments have traditionally been considered as belonging to two distinct editions. I have come to the conclusion that they both are part of the same edition. For bibliographical descriptions and references of all four books belonging to this group, see Appendix.

9 See below, pp. 262–7.

10 GW 315, ISTC ia00104200.

the cluster of humanists we encounter in the other books. Since it is printed in quarto, its typesetting is not interchangeable with any pages in the other books; in addition, it is set in another of the types of the Netherlands Prototypography. Unlike the Saliceto-Pontanus group it may have been intended for education, but at a more advanced level than the grammatical schoolbooks. In the present study the identification of the texts in the anthologies takes precedence. It is followed by:

- a survey of the structure of the books, the reissuing of sheets and the other pages they have in common
- an assessment of the evidence for the place of printing
- an analysis of the scarce evidence for the distribution of the books
- a hypothesis concerning the backers of this printing enterprise.

Identifying the texts and the structures of the books¹¹

1 *Saliceto I*

The collection 'Saliceto I' is the most straightforward, not least because of the regularity of its structure: two quires of 12 leaves each. Its main contents are three well-defined tracts, each with a beginning and an end. Usually Saliceto I is recorded as consisting of two main tracts on the theme of 'salus', the welfare of the body and of the soul. Together they occupy all but the final page of the

11 Father Bonaventura Kruitwagen o.f.m. compiled an inventory of the Pontanus and Saliceto collections in his 'Bestaat er verband tussen de pseudo-Costeriana – drukkerij en het Utrechtse universiteitsplan van 1470?' *Het Boek* 30 (1949–51), pp. 257–70, 321–37 (328–31). He did not attempt to identify the texts, but added a few valuable notes. Kruitwagen cautioned that his list was 'provisional', since he was well aware that the number of descriptions and illustrations accessible to him was limited. They were: J.W. Holtrop, *Catalogus librorum saeculo XVe impressorum quotquot in Bibliotheca Regia Hagana asservantur*. The Hague, 1856, nos. 8, 10, 13, 572, 573. J.W. Holtrop, *Monuments typographiques* (1868, see above, n. 5), pp. 26–34. M.F.A.G. Campbell, *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au Xve siècle*. The Hague, 1874. Suppléments I–IV, 1878–90, nos. 1186, 1416, 1417, 1493 (and Suppl. 3, 1186a). [R. Pennink], *Museum Meermano Westreenianum: Catalogus van de incunabelen II, Nederland, België, Duitschland, Duitsch-Zwitserland, Oostenrijk*. The Hague, 1920, nos. 134, 142. M.-Louis Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quizième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique*. Brussels, 1932–78, no. 1837.

first quire. They are followed by shorter miscellaneous works, mostly attributed to Pope Pius II or accompanied by introductory notes ascribed to him. They may be taken as an indication that a connection with Pius II is a guiding theme in this anthology.

The two tracts at the beginning of the volume are not explicitly connected with Pius II. The first, 'De salute corporis', was written in the thirteenth century by the Bolognese medical doctor Guilielmus de Saliceto (1210–77), but the anthologist offers a link with more recent times by beginning with a few lines of dedication to King Alfonsus V of Aragon and Sicily, known as Alfonso the Magnanimous (1396–1458). He was not only one of the most prominent rulers of his time, but was also keen to promote the study of literature.¹² Alfonso attracted to his court several humanist scholars, among them Lorenzo Valla, whom he appointed as secretary. Ludovicus Pontanus, even as a young man considered exceptionally gifted in legal studies, became one of the king's appointees and served as an envoy on important diplomatic missions; on his last one, the Council of Basel, he tragically succumbed to the plague. Aeneas Silvius also attended the Council – the first of his steps on the ladder to the top – and he was deeply impressed by Pontanus, who was approximately the same age.

Thus the short dedicatory lines to King Alfonso offer a perspective onto the (at times converging) itineraries of authors and personages we meet in these collections. But the connection between Aeneas Silvius and King Alfonso actually went much deeper. Aeneas was twice sent on an embassy to Alfonso's court in Naples, in 1450 on behalf of the Emperor and in 1456 to plead the case of the beleaguered Siennese. In his *Commentarii* (written as pope) he relates at some length the months he had spent at the court in 1456; it may be relevant that he clearly disapproved of the way in which the king, by then an elderly man, was besotted by a wily young woman, Lucretia. The king liked Aeneas and predicted during this long visit that he would be elected pope, as indeed happened two years later. Pius intended to dedicate his *Historia Bohemica* to Alfonso, but the king died before it was finished.¹³

The title of the second tract in the Saliceto collection, 'De salute animae', is obviously given as a symmetrical complement to 'De salute corporis'. Yet even with the alternative title 'seu Stabilimentum fidei catholice', it is not among

12 See Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396–1458*. Oxford, 1990, Chapter 8, pp. 306 *sqq.*

13 Pius II, *Commentarii*, Book 1, cap. 31. For the various editions of the *Commentarii* see below, p. 279, n. 98.

the best-known works of Cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata.¹⁴ There can, of course, be no doubt that he and Aeneas Silvius / Pius II knew each other well, at least since the time they both attended the Council of Basel (1431–45). Afterwards their acquaintance continued. In 1459 Turrecremata was one of the most loyal and persistent supporters of Pius II at Mantua, where Pius had convened a large ‘congress’ in an attempt to form a wide-ranging coalition for a crusade against the Turks.¹⁵ This does not prove that Turrecremata’s presence in this collection has anything to do with Pius II, but it cannot be excluded.¹⁶ That this publication would have anything to do with Turrecremata’s known enthusiasm for printing seems, however, rather far-fetched.

The two tracts are followed by four pages of a text that is generally accepted as authentically written by Pius II during his papacy, that is, between 1458 and 1464. It consists of a letter written to a certain (never identified) Karolus Cypriatus, known as the *Epistola retractatoria*.¹⁷ The letter is headed with the words ‘contra luxuriosos et lascivos’ and begins (uniformly in all early editions I have seen): ‘Tractatum de amore olim sensu pariterque etate iuvenes cum nos scripsisse recolimus...’. There is a short prologue in prose, followed by a long ‘Carmen’ (*incipit*: ‘Vidimus effigiem lascivi nuper amoris’) and this section ends with long quotations, the final page being filled by Seneca and Lactantius. In Saliceto I the ‘Carmen’ is set in long lines as prose, the 44 lines of verse separated by points.¹⁸

In the ‘Epistola retractatoria ad Karolum’ Pius II repudiates the writing of *De duobus amantibus*, a story of illicit love written in his youth; as pope, its existence and popularity agonized him ‘vehementer’. This letter is one of the two places where the succinct words that have become famous can be found: ‘Eneam reicite. pium suscipite’. The *Epistola retractatoria* is not to be confused

14 Juan de Torquemada, 1388–1468.

15 *Commentarii*, Book III. See below, pp. 280–1.

16 In *Commentarii*, Book III, Chapters 2 and 35. Cardinal de Turrecremata is mentioned together with Cardinal Bessarion for their sound and supportive opinions.

17 Aeneae Silvii Piccolomini Senensis, *Opera quae extant omnia*. Basel, Henricus Petri, 1551, letter 395 (pp. 869–71), with the heading ‘Poenitet olim composuisse tractatum de duobus se amantibus’. Its heading in the Saliceto edition: ‘Tractatus de amore incipit feliciter’ may have led some bibliographers to identify this text as ‘De remedio amoris’ – wrongly, for this is the title given to a different letter (to Ypolitus) when it was published in conjunction with *De duobus amantibus*. See below, p. 237.

18 Walther 20315. A. van Heck, *Eneae Silvii Piccolomini postea Pii PP II Carmina*. Vatican City, 1994 [Studi e Testi 364], no. 117. From here on cited as ‘Van Heck, *Carmina*’.

with the *Bulla retractationum* or 'In minoribus', issued on 26 April 1463, in which Pius expresses his regret that at the Council of Basel he had in 1439 failed to support Eugenius IV when he was deposed. Later, in 1442, he was instrumental in the reinstatement of Eugenius. In the Bull the same repudiation of earlier life is found in almost the same words as in the *Epistola retractatoria*: 'eneam reicite, pium recipite'. In the context of the present study, a passage in this Bull is of special interest. Here Pius describes meeting at the Council the brilliant young lawyer Ludovicus Pontanus, attending as envoy of king Alfonso V, but regrets following his guidance on that occasion.¹⁹

In a few incunabula editions the 'Epistola retractatoria ad Karolum' is found printed after a longer letter to 'Ypolitus mediolanensis', dated Vienna, 1446, which begins 'Querebaris mecum nocte preterita ...'.²⁰ The letter to Ypolitus was printed many times from c. 1472, first by several early printers in Rome who gave it the title *De remedio amoris*, echoing Ovid. It is usually preceded by *De duobus amantibus*,²¹ and is occasionally found on its own with this title. The 'Epistola retractatoria ad Karolum' was printed far less often, after its appearance in the Saliceto collection not until 1488, when Gheraert Leeu printed it in Antwerp as the last of the 'Opuscula' of Pius II; his edition was immediately followed by Mathias van der Goes. Later editions appeared in Cologne and Leipzig.²² We shall see that in the other books of the Prototypography group fragments of the *Epistola retractatoria* appear in unexpected places. But nowhere in the Prototypography books is there a trace of the letter to Ypolitus mediolanensis.²³

19 The bull is translated into English in Thomas M. Izbicki *et al.* (eds.), *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius: Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Washington DC, 2006, pp. 392–406.

20 Rudolf Wolkan (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. 4 vols. Vienna, 1909–18., vol. I. 2 (1912), pp. 33–9. Wolkan notes that the date in 1446 cannot be correct and suggests 1445. He is somewhat doubtful about the authenticity of the addressee. More recently Ypolitus has been identified as the Milanese humanist Hippolyte Parro. See Frédéric Duval (ed.), *Eneas Silvius, Oeuvres érotiques*. Turnhout, 2003, with reference to M.L. Doglio, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Storia di due amanti e Remedio d'amore*, Turin, 1973, p. 133.

21 The earliest recorded edition of this combination is by Adam Rot, c. 1472, ISTC ip00671300.

22 The two editions Antwerp, 1488, are recorded as ISTC ip00681700 and ip00681800; the two editions by Heinrich Quentell in Cologne, c. 1490 and c. 1495 as ISTC ip00683000 and ip00685000; by Conrad Kachelofen in Leipzig, c. 1490–5 as ip00682000. ISTC ip00671650 erroneously records that the edition printed c. 1472–4 by Joh. Schilling in Basel includes the *Epistola retractatoria*. It includes only the Ypolitus letter.

23 The title 'De amore' is wrongly given in many bibliographies to a composite text in the Pontanus collection. See below, p. 242.

A blank page marks the end of this section of the Saliceto collection. From here on the collection continues on a Homeric theme, with as centrepiece the *Ilias latina*, or *Epitome Iliada* – a very brief summary of part of the Iliad that was sometimes used in schools.²⁴ It is introduced by two pages of ‘testimonia’ by various famous authors and a poem ascribed to Pius II entitled ‘De laude Homeri’. Its authorship is considered doubtful.²⁵ The *Ilias latina* occupies 13 pages; it is followed by two pages with even more quotations in praise of Homer, the final text by Aeneas Silvius. The collection ends with two pages of epitaphs – the first, appropriate in this context, for Hector, the hero of Troy, and the last for the very learned Homonaea. (see Fig. 7.1) They belong to the much larger collection of Epitaphia in the Pontanus collection. The page beginning with Homonaea does not belong to the context of the *Iliad*; its presence here may be explained by the conjugacy of pages that is also found in Pontanus I ([c]5^b/12^a), where it logically belongs.²⁶

2 *Pontanus*

The material structure of the Pontanus collection is very unusual. The 60 leaves are gathered in only three quires, the first and last of 16 leaves, with a quire of 28 leaves in the middle. But the contents of the Pontanus collection begin in a very straightforward manner, just as we have seen with the collection Saliceto I. The first element is a long tract, the ‘Singularia de causis criminalibus’ by Ludovicus Pontanus de Roma, edited by Lauro Palazzolo.²⁷ Here a link with Aeneas Silvius is explicitly made. Upon the death of Ludovicus in 1439 Aeneas wrote an epitaph for him, a version of which is found in the present collection after the ‘Singularia’ (see Fig. 7.2).²⁸ In later life Pius wrote about him in the

24 Traditionally ascribed to Pindarus Thebanus or to Silius Italicus. GW, vol. 11, col. 365 notes that the author was probably Publius Baebius Italicus, and that the work may date from the first century AD.

25 Van Heck, *Carmina*, p. 195 (Varia, 121).

26 See below, p. 256.

27 Lauro Palazzolo di Simone (c. 1410–65) was a professor in canonical and civil law at the University of Padua. His only other work known to have appeared in print is a tract ‘De successione masculorum exclusis feminis per statutum’, which was first printed in Pavia in 1487. See Annalisa Belloni, *Professori giuristi a Padova nel secolo xv*. Frankfurt am Main, 1986, pp. 269–74. [Ius Commune: Veröffentlichungen des Max Planck Instituts für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte. Sonderheft 28]. I am very grateful to the late Professor J.B. Trapp for the reference to Belloni.

28 Van Heck, *Carmina*, p. 86, no. XXVII (51*). Van Heck notes that the sources for this longer version of the epitaph are ‘monastic’ and do not belong to the main textual sources he used as basis for his edition.

Bulla 'In minoribus', as already mentioned, but much earlier he described him in his *De viris illustribus*, written not later than 1445.²⁹ Two more texts by Ludovicus Pontanus follow in the printed collection, a short invective against theologians and the longer 'De presumptionibus'. This coherent group of legal texts is all set in the largest of the two Prototypography founts used in this group of books, known as Type 4: 142G; all the other texts, in Saliceto and Pontanus, are set in the smaller Type 5: 123G. In the Pontanus collection the transition of type (from a recto page to a verso) signals an abrupt change of subject and mood; on the verso of the second leaf of the third quire a problematic text begins. Here the text is presented as a tract with the title 'Pij secundi pontificis maximi de mulieribus pravis'. No work with this title is known in the oeuvre of Aeneas Silvius / Pius II. It is in fact a composite text including sections of the 'Epistola retractatoria'; but in the bibliographical tradition it is generally quoted with the title 'De mulieribus pravis' given at the beginning of this version.

The tract consists of three chapters. The first is a short poem entitled 'Descriptio iudicii Paradisi'.³⁰ Chapter 2 is a long poem, the 'Carmen' that forms the middle part of the 'Epistola retractatoria ad Karolum'; this is the same text as in Saliceto I, but in Pontanus it is set as 42 lines of verse.³¹ The Carmen is followed by quotations ascribed to Lactantius and Pius II. The third chapter begins with an unidentified text surveying wicked women of all ages; beginning with Eve, who takes up almost five full pages, it ends with Salome.³² But then, in the last seven lines of the fifth recto page, we suddenly recognize part of the text of the *Epistola retractatoria*, with slight omissions and variants, introduced by the line 'Cōcordat lactanci⁹ ī instōnib⁹ ita dicēs'. which is absent in the version of the *Epistola* in Saliceto I. The page ends with the same words as the page with the same passage in Saliceto I, which allows for the following two pages

29 A. van Heck (ed.), *Enee Silvii Piccolomini, postea Pii PP. II De viris illustribus*. Vatican City, 1991, pp. 6–9. [Studi e Testi 341].

30 Walther 19409.

31 Walther 20315. Van Heck, *Carmina*, no. 117.

32 Incipit: 'Prima primi uxor Ade post primam hominis creationem primo peccato prima soluit ieiunia'. (Contractions expanded.) This is the first line of the *Summa* that begins with these words, a text on the canon law regarding papal immunity, written early in the thirteenth century (Stephan Kuttner, *Repertorium der Kanonistik* I, Vatican City, 1937, pp. 205–6). This is the only line that 'De mulieribus pravis' has in common with the *Summa* and is apparently a formulaic form of reference to Eve. I am grateful to Jos van Heel for a helpful reference to James M. Moynihan, *Papal immunity and liability in the writings of the Medieval canonists*. Rome, 1961, pp. 82 sqq.

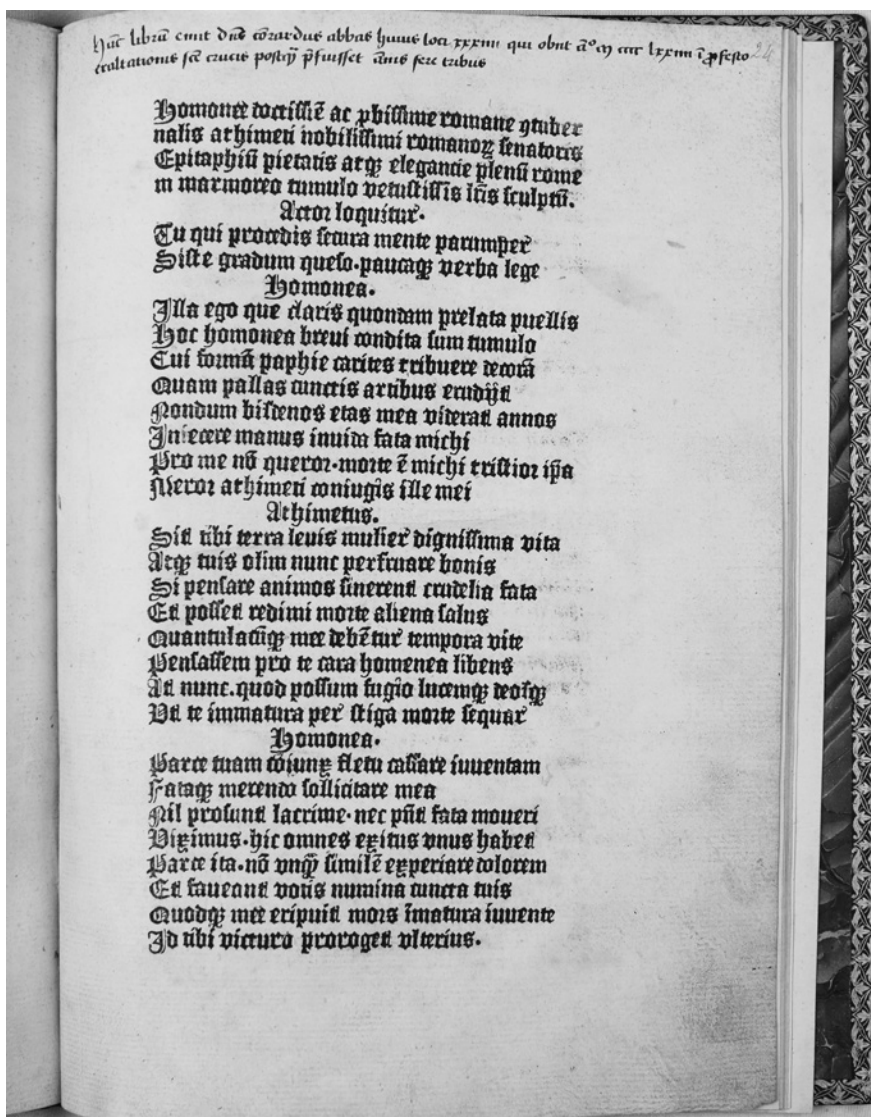


FIGURE 7.1 Netherlands Prototypography: a page in the collection of texts beginning with *Gulielmus de Saliceto, De salute corporis*. The collection ends with some epitaphs, this one apparently found sculpted on a very ancient marble tombstone. At the top of this page is an early ownership inscription by Abbot Conrardus du Moulin. He can be identified as the abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Jacques in Liège in 1471–4. THE HAGUE, MUSEUM MEERMANNOWESTREENIANUM, 004 B 009, FOL [A]12^a.

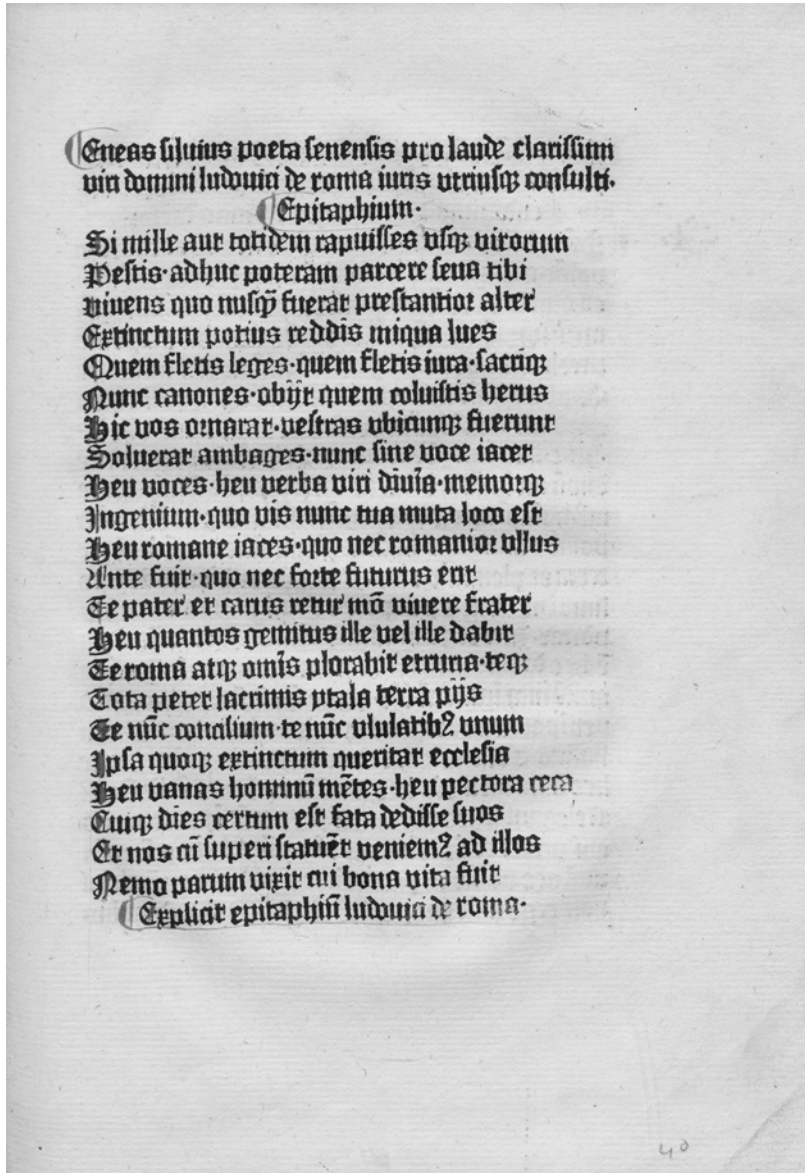


FIGURE 7.2 A collection of texts printed c. 1470 with types of the Dutch Prototypography centres on texts by Aeneas Silvius, later Pope Pius II. The collection begins with a long legal text by Ludovicus Pontanus, a legal expert who made a deep impression on Aeneas Silvius. On this page in the collection he mourns Pontanus's untimely death in an epitaph.

LUDOVICUS PONTANUS, *SINGULARIA IURIS* (ETC.). NETHERLANDS
 PROTOTYPOGRAPHY, C. 1470. UTRECHT, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK,
 RARIORA QU 93, FOL. [B]24^a.

the use of the same typesetting (and, as I shall argue below, p. 256, the same printed sheet) as in Saliceto I to complete the *Epistola*. As printed in Pontanus, the *Epistola* misses the section of 20 lines indicated as 'Prologus' in Saliceto I and 13 lines of prose after the Carmen. After the end of the *Epistola* (that is, the two pages in common with Saliceto I) the tract continues with ten lines of an unidentified prose text ascribed to Pius II³³ and three Carmina ascribed respectively to Bernardus Clarevallensis, St Bruno and from the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon.³⁴ In the explicit the text is given the title 'Descriptio vani amoris'. To sum up, the three-part tract that describes itself in the beginning as 'Pij secundi, De mulieribus pravis' and at the end as 'Descriptio vani amoris' is in fact a jumble of fragments of texts. The next and final section of the Pontanus collection may suggest how the nature of this textual patchwork may be understood.

Although the final tract is announced as 'eiusdem Pii secundi', in its short prologue it is stated that it consists of 'carmina' by various authors; the works are commended as moral, graceful, for the edification of the soul and to be enjoyed as a bunch of myrrh. A long sequence is presented as 'Epitaphia', although strictly speaking most are not known as inscriptions on graves. They belong to a literary form that flourished in fifteenth-century Italy. This originated in the antiquarian interest in the script-forms found on monuments of Roman antiquity, and hence in the texts transmitted in this form of epigraphy.³⁵ Many in the printed sequence might also be classified as epigrams, and indeed it ends with several short texts featuring 'Epygramma' in their titles. When Ludwig Bertalot explored the 56 items thus assembled, he traced the sources of most of the individual texts, sometimes in inscriptions, but most in miscellaneous manuscript collections.³⁶ Bertalot concluded that six dated from antiquity, including three from Ovid. A further 18 are medieval and 28 originated in the (Italian) Renaissance. Four cannot be dated, while the most recent epitaph was written for Guarinus Veronensis, who died in December

33 Incipit: 'Non sic profecto est'.

34 Walther 11071, 12632 and 11284.

35 Roberto Weiss, the chapter 'The rise of classical epigraphy'. In *The Renaissance discovery of Classical Antiquity*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 145–66. See also Anthony Grafton, the chapter 'The ancient city restored', esp. pp. 88–99. In *idem* (ed.), *Rome reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance culture*. Washington DC, 1993.

36 Ludwig Bertalot, 'Die älteste gedruckte lateinische Epitaphiensammlung'. In *Collectanea variae doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki*, Munich, 1921, pp. 1–21.

1460. Five were written by Aeneas Silvius.³⁷ It is therefore abundantly clear that the genitive 'Pii secundi' at the beginning of this tract should not be interpreted as signifying authorship, but rather as ownership or 'assembled by' – possibly thus attributed when this collection (or more precisely 'sylloge') was passed on to someone else, whether materially or by copying. The sequence of carmina, epitaphs and epigrams is then followed without further textual distinction by five pages of quotations from the Church Fathers and a page of heresies by Greek philosophers, refuted by Christian authorities; they probably belonged to the same document that was the basis for the printed version.

The notion of a collection of texts, 'cuttings' as it were, assembled on a specific theme and interwoven with some writings of Pius II, may apply equally well to 'De mulieribus pravis'. It has the character of a commonplace book, assembled on the theme of the repudiation of erotic love and the seductive power of wicked women. Whether it was Pius himself who thus expanded the theme of his retraction or a follower who shared his revulsion remains a matter for conjecture.

3 *Saliceto II*

Saliceto II, of which four copies are known, has usually been considered as a combination of parts (or fragments) of Saliceto I with a section of Pontanus. It is indeed correct that Saliceto II has eight of its 11 sheets in common with both of these books, but the different combination of pages in the other sheets shows that some sheets were imposed and printed independently. Saliceto II consists of 24 leaves, the final page being blank, but the basic structure is two quires of ten leaves each. Of the total of 47 printed pages, only four are in typesetting that is re-arranged with some replacements and resetting; the other pages are all found in Saliceto I (23 pages) and Pontanus (16 pages), while four appear in both. The first quire of Saliceto II, consisting of ten leaves, and the following five pages of the second quire are a straight re-issue of the three initial items in Saliceto I: the tracts by Saliceto and Turrecremata and the *Epistola retractatoria*. But the book does not begin with a blank leaf, and the shorter quire of ten leaves instead of 12 required that two pages were moved to form the beginning of the second quire. The first two pages of quire [b] do not therefore have the same conjugates as the final two in Saliceto I, where they are blank.

Like the first quire, the second quire in Saliceto II appears initially to have been arranged as a quire of ten leaves, and this structure can still be recognized.

37 Van Heck, *Carmina*, nos. XXVII, XXX, XXXI, XXXI* XXXI**.

But one page before the completion of the ‘*Epistola retractatoria*’, four pages into quire [b], an oddity occurs. In three out of the four surviving copies, the regular structure is interrupted at this point with an inserted sheet or ‘bifolium’ containing four pages of ‘*De mulieribus pravis*’, three of them in an amended version and one in the same typesetting as in Pontanus.³⁸ For example, in Pontanus *De mulieribus pravis* begins with ‘*Descriptio iudicii paridis*’; in Saliceto II it is given a new and pithier title: ‘... non de nichilo venit in mentem stultissimum Paridis troiani iudicium quod sequitur...’ and is placed last of the four inserted pages. In the Stuttgart copy the sheet is inserted as a bifolium, whereas in the copies at Darmstadt and Tübingen it is folded round the three middle sheets of the quire. But in none of these copies does the textual sequence make sense, for the final page of the *Epistola retractatoria* follows the interruption. In the fourth copy, now in the Scheide Library, the sheet is bound in at the end of the book. For details see below, p. 484.

After completing the *Epistola retractatoria* on [b]3^a, Saliceto II continues with the two final pages of *De mulieribus pravis* (on [b]3^b and [b]4^a), followed by the sequence of epitaphs and quotations as in Pontanus. This, however, brought a further irregularity. The three middle sheets of the quire are identical to Pontanus. After this, the space of four pages remaining in the quire was not enough to accommodate the final texts as printed in Pontanus, where they occupy eight pages. Two leaves, apparently loose and not a bifolium, the final page blank, were added at the end, while one section of text was abbreviated, reducing two pages to one. So the printer managed to pack in most of the text (leaving out sections of *De mulieribus pravis*), making it up as he went along – or that at least is how it now appears. The process made for confusion and error, and it is not surprising that the binders of the four still extant copies found different solutions for the composition of the second part of this book, 14 leaves in all. The charts below, showing conjugacy by identifying pages by their first words, may bring some clarification. For more details I refer to the Appendix.

4 *Pseudo-Homerus Collection*

This collection, in so far as it survives, consists entirely of pages used also elsewhere. The first quire [a]⁸, with the *Ilias latina*, is identical to the corresponding

38 Pontanus, [c]4^b appears here in the same typesetting; Pontanus, [c]1^b, [c]3^a, [c]5^a are considerably amended or reset. Four other pages of ‘*De mulieribus pravis*’ ([c]2^a, 2^b, 3^b, 4^a) appear only in Pontanus. For details, see Appendix.

part of Saliceto I, quire [b]¹² minus the outer sheet (leaves [b]_{1/12}). Since there is no difference in typesetting in these 16 pages, we clearly see here a separate issue of these four sheets, confirmed by the paper stocks they have in common (see below, p. 259). The remainder of the book is known only as a unique set of nine unbound leaves, consisting of three bifolia and three loose leaves; these remains are probably not representative of what once was issued. In assumed textual order, we find the continuation of the Homerus-text in the same state as in Saliceto I, page [b]₁₁^a (beginning with the words 'claro adeo'). But its conjugate leaf, a blank in Saliceto I, is different in the Homerus collection; on it is printed the Epitaph of the poet Nevius, a combination not found elsewhere. The page beginning 'claro adeo' is backed by the epitaph of Hector, as it also is in Saliceto I. This page has as conjugate the final page of the *Epistola retractatoria* (beginning with SENECA), but with the variant end that we also find in Saliceto II. From here on the unbound leaves follow the sequence of pages as reconstructed for Saliceto II, with a lacuna of presumably three leaves.

It can be difficult, or even impossible, to decide whether what survives is an imperfect copy of Saliceto I or a not quite perfect set of leaves issued as the Homerus collection. Cases in point are the copies in the British Library, Museum Meermannno Westreenianum and Cambridge University Library. The copy G. 8814 in the British Library, BMC IX, p. 5, which consists of a quire of eight leaves with the *Ilias latina*, as found in both Saliceto I and the Homerus collection, has the final verso ending with the textual variant 'in hoc opere est describē troianā ||' found in the Homerus collection. This is followed by two loose leaves, the first found as both in Saliceto I (leaf [b]₁₁) and the Homerus collection, the second as Saliceto [b]₁₂, and not present in the unique but defective copy of the Homerus collection in the Museum Meermannno Westreenianum. BMC IX catalogues this item with the heading 'Saliceto', but in its note to the entry poses the question of whether it belongs to 'Homerus' or to 'Saliceto I'. The copy in the Cambridge UL is catalogued by Oates 3295 and GW 12907 as a copy of the Homerus collection, but it does not have the textual variant. As in the British Library copy G. 8814, the quire of eight leaves is followed by a leaf that is equivalent to Saliceto I, [b]₁₁. Although the one variant puts the Cambridge copy one step closer to Saliceto I than the copy G. 8814 in the British Library, it appears probable that both were issued as slightly variant states of a Homerus collection.

For further details see Appendix. The charts below may be helpful in visualizing the composition and interrelationship of the quires with common materials in the four books.

A survey of the structure of the books in so far as they have material in common

TABLE 1 *Saliceto I, quire [a]¹²*
Pages are identified by their initial word(s)

Fol.	First word	First word	Fol.
1	<i>blank</i>	Pij scdī	= Sal. II, [b]1 ^b
	<i>blank</i>	vende	12 = Sal. II, [b]1 ^a
2	In pñti	Quō)
	male	et miracula	11)
3	Sed	Sed)
	dextrū	regno	10) 5 sheets
4	q̇a	In talibus) = Saliceto II, [a] ¹⁰
	macrib ⁹	se vera	9)
5	ADDICIO	Abstineat)
	ı mot ⁹	cū	8)
6	Facies	Carnes)
	vtitur	cā (<i>sic</i>)	7)

TABLE 2 *Saliceto I, quire [b]¹²*

Fol.	First word	First word	Fol.
1	credit	= Sal. II, [b]2 ^a	<i>blank</i>
	sciē	= Sal. II, [b]2 ^b	Homonee 12 = Sal. II, [b]9 ^a
	Pontanus, [c]5 ^b		= Pontanus [c]12 ^a
2	SENECA	= Sal. II, [b]3 ^a (var.)	Hectoris = Sal. II
		= Pontanus, [c]6 ^a	troiani = Pontanus [c]11 ^b
		= Homerus, Bifol. I, 2 ^a	Homerus, bifolium I, 1 ^b
	<i>blank</i>	claro adeo	11 Homerus, bifolium I, 1 ^a
3	Pij secundi	historiam)
)
	Pius secundus	Hectoris	10)
		interitu)
4	Meonij	Letantur)
	Emicat	Dumq̇	9) 4 sheets
5	Armatū	Pectora) = Homerus [a] ⁸
	Et magnā	Et quantum	8)
6	Quē	Menitos)
	Confossus	Nec posset	7)

TABLE 3 *Pontanus, quire [c]¹⁶*

Fol.	First word	First word	Fol.
[c]1	Pij secūdi	<i>blank</i>	
		De hac	[c]16 = Sal. II, [e]1 ^a
			= Hom. single
			leaf 3 ^a
[c]2	Ac humeris	aduent ⁹	= Sal. II, [d]1 ^b
			= Hom. single
			leaf 2 ^b
	Accipe	multis	[c]15
[c]3	Exempla	pturre	
	Deyamira	ingrediam	[c]14 cf. Sal. II, [d]1 ^a
[c]4	Rñdit	Epygramma	= Sal. II, [b]7 ^a
		iocosum	= Hom. single
			leaf 1 ^b
	Metellus	= Sal. II, [c]1 ^b Susceptiqz	[c]13 = Sal. II, [b]10 ^a
			Hom. single
			leaf 1 ^a
[c]5	Phebus	cf. Sal. II, [c]1 ^a Epitaphium	= Sal. II, [b]9 ^b
		Neuij	= Hom. Bifol.
			I, 2 ^b
	sciē	= Sal. I, [b]1 ^b Homonee	[c]12 = Sal. II, [b]9 ^a
		= Sal. II, [b]2 ^b	= Sal. I, [b]12 ^a
[c]6	SENECA	(var.) Hectoris)
		troiani	
	Pius	Ac si	[c]11)
		membra	
[c]7	Mortales	Ante fuit) 3 sheets
	fasciculū	Epygrama	[c]10) = Sal. II,
		... rome	[b]3 ^a –8 ^b
[c]8	Epitaphiū	Epitaphiū))
	publij	pueri))1 sheet
	Tant ⁹	Ante virū	[c]9) = Hom.
			Bifol. III

TABLE 4 *Saliceto 11, Quire [a]¹⁰ = Saliceto 1; quire [b]¹⁰ + 2 + 1 + 1. As represented in the Stuttgart copy. See Appendix, p. 483–5.*

		Fol. First word	
		<i>blank</i>	
Fol.	First word	[e]1 De hac	= Pontanus, [c]16 ^a = Hom. single leaf 3 ^a
		aduent ⁹	= Pontanus, [c] 15 ^b = Hom. single leaf 2 ^b
		[d]1 ingrediam̃	= Hom. single leaf 2 ^a cf. Pontanus, [c]14 ^a -15 ^a (re-arranged, text skipped)
		[b]1 vende	= Sal. 1, Epygramma iocosum [a]12 ^a = Pont., [c]13 ^b = Hom. single leaf 1 ^b
		Pij scdī	= Sal. 1, Susceptiqꝝ [b]10 [a]12 ^b = Pont., [c]13 ^a = Hom. single leaf 1 ^a
		[b]2 credit	= Sal. 1, Epitaphium Neuij [b]1 ^a = Pont., [c]12 ^b
		sciē	= Sal. 1, Homonee [b]9 [b]1 ^b = Sal. 1, [b]12 ^a = Pont., = Pont., [c]12 ^a [c]5 ^b
		[c]1 IERONIMVS	Hijs quoqꝝ) cf. Pontanus, cf. Pontanus, [c]1 ^b) [c]3 ^a (reset)) 1 sheet (reset)) inserted

			Fol.	First word	
				Metellus	Phebus)
				= Pontanus,	cf. Pontanus, [c]5 ^a) = Hom.
				[c]4 ^b	(reset)) Bifol. 11)
[b]3	SEN-	= Sal. 1,	Hectoris troiani)	3 sheets,
	ECA	[b]2 ^a	=Sal. 1, [b]11 ^b)	[b]3-8
		= Pont.,	= Pont., [c]11 ^b)	= Pontanus
		[c]6 ^a	= Hom. Bifol. 1, 1 ^b)	[c]6 ^a -11 ^b
		= Hom.)	
		Bifol.)	
		1, 2 ^a)	
	Pius		Ac si membra	b]8)	
[b]4	Mor-		Ante fuit)	
	tales)	
	fas-		Epygrama ... rome	[b]7)	
	ciculū)	
[b]5	Epi-		Epitaphiū pueri)	
	taphiū)	
	publij				
	Tant ⁹		Ante virū	[b]6)	

TABLE 5 *Homerus collection, quire [a]^s*

Fol.	First word		First word	Fol.	
1	Pij secundi		historiam		= Sal. 1
	Pius secundus		Hectoris interitu	8	= Sal. 1
2	Meonij		Letantur		= Sal. 1
	Emicat		Dumqz	7	= Sal. 1
3	Armatū		Pectora		= Sal. 1
	Et magnā		Et quantum	6	= Sal. 1
4	Que		Menitos		= Sal. 1
	Confossus		Nec posset	5	= Sal. 1

TABLE 6 *Bifolium I – this sheet has newly imposed pages*

1	recto	claro adeo = Sal. I, [b]11 ^a (where its conjugate is blank)		Epitaphium Neuij = Sal. II, [b]9 ^b = Pontanus, [c]12 ^b	verso
	verso	Hectoris troiani = Sal. I, [b]11 ^b Pontanus, [c]11 ^b		SENECA = Sal. II, [b]3 ^a (var.) cf. Sal. I. [b]2 ^a cf. Pontanus, [c]6 ^a	recto

TABLE 7 *Bifolium II*

		Content		Content	
1	recto	IERONIMVS Sal. II, [c]1 ^a		Hijs quoqꝫ Sal. II, [c]2 ^b	verso
	verso	Metellus Sal. II, [c]1 ^b		Phebus Sal. II, [c]2 ^a	recto

TABLE 8 *Bifolium III*

1	recto	Epitaphiū publij Sal. II, [b]4 ^a Pontanus, [c]8 ^a		Epitaphiū pueri Saliceto II, [b]5 ^b Pontanus, [c]9 ^b	verso) 1 sheet
	verso	Tant ⁹ Sal. II, [b]4 ^b Pontanus, [c]8 ^b		Ante virū Sal. II, [b]5 ^a Pontanus, [c]9 ^a	recto	

TABLE 9 *Three single leaves – the second leaf has the same contracted text as Saliceto II, [d]1^a*

1	recto	Susceptiqz Sal. II, [b]10 ^a Pontanus, [c]13 ^a
1	verso	Epygramma iocosum Sal. II, [b]10 ^b Pontanus, [c]13 ^b
2	recto	ingrediam̄ = Sal. II, [d]1 ^a cf. Pont., [c]14 ^a –15 ^a
2	verso	aduent ⁹ = Sal. II, [d]1 ^b = Pontanus, [c]15 ^b
3	recto	De hac = Sal. II, [e]1 ^a = Pont., [c]16 ^a
3	verso	<i>blank</i> = Sal. II, Pontanus

How the books were cobbled together

In 1888 Arthur Wyss, archivist in Darmstadt, studied the group of books discussed here, based on the descriptions by J.W. Holtrop and M.F.A.G. Campbell of the copies in The Hague and the defective copy of Saliceto in Darmstadt.³⁹ He marvelled that the printer had managed to ‘cobble together’ five books by repeated use of typeset pages.⁴⁰ Before him, J.W. Holtrop had observed that the copies of Pontanus and Saliceto in The Hague had two pairs of pages in common – ‘absolument!’ – and that in Saliceto the size of the typeset pages and the number of lines deviated from the previous and following pages. He did

39 Arthur Wyss, ‘Gutenberg oder Coster’, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 5 (1888), pp. 258 *sqq.* Wyss counted five editions; following Campbell, he considered the two Homerus collections as representing distinct editions.

40 Wyss, see above, n. 39 (p. 259). ‘Auch wirft unsere Vergleichung Licht auf die Buchmacherei unserer anonymen Schulbücheroffizin die aus wenigen Druckbogen fünferlei Bücher zusammenstoppelte’. I count four instead of five books, since I see no ground for distinguishing two issues of the Homerus collection.

not doubt that they were all of the same impression, and concluded that this was proof that they had been produced by the same printer.⁴¹

After Holtrop's careful description, Wyss went a step further. He surveyed the various combinations of pages by devising a table based on the material available at that time. He found that the composition of the books could only be represented by identifying and listing each individual page, using as identifiers the first and last word of each page. The resulting table shows the interrelation of this group of books and the ways in which this may lead, perhaps, to understanding more about their production. Cumbersome though it is, I have followed this method in my investigation, as partly shown in the charts above; perhaps the reader may be reminded that the charts show the sheets and the conjugate leaves, as well as pages within the quires, and that 'sheet' means here 'edition-sheet', a sheet with typesetting representative for all other sheets in the print run. The same principle applies to the smaller unit, the page. For the long tracts that are the main substance of Saliceto I and Pontanus, it does not seem helpful to display a similar analysis.

The renewed survey of the material, now combined with the survey of the paper used in the surviving copies of these books, leads to a new perception: that instead of a large number of pages kept standing in type, a substantial number of sheets were issued combined with different material, sometimes partly reset. Two of the four books were indeed 'cobbled together': more sheets of the two main publications were printed than required for the books, the run-on providing material to be issued separately – in the case of Saliceto II in somewhat chaotic form. The survival of the Homerus collection is too fragmented to pass judgement.

The sheets on which the first tracts in Saliceto I were printed were re-issued in Saliceto II in combination with sheets with selections from other texts. Similarly, sheets found as the second quire of Saliceto I were also used for the Homerus collection. We shall see that the use of paper in these edition-sheets is remarkably consistent.⁴² The varying combinations of fragments of text are only found in the *Epistola retractatoria*, *De mulieribus pravis*, and the collection of epitaphs with following texts.

I shall summarize the conclusions that can be drawn from the charts. Saliceto I consists of two quires of 12 leaves, a total of 12 sheets in all. Of these,

41 '... Les feuillets ... sont absolument de même tirage ... Les quatre pages ... offrent la preuve irrécusable que ces livres ont été imprimés chez le même imprimeur'. J.W. Holtrop, *Monuments typographiques* (see above, n. 5), p. 31.

42 Whether a similar production method may have been used for a separate issue or edition of the tracts by Ludovicus Pontanus will be discussed below, pp. 262–7. No such copy is extant.

five sheets also form the first quire of Saliceto II (quire [a]¹⁰) and four other sheets were used for the Homer collection. 'Used' means here that part of the print run became Saliceto I, but a run-on of some sheets was kept separate, to be combined with other material. This raises the question of whether the contents of three sheets of Saliceto I can be traced in other issues; that is eight printed pages, for four pages in Saliceto I are blank.

The typesetting for the final leaf of the first quire of Saliceto I ([a]^{12a-b}) was also used for the first two pages of the second quire of Saliceto II, where they were followed by pages 1 and 2 of the second quire of Saliceto I and where page 3 should have followed – but was interrupted by the inserted bifolium [c]; otherwise this is all in the correct textual order, completing the *Epistola retractatoria*. Pages [b]^{1b} and [b]^{12a} in Saliceto I have the same conjugacy in Saliceto II, pages [b]^{2b} and [b]^{9a}, and likewise Saliceto I, [b]^{2a} and [b]^{11b} compared with Saliceto II, [b]^{3a} and [b]^{8b}, but together they do not form sheets: Saliceto I [b]^{1b/12a} are the inner pages of a sheet and [b]^{2a/11b} the outer pages of the following sheet. These same four pages, in the same configuration, are also found in Pontanus, [c]^{5b/12a} and [c]^{6a/11b}. These four pages are a case apart. The possibility that here type was kept standing in formes of two pages will be considered – but an alternative will also be suggested (see below, p. 256). Finally Saliceto I, page [b]^{11a}, the final page of the *Ilias latina*, is also found in the Homer collection, where it is found with the same backing ('Hectoris troiani'), but with a new conjugate. This is proof that these two pages were kept standing in type.

The conclusion can be brief: every page in Saliceto I is also found in other books, largely by 'run-on' of sheets. Four pages were left standing in type to be used in other combinations. The page Saliceto I [b]^{2a}, beginning with 'SENECA', was given a textual variant before being printed for issuing elsewhere; in the bottom line the final word 'Explicit' was replaced with 'hec lactancius'.

Three sheets in Pontanus, [c]^{6a-11b}, were similarly run-on; they appear in Saliceto II as pages [b]^{3a-8b}, containing the end of the *Epistola retractatoria*, two pages of *De mulieribus pravis* and a sequence of epitaphs. They include Pontanus leaves [c]^{6/11}, which in Saliceto II has the same backing as in Pontanus, and is therefore the same completed edition-sheet. This indicates beyond doubt the order of production: Saliceto I > Pontanus > Saliceto II.

As the final quire [c]¹⁶ of Pontanus consists of eight sheets, there remain five sheets in which to trace whether any of their 20 pages were used in other versions. Only one page in Pontanus quire [c] is blank. Three pages of the epitaphia were used singly in Saliceto II quire [b] as conjugates for the pages taken over from Saliceto I. Five pages in Pontanus quire [c], one the final page of *De presumptionibus*, the others all belonging to *De mulieribus pravis*, are not found elsewhere (Pontanus pages [c] 1^a, 2^{a-b}, 3^b, 4^a). In the complicated structure of Saliceto II's quire [b], the inserted bifolium ([c]¹⁻²) consists of three pages

that were partly or entirely reset; only one page remained in the same state as in Pontanus ('Metellus', Pontanus, [c]4^b = Saliceto II, [c]1^b). The text of Pontanus, [c]14^a–15^a was abbreviated and re-arranged to form the single page Saliceto II, [d]1^a. Saliceto II was completed with the single pages [d]1^b, [e]1^a with the same typesetting as Pontanus pages [c]15^b, 16^a. This leads to the conclusion that for Pontanus five pages were kept in type as single pages.

All of the pages in the Homerus collection are also found in the other books. The first quire, with the *Ilias latina*, consists of run-on sheets of Saliceto I. But the following leaf, its recto, with the final page of the *Ilias latina*, has as conjugate the *Epitaphium Neuij poetae*, a conjugacy not found elsewhere. This page was also used as Saliceto II, [b]9^b. From then on the text (in so far as still extant) seems largely to run parallel to that of Saliceto II. The pages of the bifolium inserted into Saliceto II's quire [b] are here found in the same state of typesetting. The sheet here indicated as 'Bifolium III' is probably one of the run-on sheets of Pontanus, [c]8/9 that was also used as [b]5/6 in Saliceto II. Similarly, the three single leaves may be run-ons of the single leaves [d] and [c] of Saliceto II.

By this count, a total of nine pages would have been left standing in type during the production of this group of books, not necessarily all kept locked up at the same time. Even so, this is indeed unusual. Yet in the light of what appears efficient use of a large part of the printed sheets, it does not appear to be an altogether extravagant experiment in book production. It is balanced by the run-on printing of 13 edition-sheets for multiple use: the equivalent of 52 pages and possibly three more surviving as single leaves in the Homerus collection.

Two further comments should be made here. The amendments made to three of the four pages of Pontanus before they were inserted as a bifolium into Saliceto II, quire [b], deserve some attention. Sections of text have been replaced. The first page, beginning 'IERONIMVS. Prima p̃mi vxor', corresponds to Pontanus, [c]3^a where the beginning reads: 'Exempla de ml̃rib⁹ pravis. Capl̃m̃ tertiũ. || [P]Rima p̃mi vxor ...'; the following 11 lines are a resetting of the text in Pontanus. From there on the typesetting is the same as in Pontanus I, [c]3^a. The verso of this page (beginning with 'Metellus') is the same typesetting as Pontanus, [c]4^b. Its conjugate page beginning with 'Phebus' corresponds to Pontanus I, [c]5^a, ll. 1–26, but then ll. 27–34 are an entirely new text, about King Solomon and the building of the Temple. On the final page of the four the title of the *Judicium Paridis* was changed, as already mentioned, after which the text of the poem was entirely reset and the end of the page replaced with a short text by Petrarch. All these changes occur in *De mulieribus pravis*, a text only partially reproduced in Saliceto II. The amendments and replacements may lead to visualizing that the compositor was faced with difficult printer's

copy, consisting of a heterogeneous collection of papers and perhaps even inserts and scraps with sections of texts and quotations. It reinforces the idea that there is not a single source for these sections of the publications. Rather, what is gathered here can be understood as set from a commonplace book, or an album, probably a sylloge of epitaphs, along with a separate collection of misogynistic texts. Taken together in the present collection, they have become known as *De mulieribus pravis*.

A few pages were used more than others. Single pages with poems might have been useful for filling a vacant space since their contents function well as isolated pages. But the epitaph for the poet Nevius and the 'Epigramma iocosum' were put in the correct sequence in Saliceto II.

The two pairs of conjugate pages, one of which was used no fewer than four times, the other three, may offer a key to the method of production. At first sight the fact that they can be found as pairs in four, respectively three different books, would seem to indicate that they were left standing in type, in formes of two pages each. This would then imply that this printer was working with a two-pull press – that is, putting a forme with two folio pages on the press to be printed on one side of a sheet at a time, with two pulls of the press. Nothing is impossible, but it is very unlikely that at this time this method was used far from Rome, where the introduction of the two-pull press was an innovation of c. 1472, the year when its use can first be shown. The Saliceto-Pontanus group was printed not later than 1472, and probably c. 1469–70. There are, however, alternative methods to consider that could produce this result.

Before the two-pull press was introduced, and printing by formes became a routine, printing one page at a time was the common practice. Sometimes there are indications that allow us to presume that this took place in textual order ('seriatim'), each recto page followed by a verso page, but there are also indications that sometimes a variation on this process was chosen. Instead of proceeding through the whole of each quire page-by-page, the progress through the copy might be to complete the sheets: after setting and printing a recto/verso, the compositor (followed by the printer) would complete the sheet by setting and printing the conjugate pages, again as recto/verso. This would require the compositor to work on cast-off copy. When work was proceeding 'per sheet' on cast-off copy, there would be an advantage in proceeding with yet another variant method: not completing a sheet in the order of recto/verso, recto/verso, but instead to complete each side of the sheet consecutively: e.g. recto and conjugate verso, before backing up the pages on the other side of the sheet, this time verso/conjugate recto. It would certainly help with the drying of sheets – always a significant factor.

Casting off led all too often to mistakes in counting. In the list of printer's copy of the fifteenth century there are several examples where one or more

pages were missed out in the counting, a figure was skipped or a previous calculation had to be revised. This may offer an explanation in the case of the two sets of pages found in pairs.

sciē	Sal. I, [b]1 ^b		Homonee	Sal. I, 12 ^a
	= Sal. II, [b]2 ^b			= Sal. II, [b]9 ^a
	= Pontanus, [c]5 ^b			= Pontanus, [c]12 ^a
SENECA	Sal. I, [b]2 ^a		Hectoris	Sal. I, 11 ^b
	= Sal. II, [b]3 ^a (var.)		troiani	= Sal. II, [b]8 ^b
	= Pontanus, [c]6 ^a			= Pontanus, [c]11 ^b
	= Homerus, Bifolium I, 2 ^a			= Homerus, Bifolium I, 1 ^b

The pages beginning with 'sciē' and 'SENECA' are consecutive pages in the text of Saliceto I. It looks as if they should have been calculated to form a leaf, the page beginning 'SENECA' backing the page beginning 'sciē'. But here it seems that confusion arose, for instead the page with 'sciē' became accidentally a verso and the one with 'SENECA' the recto of the following leaf. Similarly, their conjugate pages ended up in the wrong place. One sign of something having gone wrong is that page [b]1^b in Saliceto I is set with reduced width and with only 34 lines instead of 36, as on [b]1^a,⁴³ – common tricks when text has to fill the allotted space. Whatever the cause, the outcome seems to have been that the printer was confronted with printed sheets with the pair 'sciē/ Homonee' facing each other, and another pile with 'SENECA / Hectoris', all without backing.⁴⁴ For both, a larger print run would have been foreseen than required for Saliceto I alone, where 'sciē' and 'Seneca' both got the textually accurate positions of the second and third page of the quire. In Pontanus they were both used with different backing.

If this hunch is correct, it can offer an explanation for the tour de force in Pontanus, the sudden transition of the text from *De mulieribus pravis* to the *Epistola retractatoria* on the previous page (beginning with 'Phebus'). The transition of the text on this page, and the text somewhat adapted to fit in the given space, made it possible to use the sheet with 'sciē' as backing, and continue with the *Epistola retractatoria* on the following sheet, where the

43 Perhaps noted by Holtrop, but certainly by Kruitwagen in his inventory (see above, n. 11), p. 328, no. 15.

44 The page beginning with 'sciē' continues with the visually striking headings of quotations in (bizarre) capitals 'Prudentius, Architrenius, Juvenalis, Lactantius'. Architrenius is the title of the poem by Jean de Hauville (*fl.* 1184–1200), probably of Rouen, previously mistaken for an Englishman. See Victoria C. Appel, ODNB.

recto page with 'SENECA' completes *the Epistola*. This page, in its turn, could be backed with the beginning of a new tract ascribed to Pius secundus. The fact that at the end of the SENECA page is the small variant 'Explicit' > 'heclactancius' means that in order for this explanation to work, we have to assume that the error was noticed before the print run of this sheet was finished. The new end of the tract probably relates to the phrase inserted at the transition to the *Epistola retractatoria* on [c]5^a: 'Concordat lactancius in institutionibus ita dicens'.⁴⁵ The same state as in Pontanus (with the textual variant) is also found in Saliceto II, now the whole four-page sheet run-on. Pages of this sheet also appear in the same state in Bifolium I in the Homerus collection, where the context of 'SENECA' may have appeared to make some sense if Bifolium I was folded around Bifolium II.⁴⁶

Admittedly the course of events proposed here is based on a hunch, triggered after establishing that so many edition-sheets in this group of books had the same typesetting and appear to have been printed in larger print runs than required for the copies of a single book. However, there is new material evidence to support it: the paper used in these books.

The record of paper used in this group of books shows, beyond doubt, that the extant copies of the two edition-sheets with 'sciē', 'Homonee', 'SENECA' and 'Hectoris' in so far as examined (19 copies in all) are, with one exception, printed on the same supply of paper (Y with cross of Lorraine and three circles in the tail).⁴⁷ It is not only for these two sheets that the record of the paper used in these books can to some extent support the image that begins to form of their production. The watermarks in the paper of all Dutch Prototypography were recorded by the late Gerard van Thienen, in preparation for the WILC database. WILC does not record the paper in individual copies, but Van Thienen kept separate files on the many items he had examined. A more detailed record of the paper used in the Saliceto-Pontanus group therefore exists.⁴⁸ We had already corresponded about this when, shortly before his death, Gerard van Thienen arranged for these files to be made available to me, and I remain deeply grateful for this generosity.⁴⁹ On WILC just over a hundred distinct

45 Contractions expanded.

46 The text would then have continued with Bifolium III with epitaphs, after the leaf SENECA / Epitaphium Neuji.

47 The exception is sheet [c]6/11 in the Pontanus copy of Cambridge University Library, Oates 3294, which has a single occurrence of a crown.

48 Kept in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague where they are available for consultation.

49 I have combined the notes Gerard van Thienen made about individual copies in charts and have deposited these in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, to be kept with the original files. I do not feel free to include these charts in the present publication, but I draw on the result, as I think Gerard intended me to do.

paper stocks are listed for the printer 'Prototypography'. Apart from the books discussed in this study, they include the *Aesop* and the four editions of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* – in all a fairly limited number of books, all of considerable rarity. It is a feature of many of the incunabula printed in the Low Countries to include many different watermarks within a single copy, and even more within an edition. Especially in the northern cities, buyers often found themselves at the end of a supply-line of paper, with ample opportunity for mixing what started as units of production of a paper-mill identified by watermarks. In this respect the books printed in the types of the Dutch Prototypography share a characteristic of much other early printing of the Low Countries.

Yet in the charts based on Van Thienen's observations, some patterns can be detected in the paper used for the groups Saliceto, Pontanus and Homerus. There are three main groups of marks, although in each there are occasional interlopers. The three groups are Keys and Anchors in the first quire of Saliceto I, Anchors in the first quire of Pontanus and variations of Y with a tail with three circles and a cross on top (usually a cross of Lorraine, sometimes a Latin cross). The Y watermarks are found in Saliceto I, quire [b], Pontanus, quire [c], Saliceto II, quire [b] and the Homerus collection. Although there is too much irregularity to produce a clear-cut confirmation, it is evident that the first quire of Saliceto I and the first quire of Pontanus are the result of separate, distinct operations. The second quire of Pontanus is very mixed, with no fewer than seven distinct watermarks. But the final quire in each of the four books, which have so many pages in common, share the same group of paper stocks characterized by watermarks of Y, three circles in tail, cross. This may be taken as a confirmation of the notion that this part of the four resulting books was produced in tandem – a parallel operation making optimal use of sheets which could be used in more than one combination. It may be stretching the evidence too much to try to establish beyond doubt in what order these final quires were produced, although the variant Explicit > hec lactancius can be taken as evidence that Saliceto I preceded the others. Similarly, the variant typesettings suggest that Pontanus preceded Saliceto II.

Finally, there is some independent confirmation that the process was indeed printing a page at a time. Van Thienen noted a variant in two copies of Pontanus; the copies in Cambridge UL and the Scheide Library show an uncorrected error that is confined to a single page.⁵⁰ Two lines at the top of the second recto of sheet [a]2/15 were missed out, and two lines at the bottom of this page are also found at the top of the following verso. We may deduce that the page with the error (probably due to eye-skip) was the fourth of this sheet to be printed, if the order had been outer recto/verso pages first, inner

⁵⁰ See Appendix, p. 480. The error was noticed by Gerard van Thienen and recorded in his notes.

verso/recto pages last. Even after the fault was discovered and corrected, the sheet or sheets printed with the faulty page were not discarded. Another instance is found in one of the Prototypography fragments from Utrecht bindings (about which more below); in one of two bifolia with sections of text of Porphyrius *Liber quinque praedicabilium*, three pages are left blank, and only one is printed; these fragments are all that survives of an edition by the Prototypographer, if it ever existed.⁵¹

Summary

TABLE 10 *Run-on sheets*

Number of sheets	From text	First used in	Later
5	De salute corporis De salute anime	Sal. I, [a]2 ^a –11 ^b paper stocks: keys (29 x) anchor (8 x)	Sal. II, [a] ¹⁰ keys (7 x) anchor (6 x) y (1 x)
4	Ilias latina	Sal. I, [b]3 ^a –10 ^b Paper stocks: y, cross, tail 3 circles (28 x) misc. (3 x)	Hom. [a] ⁸ y, cross, tail (3 x) circles (6 x)
3	Epistola retractatoria, Epitaphia, etc.	Pontanus, [c]6 ^a –11 ^b Paper stocks: y, cross, tail 3 circles (14 x) misc. (shield 2 x), crown, lily	Sal. II, [b]3 ^a –8 ^b y, cross, tail (3 x) circles (8 x)
1	Epistola retractatoria (part) 'De mulieribus pravis' (part)	Sal II, inserted sheet [c] ² Paper stocks: p (2 x), y (1 x)	Hom. Bifolium III p
total: 13 (52 pages)			

51 Alblas-van Someren 636; ILC 1795; ISTC ip00940800. WILC records two distinct watermarks.

TABLE 11 *Two pairs of pages, used repeatedly, possibly run-on*

	First used in	Later use		
sciē / Homonee	Sal. I, [b]1 ^b /12 ^a Paper stock: y, cross, tail 3 circles (9 x)	Pontanus, [c]5 ^b /12 ^a y, cross, tail 3 circles (6 x)	Sal. II, b2 ^b /9 ^a y, cross, tail 3 x circles (3 x)	
SENECA / Hectoris troiani	Sal. I, [b]2 ^a / 11 ^b Paper stock: y, cross, tail 3 circles (9 x)	Pontanus, [c]6 ^a /11 ^b (var.) y, cross, tail 3 circles (5 x) crown (1 x)	Sal. II, [b]3 ^a / 8 ^b y, cross, tail (3 x) circles (2 x)	Hom. Bifolium I, y, cross, tail 3 circles (1 x)

Main paper stock recorded in WILC as:

Anchor: WM I02423, I02424, I02649, I02680, I02683, I02795

Keys: WM I02650

Letter y, cross, three circles in tail: WM I02398, I02399, I02401, I02418, I02428, I02430, I02651, I02652, I02659, I02681, I02686, I02796, I02799, I02800

Gerard van Thienen recorded the paper of Saliceto I: ten copies (one wanting quire [b]); Pontanus: six, Saliceto II: three, Homerus one and the fragment in KB Haag.

TABLE 12 *Repeated use of pages*

From text	First word of page	First used in	Later use	
Turrecremata, de salute	vende	Sal. I, [a]12 ^a	Sal. II, [b]1 ^a	
Epist. retractatoria	Pij	Sal. I, [a]12 ^b	Sal. II, [b]1 ^b	
Epist. retractatoria	credit	Sal. I, [b]1 ^a	Sal. II, [b]2 ^a	
Ilias latina	claro adeo	Sal. I, [b]11 ^a	Hom., Bifolium I, 1 ^a	
De mulieribus pravis, cap. III	Metellus	Pontanus, [c]4 ^b	Sal. II, [c]1 ^b	Hom., Bifolium II
Epitaphs	Epitaphium Neuij	Pontanus, [c]12 ^b	Sal. II, [b]9 ^b	Hom., Bifolium I
Epitaphs	Susceptiqz	Pontanus, [c]13 ^a	Sal. II, [b]10 ^a	Hom., Single leaf 1
Quotations fol- lowing epitaphs	aduent ⁹	Pontanus, [c]15 ^b	Sal. II, [d]1 ^b	Hom., Single leaf 2
do.	De hac total 9 pages	Pontanus, [c]16 ^a	Sal. II, [e]1 ^a	Hom., Single leaf 3

Saliceto I: 24 leaves	4 blank pages	44 printed pages
Pontanus: 60 leaves	3 blank pages	117 printed pages
Saliceto II: 24 leaves	1 blank page	47 printed pages
Homerus: 17 leaves	1 blank page	16 printed pages
		— ⁺
		224 printed pages

Of the total of 224 pages, 52 pages are on run-on sheets;
four pages on two sheets were used twice, resp. three times;
nine single pages were used twice, resp. three times, re-imposed.

Pages on overprinted sheets, used twice	52
1 pair of pages, used three times,	4
1 pair of pages used four times	6
4 single pages used twice	4
5 single pages used three times	10
	— ⁺
	76

Pages set for the four books:	224
	76
	— ⁻
	148

Conclusion

The printer produced four books, with a total of 224+ printed pages, out of no more than 148 typeset pages. Since the Homerus collection survives only in imperfect form, the total number of pages issued must have been slightly larger.

The fragments ‘Saliceto III’ and ‘Pontanus II’

The same question – was there ever such a book? – hangs over two other fragments.

One is a fragment of the tract *De salute corporis* by Saliceto, in a typesetting different from that in all surviving copies of the Saliceto collection (which for the relevant pages is identical in Saliceto II).⁵² It is exceptional in that the two surviving fragments of leaves are printed on vellum, both printed on one side,

52 BMC IX, p. 5, IA. 47020. ISTC is00029550.

and therefore apparently printer's waste. The text is equivalent to Saliceto 1, [a]3^b, l. 19 – [a]4^a, l. 3 and [a]5^a, l. 33 – [a]5^b, l. 17. The leaves were taken from David de Augusta, *Formula novitiorum*, printed in 1486 in Haarlem by the printer Johannes Andreae.⁵³ The book has an early ownership signature 'blom', and the original wooden boards and some pasted-down strips of the original plain leather binding are preserved with the book. Neither owner or binding offer sufficient material to be localized. It is a fragment that keeps its origins to itself.

Much more food for interpretation and thought is offered by a fragment printed in the Pontanus type, brought to light in 1930 by Max Joseph Husung at the Preussische Staatsbibliothek where from 1927 to 1933 he was in charge of the collection of incunabula. It consists of two snippets, printed on one side, and calls itself '[...] omnium librorum seu [...] || [...] contentorium'. This is followed by a fragmentary list of titles, most of which can be recognized from the surviving books of the Pontanus/Saliceto printer (see Fig. 7.3). They were carefully and ingeniously identified by Husung.⁵⁴ Two salient points have to be noted at once: it appears that the items were numbered, for the final title is headed 'Nono', and the list ends with a calculation: 'folia papiri.xxxvi. faciēta.ix. q̄ternos [...]'. When 36 'folia' make up nine quires, we may infer that the 'folia' are to be understood as 'sheets' or bifolia. Each sheet folded once would result in two leaves in folio-format, so the quires would each consist of eight leaves. A book of 72 leaves surpasses the size of the surviving Pontanus volumes (60 leaves each) to which the listed titles are closest related; the list also indicates texts which are not included in the surviving volumes. The question is therefore whether we see here the contents of a book that was actually printed, but has not survived. If so, how would its regular structure of quires of eight leaves work out? Such a regular succession of quires of the same size is very unlike the surviving books by the Pontanus/Saliceto printer, with their quires of 12, 16 and even 28 leaves.

It may be impossible to find a satisfactory answer to these questions, but we need not pass over what can indeed be learned from these two snippets, in the first place the identification of the listed texts which we owe to Husung.⁵⁵ During his career at the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Max Joseph Husung (1882–1944) specialized in early blind-stamped bindings, but his investigation

53 BMC IX, p. 103. ISTC id00102390.

54 Max Joseph Husung, 'Ein unbekanntes Blatt vom holländischen Frühdrucker', *Ghb* 1933, pp. 36–42. Recorded ISTC ip00926100. Digitized images of the fragments are available: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB000197A600000000>.

55 In 1995 a seminar in memory of Max Husung was organized by Professor Friedhilde Krause. In the proceedings I published a paper 'Max Joseph Husung and his discovery of a fragment of Dutch early printing', *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, 29 (1996), pp. 59–69. What follows is derived from this publication, although after further analysis of the books printed by the Saliceto/Pontanus printer I do not stand by all the conclusions published in 1996.

Husung's reconstruction of the titles on the list can be summed up schematically:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (A) [s]u/.v. decretaliū
per ... v. ludovicū de roma. | = Ludovicus Pontanus de Roma, <i>Singularia iuris in causis criminalibus super V. Decretalium</i> (the first part of the Pontanus collection, [a]4 ^a –[b]23 ^b) |
| (B) ... bus. | ‘Pro Ludovici laudibus’, Husung’s paraphrase of the epitaph printed in the Pontanus collection on [b]24 ^a (I read ‘brs’). |
| (C) ... eos qui sacris
nris ... b ⁹ detrahare intūtur. | = ‘In quosdam theologos sacris iuribus nostris detrahentes pulchra atque elegans apologetica invectiva’ (tract following in the Pontanus collection the Epitaphium, [b]24 ^b –25 ^a) |
| (D) ... ptionibus. | = ‘Tractatus de presumptionibus’ Tract in the Pontanus collection, [b]25 ^a –[c]1 ^a . |
| (E) ... [b] orū significacōnib ⁹ | ‘De verborum significationibus’ (?) |

From section E on the contents deviate from the Pontanus collection. Husung argued that the assumed title ‘De verborum significationibus’ would be appropriate to another legal tract that includes ‘Appellationes’. It is printed by the Pontanus printer and survives only in a single leaf, possibly printer’s waste, found in a binding bound by the Augustinian Canons in Utrecht, now in the Utrecht UB.⁵⁹

- | | |
|--|--|
| (F) ... plici adulterio corpo... | = ‘De duplici adulterio corporali videlicet et spirituali’. The title and beginning of a tract ‘eiusdem auctoris’ found on the verso of same leaf in Utrecht UB. |
| (G) no title survives | |
| (H) no title survives | |
| (I) Nono. Tractat ⁹ pij
pape de celibatu ⁊ fuga
mlēz epitaphijs ac
laude viroz illustriū | = Pii secundi ... ‘de mulieribus pravis et earum pernicioso ... fugiendo consortio’ followed in the Pontanus collection by ‘de epitaphiis virorum illustrium ... tractatus’. |

59 J. Alblas and J.F. van Someren, *Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht: Incunabelen*. Utrecht, 1922, 503 (with illustration), ILC 1793. The possibility that an entirely different

In section I the contents again appear to run parallel to those of the known Pontanus volumes. For the identification of the final item I would suggest as an alternative that the title 'Pij pape de celibatu et fuga mulierum' may be better understood as a reference to Pius's *Epistola retractatoria*, in the complete form printed in Saliceto I, instead of the rather scrappy collection of texts in the Pontanus collection with the title *De mulieribus pravis*.

From this schedule it will be clear that the volume is closely related to the Pontanus collection, but that after section (D) a substantial section of text was meant to be inserted, consisting of four items. Titles survive for only two of these, linked by Husung to the sections of two legal texts found on a single-leaf fragment. One of them is specified on this fragment as 'eiusdem auctoris'. The experts in legal history whom I consulted have not been able to identify these two texts,⁶⁰ and there is no reason to ascribe them to Ludovicus Pontanus in whose published works they were not recognized. There is therefore no way for estimating the number of pages these two tracts would have occupied. As Husung observed, it is simply impossible to make guesses about the contents of sections (G) and (H), and hence of the lengths of the texts that followed. Any of the texts printed in the Saliceto volume might be candidates for the two missing titles in the contents list; so too is the text by Porphyrius, of which only five pages in the Pontanus type survive. Nevertheless, the statement giving the size and structure of the book, whether actual or intended, invites an attempt to see how far we can reconstruct what the printer had in mind when he made this list. In the Pontanus and Saliceto collections the Pontanus printer added a preliminary blank leaf, and it seems right to assume that he would have done the same in this larger book. The contents list does not specify the two preliminary texts in the Pontanus volume, the Prologus and the Prefatio, together occupying two leaves. I shall give the unknown compiler/book designer the benefit of the doubt and include these in the reconstruction. Alternatively, if we omit the prelims, two leaves would have to be added to the space for the section of unknown texts.

kind of text, for example a grammatical tract with this title, would have found its way into this miscellaneous collection cannot be excluded. Not recorded on 1STC.

60 I am most grateful to Professor R.H. Helmholz, The Law School, University of Chicago, and to the late Professor R. Feenstra, Leiden, for their expert advice on these texts.

leaf	1	sig. a1	blank
A	2 ^a –39 ^b	a2 ^a –e7 ^b	Singularia
B	40 ^a	e8 ^a	Epitaphium Pontanus
C	40 ^b	e8 ^b	Tractatus in quosdam theologos
D	41 ^a –45 ^b	f1 ^a –f5 ^a	Tractatus de presumptionibus
E	42 ^b –?	f5 ^b –?	Appellationes (De verborum significationibus?) (26 + 20 lines)
F	?	?	De duplici adulterio (known are 2 lines of title + 4 lines of text)
G + H	?–61 ^b ?	?–h5 ^b	two unknown texts, titles in missing section of contents list
I	62 ^a –63 ^b	h6 ^a –h7 ^a	Pius II, Epistola retractatoria
	64 ^a –71 ^b	h7 ^a –i7 ^b	Pius II. Epitaphia
	72	i8	blank

If we interpret the title ‘Pij pape de celibatu et fuga mulierum’ as referring to *De mulieribus pravis*, the final part might be:

G + H	?– 59 ^b	? – h3 ^b	two unknown texts
I	60 ^a –63 ^b	h4 ^a –h7 ^b	De mulieribus pravis
	64 ^a –71 ^b	h7 ^a –i7 ^b	Pius II. Epitaphia
	72	i8	blank

The reconstruction of the volume as it stands shows that the typesetting would be divided over quires in a way that is quite different from the extant Pontanus volumes. The 44 leaves of the *Pontanus* texts stretch here over six quires, whereas in the known Pontanus volumes they occupy three quires [a]–[c]1^a. All conjugacies would therefore be different from those in the Pontanus volumes, and if this ‘contentorium’ represents a book that was actually produced, a run-on of sheets used in the known edition of Pontanus cannot have played a role. The preceding analysis of the two Saliceto collections, Pontanus I and the Homer collection, has led to the conclusion that only a fairly small number of pages were left locked up in type at the same time. In my opinion we can discount the possibility that the printer left 72 pages locked up in type for the *Singularia* alone.

The possibility remains that these two snippets are the sole witnesses of planning for a second edition of the Pontanus texts, with new additions and combinations. As a rare instance of such calculations at an early date, this is

no less interesting. It is even more unusual to see what appears to be a basis for a calculation in print. Was it perhaps to be submitted to a patron? If the plans were ever realized, the two leaves of binder's waste of the 'Appellationes' and other unidentified legal texts (and possibly of the Porphyrius) are all that remains.

The balance of probabilities favours supporting Husung's belief that the two snippets are part of a planning exercise – or as he put it, 'a survey, or reconnaissance into materials that to some extent do not belong together as subject matter'.⁶¹ However, this notion is challenged by the surviving leaves of texts printed in the Pontanus type. They oblige us to accept that we cannot answer the question of whether a book ever existed with contents as listed by the printer, and in this structure.

The place of printing

On the basis of a succession of arguments that began with those put forward in 1871 by Henry Bradshaw in his *List of the founts of type and woodcut devices*, the city of Utrecht has been named as one of the places with strong claims to be where the Dutch Prototypographer worked. Most of these arguments do not concern the Saliceto-Pontanus group, and I shall therefore not rehearse them here.⁶² In Chapter 6 of this volume I have argued that what is collectively classified as 'Netherlands Prototypography' was probably not the work of a single printer, and not necessarily produced in the same place. For the books printed in the Pontanus type, however, there is indeed strong material evidence to link them with Utrecht. Furthermore, since the Saliceto type is firmly linked to the larger Pontanus type, the evidence applies equally to the texts clustered in the Saliceto collections.

The strongest evidence consists of fragments of printer's waste. Printer's waste found in early bindings can provide valuable evidence concerning the location of the printing house, provided the location of the binder's workshop is known. Fortunately at least one, possibly three fragments all printed in the Pontanus type were taken from bindings that can be identified as the work of the prolific bindery in Utrecht of the Regular Canons (or in Dutch 'Regulieren').

61 'Vielmehr ist unser Blatt zu betrachten als ein Übersicht, als eine Orientierung für Materien, die bis zu einem gewissen Grade inhaltlich nicht zusammen passen'.

62 For an excellent concise summary see L.A. Sheppard, 'Introduction to the presses', BMC IX, pp. xxiv–xxix.

The status of one leaf of printer's waste cannot be in doubt; it was taken from a manuscript volume in the University Library, Utrecht.

1. A bifolium with three blank pages and part of only one printed page, taken from the binding of ms. 226, with ownership note 'Pertinet Regularibus in Traiecto' and bound by the Canons. The text is a fragment of an unidentified legal tract.⁶³
 2. More doubtful is the status of four strips from probably two bifolia, with text identified as Porphyrius, *Liber quinque praedicabilium*.⁶⁴ The strips are printed on both sides, not rubricated. They were taken from a volume (E. fol. 210) printed in Hagenau, 1515, that had belonged to the Canons. It seems more probable that a Porphyrius volume that had belonged to the library of the Canons ended up in their bindery than that printer's waste was used after an interval of some 40 years, although Father Bonaventura Kruitwagen argued that in a monastic bindery waste material might lie undisturbed for 50 years or even a century – as he would know.⁶⁵
 3. A leaf and a conjugate strip with sections of unidentified legal texts, the recto side *incipit*: 'Sacre pagiē appeliōe...', the verso *incipit*: 'Appellōne rei īmobilis...', at l. 21–22 the heading 'Ali⁹ tractat⁹ eiusdē de duplici adulterio corporali videlicet ⁊ spirituali'. Not rubricated. Illustrated by Alblas-van Someren 503 (the recto) and Husung, Abb. 2 (the verso). It is not certain that this leaf was printer's waste. Taken from a volume with an ownership inscription of the Canons Regular in Utrecht and according to Hulshof-Schretlen (see above, n. 58) bound by them.⁶⁶
- Other items are not printer's waste, but are linked with the Canons:

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- 63 Utrecht UB, 222 A 40 nr 5, Alblas-van Someren 636, mistakenly identifying the text as Porphyrius, *Liber quinque praedicabilium*. I am very grateful to Dr B. Jaski at the Utrecht UB for sending me digital images of this fragment as well as of the fragments listed here as nos. 2 and 4. For the leaf of printer's waste see also L.A. Sheppard (see above, n. 62), p. xxix and n. 7, with reference to A. Hulshof, 'Een en ander over de bibliotheek van het Regulierenklooster te Utrecht', *Tijdschrift voor Boek en Bibliotheekwezen*, 8 (1910), pp. 17–48 (p. 24).
 - 64 Utrecht UB, 222 A 40 nr 5, Alblas-van Someren 636. ILC 1795. In response to a query by Gottfried Zedler, the text was identified by Dr Hermann Degering, Director of the manuscripts department of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. See Gottfried Zedler, *Von Coster zu Gutenberg: Der holländische Frühdruck und die Erfindung des Buchdrucks*. Leipzig, 1921, p. 55.
 - 65 Kruitwagen made this observation in *Pseudo-Costeriana* (1949–51). See above, n. 11.
 - 66 Utrecht UB, E.fol. 213, nr 3, Alblas-van Someren 503. The volume contains Guilelmus Parisiensis, *Postilla*, Speier, Peter Drach, 1481 and Leonardus de Utino, *Quadragesimale*, Deventer, Richard Pafraet, 1487 (ISTC ig00647000 and il00141000, Alblas-van Someren 297 and 487).

4. Leaf [a]2 of the Pontanus collection, rubricated, taken from the binding of ms 735, which was bound by the Canons.⁶⁷
5. The former binding on the copy of Pontanus, now in Utrecht, University Library.

A. Hulshof devoted in 1910 an article to the Canons Regular in which he argued that they bound their books in the monastery.⁶⁸ From his later work on binders in Utrecht (see above, n. 57) it is clear that indeed a large number of bindings can be identified as bound in this monastic bindery, mainly characterized by the use of only two stamps, a heart pierced by two arrows and a small star in a circle.⁶⁹ These stamps are found exclusively on 94 bindings, and in combination with other stamps on 13 more. They were in use between the years 1458 and 1519.

On this basis we may take note of a postscript by George D. Painter to a letter written to Albert Ehrman. Dated 6 June 1956, it was written after Painter had examined the copy of Pontanus (now in Utrecht University Library), then newly acquired by Ehrman for the Broxbourne Library. Painter noted that the stamp of a heart pierced by two arrows was a symbol of the Augustinian and Regular Canons; he associated it with their printing house in Schoonhoven, but suggested also to check Utrecht. Unfortunately the original binding was replaced during its time in the Broxbourne Library and vanished from sight, but Painter's note may be taken as a strong suggestion that this binding was one of the many decorated in this way by the Utrecht Canons.⁷⁰

6. The Berlin fragment with the 'contentorium', discussed above, came from a sixteenth-century binding with a roll identified as used by a binder in Utrecht. Its nature – planner's waste? – remains undetermined. It was found in the company of the remains of five bifolia identified by Husung as belonging to the first quire of Pontanus. Their conjugacies leave no doubt that they were not part of the text issued in quires of eight leaves, as on the 'contentorium', but that they had been part of a volume issued in the same structure as the known copies of Pontanus, the first quire consisting of 16 leaves. They have therefore to be classified as 'binder's waste' used by a binder in Utrecht in 1539–40, with the dates of the books

67 Utrecht UB, H.fol.504, rar nr 3, Alblas-van Someren 502.

68 A. Hulshof, see above, n. 65.

69 Hulshof-Schretlen (see above, n. 57), p. 5 and Plate I, no. 4.

70 Painter's note is affixed in the copy now in the Utrecht University Library. It can be seen in the digitized version which is available online. He also noted that the rubrication was apparently in the same hand as that in the copy in the British Library, 167.h.13, early ownership unknown.

and of the owner's inscription 'M. Henricus Pistorius M || 1540' followed by the capitals 'C. L (?). M.T.'. Husung found the name in Keussen's register of matricles of the University of Cologne, with the information that he became a priest in 1534. 'Pistorius' or Backer, in various spellings, is a name equally ubiquitous in the Low Countries, and there may be other candidates for identifying the owner of the book. The final capital 'T' could be part of an abbreviation that stands for an institution in 'Traiecto'.

A final, admittedly tenuous, connection with Utrecht that nevertheless should be noted is reprinting by Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gerardus de Leempt shortly after the activities of the Prototypographer. Further reprinting took place many years later, in Antwerp, Cologne and Leipzig, but Turrecremata's *De salute animae* was reprinted only a few years later (c. 1474) from the Saliceto collection in *Defensorium fidei contra Judeos et Saracenos*, printed by Ketelaer and de Leempt. Four epitaphs (of Eugenius IV, Nicolaus V, Laurentius Valla and Ovid) and an epigram were reprinted by them about the same year in Maximianus, *Ethica suavis et periocunda*. About the same time the epitaph for Ladislaus, King of Bohemia, was reprinted in their *De raptu Proserpinae*.⁷¹

There is much that points to Utrecht, and not much to undermine a hypothesis that Utrecht was probably the place where the books printed in the Pontanus and Saliceto types were produced, with the exception of the school-books. Apart from the major items, the Saliceto and Pontanus collections, a significant number survive only as fragments that leave the question whether they were ever part of a complete book. These include the Porphyrius fragments, two fragments of unidentified legal texts and yet another edition of Saliceto, represented only by a fragment from an unidentified and unlocalized binding on the *Formula novitiorum* by David de Augusta, printed in Haarlem by Johannes Andreae, 1486.⁷² These few disparate but material data are all there is to suggest the existence of a fairly substantial organization that may have produced even more books than are known to survive. Its choice of texts stands out as original. It also suggests that the printing house of Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gerardus de Leempt, relying on resources with a wide intellectual range, was in some respects a continuation of the earlier enterprise.

It is known that Ketelaer and De Leempt obtained texts in manuscript for multiplying in print from local monastic houses, the Carthusian house of

71 ISTC id00136000, im00381500 and ic00704500. One of the copies of Maximianus in Paris BnF, CIBN M245 has a rubricator's date of 1474. See also BMC IX, p. 8 and Lotte and Wytze Hellinga, *Wilhelmus Hees* (1970), n. 27.

72 See above, n. 53.

Nieuwlicht and indeed of the Regular Canons.⁷³ Should we therefore consider the likelihood of a monastic printing house, probably continuing a tradition established in a scriptorium, perhaps inclined to experimenting with the new technique – the printing at St Albans comes to mind – and doomed to be as short-lived as most other monastic printing enterprises in the early decades of printing? Only a few found ways to reconcile the commercial aspect of producing and marketing printed books with the realities of monastic life. However, there are serious counter-arguments. The classical texts printed by Ketelaer and De Leempt are as unlikely to have come from one of the Utrecht monasteries as the legal and humanist texts, all of recent origin, printed by the Prototypographer. It seems possible that the Canons, with their library and bindery, and their obvious continuing interest in books, also ventured on a short-lived printing house, but there is – to my knowledge – not a scrap of archival evidence to support this. Before considering an alternative, there is one more factor to take into account.

The dissemination of the books

Early ownership notes and binder's waste are scarce in this group of books; they have been prized by collectors from the eighteenth century on as relics of one of the much studied and disputed origins of printing. Once they were acquired for one of those great collectors, their guardians took care that they were cleaned and rebound, carefully eradicating any traces of their history after they had left that mysterious printing press. I do not intend to follow here the history of these copies through many of the prestigious collections of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but merely to list what can still be recovered of the dissemination of these books before they became collectors' items. Pieces of binder's waste, as they emerged from bindings in the course of restoration, have been preserved by libraries as 'fragments', but all too often without their origin being noted. Even what appears to be a leaf of proof (and therefore printer's waste) was bound by the collector Baron van Westreenen into his copy of Pontanus next to its final printed leaf ([b]20).⁷⁴

It is remarkable that none of the early owners, in so far as we can trace them, was located close to Utrecht, with the exception of the Regular Canons. The earliest named owner, datable 1471–4, is known from an inscription that was written in Liège. In the copy of Saliceto 1 in the Museum Meermannno

73 See nos. 13 and 14 in 'List of printer's copy used in the fifteenth century'. In Lotte Hellinga, *Texts in Transit* (2014), pp. 75–7.

74 Now Paris BnF, CIBN P-572.

Westreenianum in The Hague, a note on the final page [b]^{12a} reads ‘hunc librum emit dominus conrardus abbas huius loci xxxiiii qui obiit anno mccccxxiiii in profesto exaltationis sanctae crucis [13 September] postquam profuisset annis fere tribus’ (see above Fig. 7.1). J.W. Holtrop noted that another inscription reveals that the monastery of which Conrardus was abbot is the Benedictine abbey of St Jacques in Liège, and that ‘Conrardus’ can be identified as Conrad du Moulin, its 44th abbot, from 1471.⁷⁵

This inscription is very close in time to the inscription in Saliceto II in Darmstadt, Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek, with the precise year ‘1472’. It was written by Johann Heyse or Heyso, ‘viserer zu franckenfurt’, that is, inspector of the taxes on wine in Frankfurt am Main. Johann Heyse wrote many notes in the book, some including his name and also Latin epitaphs for his father and himself. Two other copies of Saliceto II found their way to the middle- and upper Rhine region; these do not include dated inscriptions, but were demonstrably there at early dates. The copy in Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, is part of a composite volume with several manuscripts, which Peter Amelung states was probably put together in the early 1470s. He quotes an ownership inscription in a fifteenth-century hand, ‘Liber prenotationum pertinet Johanni de wyer’, a name that is not identified. Two other inscribers do not state themselves to be owners, but are nevertheless revealing as they include locations: a physician named Heinricus Andree Gislingensis (i.e. the town of Geislingen an der Steige in Baden-Württemberg) and Jost Moschart in Saarbrücken.⁷⁶ The copy of Saliceto II in Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek is also bound with a manuscript, an astronomical calendar for the diocese of Strasbourg, datable to c. 1468.⁷⁷

The survival in the Upper Rhine area of at least three rather misshapen copies of the same state of the Saliceto collection raises the question of whether their printing was the result of a fully commercial transaction; perhaps they changed hands in an informal way, from the printing house rather than from the patrons. Whether the dissemination of schoolbooks in the same types in the Rhine area has any bearing on the early ownership of these three books has to remain an open question.

Not all copies travelled far to the south-east. The final single leaf of the Homer collection in The Hague, Museum Meermann Westreenianum,

75 J.W. Holtrop, *Monuments typographiques des Pays-Bas au quinzième siècle*. The Hague, 1868, p. 31.

76 Peter Amelung, ‘Die niederländischen Inkunabeln der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart’. In [A.R.A. Croiset van Uchelen, ed.], *Hellings Festschrift / Feestbundel / Mélanges*, Amsterdam, 1980, p. 22.

77 Mentioned in the description INKA 17001284, University of Tübingen. For a description of the copy in Tübingen UB see below p. 484.

has on its blank verso the inscription: 'Egmunt nunc vicit || durdrecht [i.e. Dordrecht, in the south of the county of Holland] ut plebs tibi dicit', with in a different hand 'M cccc lxxxi'. Holtrop noted that the copy of Saliceto then belonging to Guglielmo Libri had an inscription with the price: 'VI gross monete Flandrie. Liber Mgi Guilhelmi de Schouder: Canonici in Veris. Anno 1484'. Vere is the small but ancient town on the island of Walcheren in Zeeland.⁷⁸

It is curious that none of the Pontanus copies survives with an early ownership inscription. However, a copy must have reached Cambridge before some time in the 1530s, when the binder Garrett Godfrey (active in Cambridge from c. 1517–39) used nine rubricated sheets and two leaves to become part of the binding of a volume with Angelomus, *Ennarationes in quatuor libros Regum* (Cologne, 1530) and Jacques Lefèvre d'Estaples, *Commentarii* (Basel, 1527). These substantial fragments are now in the library of Westminster Abbey.⁷⁹ Finally, in the summer of 2017 two fragments of Pontanus *Singularia* were found by Klaus Wiggers in the library of the Geistliches Ministerium in Greifswald as paste-downs in a hitherto unrecorded copy of Theodoricus Morellus, *Enchiridion ad verborum copiam*. Antwerp, Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten, 1535, 8^o. (Nijhoff-Kronenberg 1540, shelfmark 1212). The fragments, printed on both sides, are of fol. 2, ll. 21–26, and fol. 3, ll. 1–10. The rubrication on fol. 3^a appears to be carried out in the same hand as that seen in the copies in the Scheide collection, the British Library and Utrecht UB. I am grateful to Dr Falk Eisermann for passing on the information about this discovery. Since there is no provenance known earlier than the Geistliches Ministerium where the little book was probably acquired in the 17th century, it throws no further light on the place of printing.

Two prelates in Utrecht

The case of Utrecht being the place where the Dutch Prototypographer produced the Saliceto and Pontanus collections discussed in this study seems now strong enough to continue with what may cautiously be called a working assumption. This raises at once the question of how these texts, consistently presented as closely connected with Pope Pius II – in Rome – could become available to a printer in the remote northern Low Countries? Utrecht, it has to be remembered, had been the ecclesiastical centre of the area that later became the Netherlands from the time when this region converted to Christianity: a

⁷⁸ J.W. Holtrop, *Monuments typographiques* (see above, n.3), p. 31.

⁷⁹ Parts of sheets [a] 5/12, 6/11, [b] 2/27, 3/26/, 4/25, [c] 4/13, 5/12, 6/11, 7/10 and leaves [b] 1, 24. Christopher D. Cook, *Incunabula in the Westminster Abbey and Westminster School Libraries*. London, 2013, pp. 140–1, Frag. 15.

diocese was established there in 695. During the Middle Ages it became a *sticht* with at its centre a city containing important churches, monasteries and an influential school. It is therefore not surprising that by 1470, almost 800 years after the foundation of the diocese, a rich sediment of manuscripts had settled in the ecclesiastic institutions, consisting almost exclusively of theological works with the occasional volume of canonical law. After the Reformation and secularization they were brought together in the Utrecht University Library. Ownership inscriptions recorded in the catalogue of manuscripts published in 1887⁸⁰ allowed K.O. Meinsma in 1902 to extract from it lists of the holdings of four major libraries in Utrecht, at the houses of the Regular Canons, the Carthusians of Nieuwlicht, the Benedictine abbey of St Paul and the chapter of St Marie.⁸¹ Altogether Meinsma listed 346 volumes, many consisting of very many different texts.

It would appear, therefore, that there would be rich pickings here for any early printer, but in fact the production of Utrecht's early printing houses does not mirror the wealth of medieval texts available in these four local collections. So far only two theological works owned by Utrecht monasteries have proved to be printer's copy used by Nicolaes Ketelaer and Gerard de Leempt.⁸² None of the volumes listed by Meinsma have any textual connection with the work of the Prototypographer, nor with the taste for classical and post-classical Latin texts shown by Ketelaer and De Leempt. Only in a composite volume including at least 27 tracts does the name of Aeneas Silvius occur, with an oration he had presented as bishop of Siena in 1454 in Frankfurt and (by then Pius II) his papal bull of 1463 on the planned crusade against the Turks.⁸³ The same volume, which had belonged to the Canons, includes a bull and a letter by Nicolaus Cusanus, suggesting that an original owner must have been interested in what happened in the world beyond Utrecht. There is no indication here of any link with printing.

A single document, dated 1470, mentions a plan for establishing a university in Utrecht, but this did not happen until 1636. On the basis of this document Father Bonaventura Kruitwagen argued that early printing in Utrecht has to be understood in the light of such a plan.⁸⁴ Yet texts such as the *Ilias latina*, or

80 *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno Trajectinae*. Utrecht, 1887.

81 Koenraad O. Meinsma, *Middeleeuwsche bibliotheken*. Amsterdam, 1902. [Doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam], pp. 265–84.

82 See above n. 73.

83 In the long list of the books belonging to the Canons, Meinsma, (pp. 267–75, p. 274, no. 119).

84 Bonaventura Kruitwagen, o.f.m., *Pseudo-Costeriana* (1949–51), see above, n. 11, pp. 257–70, 321–37.

Ketelaer and De Leempt's editions of Maximianus, Ovid, Claudianus, *De raptu Proserpinae*, Nigellus Wirecker, *Speculum stultorum*, Pamphilus, *De amore*, *Reynardus vulpes* and other Latin works in the same entertaining atmosphere belong more to enlightened school-education and general delight in reading than to the university curriculum.⁸⁵ They do not seem to have anything to do with the venerable history of the *sticht* Utrecht, as represented in the monastic libraries. There should be another explanation for how such texts became available to Ketelaer and De Leempt – and linked to it a response to the question of how texts related to Pius II were printed in Utrecht a few years earlier.

Instead of the monastic libraries we may consider another asset of Utrecht at the time, individuals with close connections with the diocese, and single out two. They are Willem Hees and Antoine Haneron. Hees was a citizen of Utrecht, a book collector, who in 1449 acquired the unique title of 'Decanus Traiectensis'.⁸⁶ Later he became a Canon of Oud-Munster, one of Utrecht's collegiate churches. He was obviously local and of some eminence, a man who could be entrusted with public functions. Hees was a doctor of civil (but not of canon) law. In the accounts of the Dom-church of Utrecht he is referred to as 'heemradus noster', a member of a local government council.⁸⁷ He enjoyed the honour of the function of Decanus Traiectensis for only six years; in 1455 he was obliged to step down following one of the twists and turns of the many political conflicts in Utrecht in those years, and to allow his predecessor to take over again. Apparently this was an amicable arrangement and he was treated very kindly, perhaps even apologetically. Hees was awarded a pension, which he held until his death in 1477, and as further consolation – or compensation – it was formally stated that he was under no obligation to return clothes, ornaments, jewels and books that had belonged to his predecessor, or to anyone else, except returning some books that belonged to the chapter. If anything, this may be taken as a first indication that books were valued by him, and even that there may have been a collection of books (at that date manuscripts) to which he was attached, perhaps sometimes acquired by rather dubious means or possibly not owned by Hees outright. The 'books' are not specified.

There is much stronger evidence that he had an extraordinary collection of books, still unspecified except for one. The source of this information is no

85 See the list of the books produced by Ketelaer and De Leempt in ILC, pp. 514–5.

86 What follows is partly based on a more extensive discussion by Lotte and Wytze Hellings, 'Wilhelmus Hees: Printer or Bibliophile?' In Dennis E. Rhodes (ed.), *Essays in honour of Victor Scholderer*, Mainz, 1970, pp. 182–95.

87 N.B. Tenhaeff, *Bronnen tot de bouwgeschiedenis van den Dom te Utrecht* 11/1. The Hague, 1946, p. 427.

less a scholar than Poggio Bracciolini. It was uncovered by the legal historian Dr A.J. Kunst, who in a publication about the text concerned also published details about Willem Hees, including the document detailing the conditions under which he stepped down as Decanus Traiectensis, paraphrased above.⁸⁸ Kunst had noticed a letter sent in 1451 by Poggio to the Decanus Traiectensis.⁸⁹ To summarize: Poggio had been shown by a certain Jacob van Borsselen some lists [of books] in Hees's possession. These included, among other items, orations by Cicero and also a list of books Hees wished to acquire; 'ex quibus intellexi te non parvam operam nostris humanitatis studiis impendisse'. Poggio continues by enclosing a list of the orations and other works of Cicero. They are seldom for sale, he writes; if you wish to have them you will need to get them copied, and Poggio offers assistance. But he has an urgent request: you write that you have an *Oratio contra Catilinam*, incipit 'Si quid praecibus apud Deos immortales', etc. which he, Poggio, did not know. Could this be a fifth Catalinian oration, a hitherto unknown work by Cicero? Or perhaps written by someone else? Poggio asks if Hees would kindly send him a copy, for he very much wishes to see it.

Whether Willem Hees obliged, we do not know, for neither the manuscript nor a copy made for Poggio is known to survive. Kunst, however, identified the text, of which three manuscripts were known to him, and which was printed in Rome in 1490 by Eucharius Silber, edited by Pomponius Laetus.⁹⁰ It is indeed an interesting text, as Kunst explains, for it refers to an ancient law, the 'Lex XII Tabularum', one of the foundations of Roman law. It is therefore remarkable (as Poggio observes) that it strayed as far as Utrecht, but perhaps not altogether surprising that it was in the hands of someone who was probably genuinely interested in civil law. We may hazard a guess that Willem Hees had studied law in Italy, perhaps in Padua or Bologna, and that he had found it there.⁹¹ But

88 A.J. Kunst, 'De Utrechtse Deken en de rede van Cicero', *Jaarboekje van 'Oud Utrecht'*, 1965, pp. 25–41. Kunst gives many particulars about Willem Hees as well as discussing the significance of the oration. His publication 'Die Lex XII Tabularum VIII 26 und der Decanus Traiectensis'. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung*, 82, Weimar, 1965, pp. 329–40 is confined to a discussion of the oration.

89 Th. de Tonelli (ed.), Poggio, *Epistulae* I–III (1832–61), lithographic reprint published in *Monumenta politica et philosophica rariora*, ser. II, no. 6, vol. 3. Turin, 1964. The letter was reprinted in full by Kunst (see above, n. 88), and by L. and W. Hellinga, *Wilhelmus Hees* (1970, see above, n. 86), pp. 191–2.

90 ISTC is 00075000, following an edition of Sallustius. CIBN S-39 states that the ascription of the 'Declamatio contra Catilinam' to M. Porcius Latro is spurious.

91 The Prototypography edition of Ludovicus Pontanus, *Singularia*, is a version edited by Lauro Palazzolo di Simone (c. 1410–65), professor in canon and civil law at the University of Padua. See above p. 238, note 27. This may suggest a link to this university.

Poggio's letter is even more significant because it responds to a 'cedula' he was shown that puts it beyond doubt that Willem Hees had indeed a collection of classical and humanist-oriented works. If we risk a further speculation – that either Willem Hees, or possibly someone else from Utrecht who studied in Italy, may have been the channel through which texts such as Claudianus, *De raptu Proserpinae*, and some of the other classical texts printed by Ketelaer and De Leempt reached Utrecht – we may wander too far from the focus of this study: to seek the connection between Pius II and printing in Utrecht. But Willem Hees still has a contribution to make to tracing this route, for there is a real connection between him and the first named Utrecht printers whose names were printed only once, while only two of the books ascribed to their press have dates in 1473 and 1474.

A year later, in 1475, a small tract in quarto appeared, printed with types that are indistinguishable from those used by Ketelaer and De Leempt, except for the fact that the fount (looking a bit worn) was augmented with a single additional sort, a paragraph mark.⁹² Bibliographical rigour raised the question of whether this was grounds for classifying this little book as the product of a 'press' distinct from Ketelaer and De Leempt. This became a difficult question for Jan Willem Holtrop. From 1864 he and Henry Bradshaw explored a classification system of incunabula on the basis of printing types; their fruitful exchange of some 30 letters ended with Holtrop's death in 1868.⁹³ After long hesitation Holtrop decided to be rigorous: strict application of the system forced him to treat the little tract of 1475 as the product of a distinct 'press' (i.e. printing house). A name could be attached to this press, for at the end of the text appears the phrase 'Finitum per manus vuilhelmi hees anno lxxv'. On the basis of these words Willem Hees was deemed a printer.

Henry Bradshaw was apparently aware that despite the many insights classification can bring there are risks in rigorous application; he once remarked that the system can produce a misleading image of historical reality.⁹⁴ He did not comment on the case of Willem Hees, whose name probably meant nothing in particular to him. Now that we know more about Willem Hees and see him in a different light, a prominent member of Utrecht society and a collector of unusual books, his identity as a printer appears much more doubtful. The phrase 'per manus' does not belong to the many variations with which printers in the

92 Antonius Haneron, *Tractatus de coloribus verborum*. [Utrecht], 1475. ISTC ih00004950.

93 The letters are edited and commented on by Wytze and Lotte Hellinga, *Henry Bradshaw's correspondence on incunabula with J.W. Holtrop and M.F.A.G. Campbell*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1966–78.

94 In his rearranged Index to Campbell's *Annales* (1884), Cambridge UL, Adv. b. 77. 27.

fifteenth century proudly announced that the book was produced by mechanical means, written, or copied, 'artificialiter'. It is in direct contrast to – taking a famous example – 'not written with pen and ink as other books be ...' as Caxton wrote in 1473 in his epilogue to the *Recuyell of the histories of Troy*. It is altogether more probable that this phrase was copied by the compositor from a manuscript written by Willem Hees in his own hand. It is perhaps not entirely a coincidence that in his letter Poggio touches on 'scribere', copying by hand, as the best way to acquire texts of interest. This reinforces the argument that Willem Hees should be deleted from the list of printers in the Low Countries.

But what is the text that would have interested him enough to copy it? Perhaps its interest was less in the contents of the work and more in the person of its author. For the text was *Tractatus de coloribus verborum et sententiarum cum figuris grammaticalibus*, written by Antonius Haneron.⁹⁵ Before he became a diplomat and Burgundian grandee, Antoine Haneron had in the 1430s taught at the faculty of Arts at the University of Leuven, and this and other tracts by him that later appeared in print reflect his experience in teaching the Latin language.⁹⁶ The transition to the Burgundian court was made in 1441, when Haneron was invited to become tutor to Duke Philip the Good's future successor, the Comte de Charolais, later Duke Charles the Bold, and his three illegitimate half-brothers, among them David, who was to become bishop of Utrecht. Later, after years at the ducal court and participation in many foreign embassies, Haneron was appointed the main councillor of his former charge David when he became bishop in 1456; from then on he was often present in the episcopal see.⁹⁷ Since this was during the lifetime of Willem Hees, it is not an excessive stretch of the imagination to believe that the two may have known each other, with the potential for a shared interest. For us such contact is particularly significant. When Haneron became a trusted ambassador for the dukes of Burgundy, we find direct as well as indirect links with Pope Pius II.

95 GW 12122, ISTC ih00004950.

96 For other tracts, often reprinted, see GW 12121–28. Some of his tracts appeared in combination with other instructive works by Augustinus Datus and Engelbertus de Leydis, printed by the anonymous 'Printer of Haneron'. See George D. Painter, 'The Printer of Haneron', *Gbb* 1957, pp. 61–5; HPT, vol. 1, p. 31, n. 5; ILC, p. 510.

97 On the role Haneron played in Utrecht politics see A.G. Jongkees, *Staat en kerk in Holland en Zeeland onder de Bourgondische hertogen 1425–1477*. Groningen, Batavia, 1942. [Bijdragen van het Instituut voor Middeleeuwsche geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht 21], *passim* and p. 297: Haneron, the bishop's 'vicaris-generalis in spiritualibus', obtained in 1458 from Pius II a prebend in Utrecht.

In order to understand these links we have to move far beyond the walls of Utrecht, or even the residences of the Burgundian court. Diplomatic relations in the fifteenth century provided occasions to explain several of the contacts that may answer questions arising from this exploration. At its beginning we encountered Aeneas Silvius in Naples as ambassador at the court of King Alfonso the Magnanimous, first as a young man and again later in life, a few years before he was elected pope.⁹⁸ Although Aeneas Silvius is mainly remembered as a humanist author of poetry and fiction, he was in fact a career diplomat who attended the main diplomatic events of his time, both secular and ecclesiastical, for example the Council of Basel. On numerous minor missions he crisscrossed Western Europe, firstly on behalf of the emperor Friedrich III and later as apostolic secretary. Once elected pope, in 1458, he lost no time in initiating what became the main objective of his papacy, a crusade against the Ottoman Turks. After Constantinople had fallen in 1453, the response of the European rulers to the threat from the east had been extremely passive. Pius II judged this a matter of extreme urgency, and brought to bear all his diplomatic experience and skill to bring about a coalition of European rulers to undertake a crusade. In the early summer of 1459 he convened a summit meeting, known as the Congress of Mantua, and spent a good deal of time in the heat and humidity of this swampy town waiting for the delegations to turn up. The first to arrive in the end, to his relief, was a splendid Burgundian delegation on behalf of Duke Philip the Good, for whom a crusade had for decades been an unfulfilled plan; as early as the 1430s he had hoped to achieve it through establishing the Order of the Golden Fleece. The delegation was led by the duke's uncle, the Duke of Clèves, and Antoine Haneron is documented as a member of his retinue.⁹⁹

By this time Haneron had become an experienced diplomat in the service of Duke Philip the Good. He was known as an excellent orator in Latin, an asset acquired in his earlier career in scholarship and teaching.¹⁰⁰ Almost as soon as

98 For the biography of Pius II I have relied on the introductions to editions of his *Commentarii* by Leona C. Gabel (ed.) and Florence A. Gragg (transl.), *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The commentaries of Pius II, An abridgment*. London, 1960; and Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta (eds.), *Pius II, Commentaries*. 2 vols. Cambridge (Mass.), 2003–7. This edition has not yet progressed beyond Book IV.

99 Henri Stein, 'Un diplomate Bourguignon du XVe siècle: Antoine Haneron'. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 98 (1937), pp. 283–348 (p. 291).

100 Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The last Valois duke of Burgundy*. London, 1973, p. 230. Malte Prietzel, *Guillaume Fillastre der Jüngere (1400/07–1473), Kirchenfürst und herzoglich-burgundischer Rat*. Stuttgart, 2001, p. 413.

he was appointed tutor at the court of Philip the Good, he was required to join embassies and rapidly rose in prestige. Like Aeneas Silvius, he was on the road for months on end, and this continued into an advanced age.¹⁰¹ Haneron was especially trusted to deal with financial affairs. No portrait is known of him, but we may imagine him as one of the courtiers surrounding Philip the Good or his successor Charles the Bold in the many miniatures celebrating the dedication of a manuscript to either father or son. There are accounts of the court detailing how much was spent on kitting Haneron formally out in accordance with his dignity: in velvet and black satin for an embassy to the emperor, in crimson for the wedding celebrations of Charles the Bold. More to the point is that he was rewarded with many prebends, culminating splendidly with the title of provost of St Donatian in Bruges. This was granted by Charles the Bold in 1467 shortly after his accession to the dukedom, when he began to shower favours on his former tutor now belonging to the inner circle of Charles's advisers.¹⁰² His passion for collecting prebends did not go unnoticed, and Haneron must have accumulated considerable wealth. Meanwhile he had obtained papal dispensation from ordination to the priesthood.

The Congress of Mantua was one of the great diplomatic events of the age, although its outcome remained inconclusive. We are extremely well informed about it. Pius II himself described it in detail in Book III of his *Commentarii*¹⁰³ and several chroniclers gave their views from various angles. A particularly interesting version comes from Philip the Good himself, or rather from his secretary Pierre Milet, who wrote a recapitulation of what was agreed and promised that does not altogether conform with the pope's memories of the events.¹⁰⁴ Haneron did not rank high enough to be mentioned by name by Pius. At this point we may become aware of the need to supplement the *Commentarii* with the elaborate information found in the meticulous and wordy products of the Burgundian administration. Regarding Haneron, to the many details

101 His diplomatic missions seem to have ended c. 1473–4. Many details and documents appear in H. Stein, see above, n. 99.

102 Jongkees (see above, n. 97), p. 312.

103 For Book III I used the Latin text with English translation: Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta (eds.), see above, n. 98, For the later books I used the edition by Adrianus Heck, *Pii II Commentarii rerum memorabilium que temporibus suis contigerunt*. Vatican City, 1984. [Studi e Testi 312–13]. Very useful remains the English translation by Florence A. Gragg with notes by Leona C. Gabel, *Memoirs* (see above, n. 98) where events are related to dates, an aspect missing in the Van Heck and also the Meserve-Simonetta editions.

104 The document entitled 'Instructions données par Philippe le Bon à Antoine Haneron, son ambassadeur auprès de l'Empereur et du Pape (1^{er} mai 1460)', transcribed in full by Stein, *Un diplomate Bourguignon* (1937, see above, n. 99), pp. 310–24.

published by Henri Stein in 1937 we can now add even more from the more recent and brilliantly documented biography by Malte Prietzel of another great Burgundian diplomat, Guillaume Fillastre, bishop of Tournai, which frequently touches on Haneron.¹⁰⁵ Thus we find that Pius noted that the main body of the Burgundian delegation, led by the Duke of Clèves, left the congress early, but that some delegates stayed till the end, and that two of them proceeded at once to the emperor.¹⁰⁶ In the Burgundian documents these two are identified as Simon de Lalaing (Knight of the Golden Fleece and with the formal title 'Admiral of Flanders') and Antoine Haneron.

In the spring of 1460 the plan was that these same two envoys would travel together to the emperor for various, mainly territorial negotiations, and from there to the papal curia to continue detailed discussions about the Burgundian contributions to the crusade. But Simon de Lalaing fell ill, and instructions were prepared by Pierre Milet for Haneron to undertake the mission on his own. The instructions, dated 1 May 1460, are precise and fascinating ('Do not leave before you get an answer on this point!'), but this is not the place to go into the details of the prolonged negotiations between pope and duke. What concerns us here is whether Haneron did indeed come into direct contact with the papal curia, and thus an environment in which the literary works by Aeneas Silvius / Pius II might be accessible. Such an event is not mentioned in the *Commentarii*. In the relevant period Pius had other preoccupations, followed shortly after by mounting anxiety about the progress of the planning for the crusade.

The published sources also offer scant evidence for Haneron's mission, except for one delightful document that provides dates.¹⁰⁷ It is a short note, avuncular in tone although written in Latin, addressed to his young nephew Philippe de Brique who resided in Padua with his tutor. Haneron wrote to him from Vienna on 12 September 1460 that he was staying there longer than he had hoped and that therefore, to cover his expenses, he sent Philippe a bill of exchange to the value of eight ducats, to be drawn on the branch of the Medici bank in Venice. Ever the teacher, Haneron announces that he will be interested in Philippe's progress when he sees him, and ends the note with regards to the tutor. Included is the original bill, signed by Haneron and by Philippe, addressed to the bankers in Venice; it requests them to disburse on his behalf the eight ducats, stating that he shall reimburse them by the end of October. Apart

105 Prietzel, *Guillaume Fillastre* (2001, see above, n. 100).

106 Book III, end of cap. 14. Cf. Stein, *Un diplomate Bourguignon* (1937), p. 291.

107 The document is in the Medici archive, Archivio di Stato, Florence. See Armand Grunzweig, *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medicis*. Brussels, 1931, no. 34 (pp. 92–4).

from the charm of seeing Haneron supporting a young family member instead of in his diplomatic role, the note tells us that by the end of October 1460 he expected to be in Venice and well on his way to Rome.¹⁰⁸ It is therefore probable that Haneron delivered his message in Rome and conducted the required discussions towards the end of 1460 or early in 1461. As it turns out, his mission did not have a lasting impact on events. However, it should be noted as a possible occasion for communication about matters other than affairs of state between Haneron and members of the Apostolic curia with whom he may have shared an interest in literature, and in particular the writings of the pope.

Instead of progress with planning for the crusade, what followed were years of dithering and reneging on promises by the Duke of Burgundy. Pius II, deeply worried as time went by, complained with profound bitterness about the lack of support when he addressed a number of cardinals in an oration held early in 1462. He now proposed to lead the crusade himself, provided he would get help from France and Burgundy.¹⁰⁹ As Philip's enthusiasm for the crusade had obviously waned, the pope first sent Lorenzo, bishop of Ferrara, to Brussels to remind the duke of his vows, to no effect. A second messenger, sent in June 1463, at first received a negative response, but then the duke fell suddenly very ill; although at death's door, he recovered overnight. This was clearly a miracle, a divine sign that he had to take on the war in defence of the faith. The duke at once declared his full support for the enterprise, promising that ambassadors would be with the pope on Assumption Day (15 August).¹¹⁰ A small delegation, led by Guillaume Fillastre, did indeed leave Bruges for Rome on 29 June.¹¹¹ The two other envoys were Simon de Lalaing, the Admiral, and a courtier and knight, Jean Wavrin, also well known as a bibliophile.

Haneron was therefore not among them. Although at the time both Fillastre and Haneron were considered to be great diplomats of the Burgundian court, noted especially for their rhetorical talents,¹¹² the focus for the negotiations concerning the crusade had by 1463 shifted to Fillastre. He was a particular

108 Stein's note (p. 291, n. 5) to the effect that Haneron arrived in Milan on 8 June, as reported in a letter from Francesco Sforza to Antonio Guidoboni in Venice, has to be dismissed as inaccurate and unverifiable; it cannot be reconciled with Haneron's own note of 12 September from Vienna.

109 The episode including the oration is related at the end of Book VII of the *Commentarii*. Cf. Prietzel, *Guillaume Fillastre* (2001, see above, n. 100), pp. 286–8.

110 *Commentarii*, Book XII, Cap. 14.

111 For what follows on the Burgundian delegation, see many details in Prietzel, *Guillaume Fillastre* (2001), pp. 289–94.

112 Prietzel, *Guillaume Fillastre* (2001), pp. 208, 413.

protégé of Philip the Good, elected as Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and an ardent supporter of the crusade. The deciding factor was probably that Haneron remained closely associated with his former pupil Charles, later Duke Charles the Bold, who disagreed with his father about the need for the crusade.

The stages of the route of the delegation can partly be followed. On 15 July they were in Dijon and late in July in Alessandria, where they negotiated with the Duke of Milan. On 5 August they were in Venice, and early in September they arrived in Tivoli, the pope's summer residence. Their arrival and subsequent stay is described in the *Commentarii*;¹¹³ in an informal welcome the pope greeted Fillastre as an old friend, and was delighted to receive the message that Duke Philip planned to send a fleet in the spring of the following year (1464). A few days later the papal court moved to Rome, arriving on 14 September, where discussions and negotiations could be conducted in earnest. These concluded around 20 October with a long and learned oration by Fillastre in which he publicly declared the Duke's support. The pope responded with an even longer public oration, full of praise for Duke Philip, 'the scion of an ancient family with its roots in Ilium', who, he astutely observed, had less than any other Christian to fear from the Turks. When all this was said, all who heard these words praised Philip's name and his spirit 'ad astra'.

Undoubtedly the euphoria was justified: it was certainly a turning point in the planning for the crusade. Duke Philip did indeed send a fleet, commanded by his son Antoine, 'le Grand Bâtard', but not the 6,000 men he had also promised. His support put some pressure on other rulers to contribute. Nevertheless it all came to grief when some troops and naval support had gathered in August 1464 in Ancona, where the pope died as he was overseeing the debacle.¹¹⁴

But in October 1463 this was all in the future. There was joy all around, and during the negotiations the pope showered the delegates themselves, and many of their connections, with favours. Is this atmosphere of euphoria and mutual veneration reflected in the collection of texts related to Pius II and printed by the Prototypographer? Was it on this occasion that a fairly random collection of works by Aeneas Silvius / Pius II was acquired by those high-ranking Burgundian envoys, to take home to the Burgundian court? Guillaume Fillastre was treated by Pius as a fellow author whose learning he appreciated (as is clear in his oration of October 1463). It is not impossible that the pope decided

113 Book XII, Cap.21, 28, ending after the texts of the orations 'His dictis ex auditorio discesum est cunctis Philippi nomen et animum ad astra tollentibus'.

114 Prietzel, *Guillaume Fillastre* (2001), pp. 301 sqq.

to make him a gift of some of his works. Another possible scenario is that Jean Wavrin, equally of literary mind and known as an author and collector of manuscripts, would have found ways to acquire copies of these texts during the stay in Rome, in close contact with the Apostolic curia. Yet if that was the case, would he not have reproduced them in a splendid manuscript? Perhaps these two high-ranking envoys should be granted a slightly higher chance to be the instruments, the 'vectors', who brought these humanist texts to the north than Haneron – although Haneron's acquisitive nature (the prebends, the money) should not be underrated; when he was negotiating with the Apostolic curia in 1460/61 he may have taken the opportunity to get access to these texts and perhaps to copy them.¹¹⁵ Or perhaps he copied them from what either Guillaume Fillastre or Jean Wavrin brought home. In any case, it remains very likely that it was with Haneron that the texts arrived in Utrecht, while it remains inadvisable to venture into precise guesses about the route they took previously. In general terms we should be confident that we owe the presence of these texts in Utrecht to the diplomatic relations between the Duke of Burgundy and Pope Pius II.

Earlier on in this essay, I found in the reconstruction of the production of the books printed by the Prototypographer an argument to hypothesize that the printer's copy of part of the texts was a fairly loose assemblage of papers. If either Guillaume Fillastre, Jean Wavrin or possibly Antoine Haneron himself had indeed acquired a collection of texts related to Pius II, any one of them may have added a few pieces, especially to the epitaphs.

Conclusion

In conclusion we may consider further probabilities: that several years after the Burgundian delegations to the papal court in 1460 and 1463, when Haneron was spending a good deal of time in Utrecht and was a man of considerable power, both locally and at the ducal court, he made a collection of quite extraordinary texts available for multiplication in print, much of it in honour of the late Pope Pius II. His own modest grammatical works appeared in print a few years later. Willem Hees, the local dignitary and extremely literate man, was also to make some of his books available to local printers. These two erudite

115 The latest of the epitaphs is that of Guarinus Veronensis, the news of whose death reached the pope on 29 December 1460. This is precisely at the time that Haneron was probably in Rome and at the curia.

and wealthy men, Hees and Haneron, were both interested in assembling and multiplying texts, and Haneron was evidently intrigued by the new technique. I propose to see these two as the initiators behind the production of the group of humanist texts that appeared in print in Utrecht around the year 1470, the result of a fortunate convergence of experience and shared interests. The ingenious and competent printers who did the work remain, as ever, nameless in the shadows of time.

William Caxton, Colard Mansion and the Printer in Type 1

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Books printed to resemble manuscripts

William Caxton and Colard Mansion are now two of the best-known printers of the fifteenth century. They were among the first to publish in English and French,¹ and their books, many of them containing literary texts, stand out

1 In 1473, the year here considered as the date of Caxton's first book in English, there were only few unconnected instances of vernacular printing. At about that time printers in Italian and French began independently to produce vernacular texts. The German language was well ahead. Apart from a few early experiments by Johannes Gutenberg, the printers in Mainz produced at least five broadside proclamations in German in the 1460s. Between 1460 and 1464 Albrecht Pfister in Bamberg printed several German literary works with woodcut illustrations, a trend that continued in Augsburg and Ulm in the early 1470s. By far the most substantial works in German were the Bible translations printed in Strasbourg, before mid-1466 by Johann Mentelin, followed about two years later by a small *Ars moriendi* in German, the disappearance of the unique copy described by Falk Eisermann, 'Lost in transaction: "Discollecting" incunabula in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'. In Shanti Graheli (ed.), *Buying and selling: The business of books in Early Modern Europe*. (Leiden, forthcoming). Heinrich Eggestein published a Bible in German not after 1470. In Italian, Boccaccio's *Decamerone* was printed three times c. 1470–2, in Naples, Venice and Mantua, and other Italian

among contemporary printing in Latin by their exceptional typographical styles. They bring to mind Lucien Febvre's words: 'Vers 1450 ... on voit apparaître des 'manuscrits' assez singuliers. Pas très différents, par l'aspect, des manuscrits traditionnels, mais dont on apprend bien vite qu'ils ont été 'imprimés...'.² When they set out on their careers as printers, both Caxton and Mansion presented their editions in print as if they were to be ranged with the often famous manuscripts of the same or similar texts that epitomized the culture of the Burgundian court. Manuscripts produced for the court and its entourage during the reigns of Duke Philip the Good (1419–67) and his successor Charles the Bold (1467–77) strike us now in the first place by their colourful miniatures. Unless printers left spaces open for miniatures (as some did), a printed book could not compete with this form of illustration. Yet the Burgundian manuscripts inspired several printers, and they might truly attempt to 'imitate' the script of these manuscripts – as has all too often been said, not always correctly, of early printing in general. Most printed books, even very early ones, have distinct typographical qualities of their own. But the books published by William Caxton in Flanders and Colard Mansion in Bruges are an exceptionally close approximation of distinct writing styles characteristic of two scribes, both known for the splendour of the manuscripts (all in French) that they produced for the circles of the court of Burgundy. Caxton was probably the initiator of Mansion's venture into printing; before that he had already started the printing of his translations into English of Raoul Lefevre's *Recueil des histoires Troies* and Jacobus de Cessolis, *De ludo scaccorum*, as he tells his readers in the prologues to these texts. He is very informative about the circumstances and dates of his translations, and also about his first dedicatee, Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, who commissioned the translation of the *Recueil*. But with all his elaborate explanations he omits to tell us where the printing took place and who was the printer – for although we use the term 'printer' for Caxton, he probably never touched a piece of type and his role was closer to what we now call a 'publisher'.

texts by him in 1472 in Padua, Venice and Florence. Dante's *Commedia* appeared three times in 1472, in Foligno, Mantua and Venice. The earliest books in French, if not those printed in Flanders in Caxton's Type 1, are two books printed in Lyon by Guillaume le Roy, *La Bible abrégée* and *Les merveilles du monde*; both are dated 'about 1473–4' by P. Aquilon, 'La Bible abrégée 1: Quatre impressions lyonnaises', *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 2 (1972), pp. 147–64 (esp. p. 152). See also CIBN M-309. The *Sinodal de Aguila Fuente* printed in Segovia, c. 1472, is the earliest vernacular book printed in the Iberian Peninsula.

- 2 In his Préface to Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition du livre*. Paris, 1958, p. xxiii.

With many early printers the 'imitation' of manuscripts is especially obvious in the processes once the printing was completed. Painted initials and captions, as well as colourful decoration, are indispensable features for presenting the text in a structure that is helpful to the reader. The attempt by Caxton (or rather, his printer) to introduce some of these elements mechanically was limited to some red printing. When Mansion established a printing house on his own, he took his experiments beyond red printing, seeking substitutes for the marvellous miniatures for which his manuscripts are still famous. The copper engravings in some copies of his Boccaccio, *De la ruyne des nobles hommes et femmes* are an experiment with spectacular results.³ His woodcuts in his *Ovide moralisé* are technically less daring but equally successful.⁴ Both printers relied on 'finishing by hand' by limners for initials and further decoration.

In this chapter I shall argue that we may distinguish two separate enterprises through the primary elements on which the 'imitation' was based: the typographical styles, which are such close approximations of the style of two distinct scripts, and the different techniques used for red printing. The same elements also suggest what the relation between the two may have been. Caxton's two distinct types used in Flanders divide the books connected with him into two groups; each may guide us to the scribe whose script they imitate. The difference in typographical style may lead us to surmise that Caxton succeeded in persuading two experienced scribes, working independently of each other, to try mechanical multiplication of texts as an improvement on repeatedly copying them. Caxton's initiatives would have introduced the new medium of print into traditional scriptoria. When in 1476 he moved to England, he took with him one of the types that represented Burgundian scribal traditions. It became characteristic of English printing for the next decade.

It is generally assumed among bibliographers and historians that at some point Caxton and Mansion briefly formed a partnership as printers/publishers. But the precise grounds for this assumption and, if it is accepted, the point in their careers at which this happened, as well as the extent to which the men would have worked together and the nature of their arrangement (if any such thing existed) remains all a matter for conjecture, with guesses varying considerably.

3 GW 4432. ISTC ib00711000.

4 ISTC i0000184000–184200. See below Fig. 8.4. Kok, vol. 1, pp. 60–3, ser. 28, 1–34, unfortunately illustrated from a copy in which the woodcuts are heavily coloured.

The books printed for Caxton in Flanders

At issue are seven books, two printed in English, four in French and one in Latin (a book of hours for the use of Salisbury, and therefore presumably for the English market). The designation of the two founts of type as 'Caxton Type 1' and 'Caxton Type 2' has become traditional in bibliographical works. However, it gives no inkling of the various interpretations that have been put forward over a period of almost 150 years regarding the circumstances in which these seven books were produced. A list may prove a useful starting point. This list is here presented in the chronological order of the books' production, as currently established on the basis of typography and records of the paper used.

1	Duff 242; STC 15375; BMC IX, p. 129; ISTC il00117000	Raoul Lefèvre, <i>Recuyell of the histories of Troy, c. 1473 (transl. by Caxton)</i>	English	Type 1: 120B	Red printing on three pages [a]2 ^a , [a]4 ^b , [aa]1 ^a	Paper stocks include: WILC EG 0586
2	Duff 81; STC 4920; BMC IX, p. 130; GW 6532; ISTC ic00413000	Jac. de Cessolis, <i>The Game of chess, 'finished of' 31. 3. 1474 (transl. by Caxton)</i>	English	Type 1: 120B	No red printing	Paper stocks include: WILC EG 0586 WILC EG 1429
3	Duff 243; BMC IX, p. 131; ISTC il00113000	Raoul Lefèvre, <i>Recueil des histoires de Troies, s.d.</i>	French	Type 1: 120B	No red printing	Paper stocks include: WILC EG 1429 WILC EG 1430 (Needham stock 10) WILC EG 0489
4	Duff 25; BMC IX, p. 131; ISTC ia00479600	Pierre d'Ailly, <i>Méditations, s.d.</i>	French	Type 1: 120B	No red printing	Paper stocks include: WILC EG 0489 WILC EG 1430 (Needham stock 10)
5	Duff 108; BMC IX, p. 131; GW 7530; ISTC ic00908000	<i>Cordiale, s.d.</i>	French	Type 2: 135B	Printed initials in red	Paper stocks include: WILC EG 1430 (Needham: remnant of stock 10)

6	Duff 174; STC 15867; GW 13407 ISTC ih00420000	<i>Horae ad usum Sarum</i> , s.d.	Latin	Type 2: No red printing 135B	Paper stocks (fragment only): Needham stock 2 (of the group stocks 2–12)
7	Duff 244; ISTC il00110930	Raoul Lefèvre, <i>l'Histoire de Jason</i> , 1476? (on paper evidence)	French	Type 1: No red printing 120B	Paper stocks: entirely independent

The first two books in this list are firmly connected with Caxton. He states himself in lengthy prologues to the texts that not only had he translated these two works, but had also taken the initiative to 'ordeyne this book in prynte'. He explains that the translation of Lefèvre's *Recueil* was completed in Cologne. Type and paper link it with no. 2, the *Game of chess*, which includes the date 31 March 1474, 15 months after Caxton had returned to Flanders after a period of exile spent in Cologne. This may either have been the date of completion of the translation or of printing. We may exclude the possibility that the English *Recuyell* was printed in Cologne, especially as type and paper have no relation whatever to the three Latin books Caxton published during his exile there.⁵ Paper evidence confirms that the *Recuyell* preceded the *Game of chess*, an order already indicated by Caxton's prologues, and on that basis we can assign to the *Recuyell* the date 1473, probably towards the end of that year or possibly very early in 1474. We can therefore be reasonably certain about the order and time of production of these two books, but have no information, either direct or indirect, about where they were printed.

The two English books are printed in a fount of type ('Caxton Type 1: 120B') that recurs in three books in French. There is no perceptible development or change in the type to indicate their chronological order, but the record of the paper shows that nos. 3 and 4 in the list followed nos. 1 and 2. No date can be attached to these two French books, nor to nos. 5 and 6 (printed in a new fount of

5 For biographies of Caxton see George D. Painter, *William Caxton: A quincentenary biography of England's first printer*. London, 1976; Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and early printers in England*. London, 2010, pp. 12–75. In shorter form: N.F. Blake's entry in ODNB, with useful references; 'Introduction to the printers', BMC IX, pp. 5–12. See also below, pp. 297–9. The books printed for Caxton in Cologne in 1471–2 are: Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, GW 3403, ISTC ib00131000; *Gesta Romanorum*, GW 10881, ISTC ig00281000; Walter Burlaeus, *De vita et moribus philosophorum*, GW 5784, ISTC ib01318000. Before the link with Caxton was established these books were ascribed to the anonymous Cologne press of 'The printer of the Flores Sancti Augustini'.

type, Type 2: 135B), except that for various reasons it is generally assumed they were printed before Caxton's departure to Westminster in 1476. The use of the type and the sequence of paper make it likely that nos. 3 and 4 were printed in the same place, and on the same presses, as nos. 1 and 2, although this cannot be proved. However, there are no internal grounds for identifying that place. Number 7, *l'Histoire de Jason*, however, is printed on a supply of paper that is not known to be used in other printed books in either the Low Countries or England. The work was possibly printed after Caxton's departure to Westminster, in 1476, and not long before Caxton published his English translation of the same text in 1477.⁶

The apparent fact that *l'Histoire de Jason* was published years after the French *Recueil* is intriguing, for the other six books all show internal connections of the paper supplies. This suggests in the first place that a book set in a type that at one time presumably belonged to Caxton could be produced quite independently of him by another printer. Caxton could have sold the type before leaving for England, and if this were the case the book should be ascribed to an anonymous printer, the 'Printer in Type 1'. But the fact that the text is closely related to the French-language *Recueil* (no. 3 in the list) and completes the publication of the two works by Lefèvre in their original language may argue against this. Another explanation, perhaps more plausible, is that Caxton had worked in partnership, co-owning the type, and that the business did not depend on his presence. Archival documents show that by 1474 he was busy travelling in the Low Countries in the role of diplomat and representative of Edward IV; perhaps he left the type with a partner before leaving for Westminster late in 1475 or early in 1476. Should this be the case, we should supply for nos. 1–4 in the list an imprint '[Caxton and the Printer in Type 1]', without anticipating the identification of a partner. Such a designation is symptomatic of the degree of uncertainty about the actual production of this group of books: the lack of any positive indication of their place of printing and of Caxton's possible associates. All too often such uncertainty cannot be expressed in formulaic bibliographical terms.

Successive bibliographers disagreed on who printed for Caxton

Since they include the first books printed in English, many publications have already been devoted to these seven books and there is a long tradition of

6 The paper is recorded in WILC; see also Paul Needham 'The paper in English incunabula'. In BMC XI, p. 332. On the printing of the *History of Jason* see BMC XI, p. 107.

speculation about the circumstances of their publication. We may start with William Blades' bio-bibliographical work published in 1861–3. Blades added a subtitle to his work: '*with evidence of his typographical connection with Colard Mansion, the printer at Bruges*', leaving the reader in no doubt what to expect.⁷ His firm conviction of a connection between Caxton and Mansion was based on his observation of the peculiar method of two-colour printing (red and black) in the French *Cordiale* (the first book printed in Caxton's Type 2) that is also seen in several of the books printed and signed by Colard Mansion. More about the red printing follows below. Blades' conclusion was that Mansion carried out the printing of six of the books listed above, and that they were therefore printed in Bruges. The Sarum Hours (of which only a small fragment was known at the time) was considered to have been printed at Westminster.⁸

Not everyone accepted Blades' conclusion. Henry Bradshaw in particular, with whom Blades regularly discussed his bibliographical work, had his reservations; instead of considering the books to be products of Mansion's press, he initially preferred to leave the question undecided for lack of evidence. Jan Willem Holtrop commented extensively on Blades' work in a letter to Bradshaw dated 12 April 1866,⁹ but in his *Monuments Typographiques* (1868), in which he surveyed the printing types used in the Low Countries, Holtrop did not include the early Caxtons. Years later Bradshaw drafted in one of his notebooks a list of Caxton's books he knew, drawing at its beginning a distinction between the

7 William Blades, *The life and typography of William Caxton, England's first printer with evidence of his typographical connection with Colard Mansion, the printer at Bruges*. 2 vols. London, 1861–3. An abbreviated version, London, 1877 and London, 1882.

8 The Sarum Hours was only recently assigned to Bruges on the basis of compositors' habits, paper and provenance; the vellum copy now in the Pierpont Morgan Library had come to light in Middelburg in Zeeland. See Paul Needham, BMC XI, pp. 331–2.

9 The letters are edited and commented on by Wytze and Lotte Hellinga, *Henry Bradshaw's correspondence on incunabula with J.W. Holtrop and M.F.A.G. Campbell*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1966–78. In April 1866 Holtrop noted in his letter to Bradshaw the apparent relationship between Caxton's Type 2 and a type of Johan Veldener. He agreed that Mansion's Type 1 possessed similarities of style to manuscripts written by Jean Miélot, David Aubert and Mansion himself. He disagreed, however, with Blades on the stylistic resemblance of Caxton's Type 1 to the script of Mansion's 'La pénitence d'Adam'. See Hellinga, *Henry Bradshaw's correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 82–3. Bradshaw stated his position in a letter to J.W. Holtrop, written in Bruges and dated 13 October 1866: 'Since my work here, I have concluded to put Caxton's six books [i.e. Duff 242–4, 81, 25, 108] into my Salle d'attente – I feel certain of course that Mansion did not print them; and yet three of them (the French *Recueil*, the *Jason*, and the *Méditations*) must certainly have been printed after Caxton's departure for England, in other words in or after 1477'. See Hellinga, *Henry Bradshaw's correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 123–4 and vol. 2, pp. 359–60.

two English books and the *Cordiale* as 'Caxton and his associate before leaving Belgium' and the three French books as 'Caxton's former associate, in Belgium, after Caxton's return to England'.¹⁰ It is interesting to see that Bradshaw hypothesized a local 'associate' for Caxton and used for the place of printing the remarkably vague term of 'Belgium', instead of specifying a town.

In the successive bibliographical milestones that marked subsequent progress different ways were found to record the books as to printer. All consider Bruges to be the place of printing, however – despite the fact that none of the books include an imprint or any other statement to this effect. The first bibliographical work to include the books is Proctor's *Index* (1898); here the two English books (nos. 1 and 2 in the list) are assigned to Caxton, but the three French books to Colard Mansion.¹¹ E. Gordon Duff (1905) was the first to draw attention to Johan Veldener, declaring that 'if Caxton was assisted by any outside printer in the preparation of his type, there can be little doubt that that printer was Veldener'. He noted that an early state of Caxton's Type 2 appeared as a heading in Veldener's edition of Angelus de Gambiglionibus, *Lectura super titulo De actionibus institutionum*, printed in Leuven in 1475.¹² But in Gordon Duff's bibliography of English printing of the fifteenth century, published in 1917, he designated the two English books as 'Caxton and Colard Mansion' and

10 Bradshaw's Notebook XVI (Cambridge UL MS Add. 4560), pp. 59–76. The list begins: 'I find the productions of Caxton's presses may be arranged much as follows:

Aa: *W. Caxton and his associate before leaving Belgium*.

Type 1 or 2. No signatures.

1. Recuyell, ed. 1, Type 1

2. Chesse, ed. 1, Type 1

3. Quatre derrenieres choses. Type 2.

Ab: *Caxton's former associate, in Belgium, after Caxton's return to England*.

Type 1. No signatures.

4. Recueil.

5. Fais de Jason.

6. Meditacions sur les sept pseaulmes'.

11 Robert Proctor, *An index to the early printed books in the British Museum: from the invention of printing to the year MD. With notes of those in the Bodleian Library*. 2 vols. and 4 suppl. London, 1898–1903. Proctor arranged under 'Bruges i' the press of Colard Mansion (nos. 9316–9321); the Pierre d'Ailly text was later inserted in this category as 9318^A. Caxton's *Recuyell* and *Game of chess* are listed as nos. 9322 and 9323 under 'Bruges ii'. Proctor did not include the *Cordiale*, although the British Museum copy is bound with the Pierre d'Ailly edition in a volume from the Old Royal Library.

12 GW 10493, ISTC ig00055300. E. Gordon Duff, *William Caxton*. Chicago, 1905, pp. 26–7. J.W. Holtrop had already noted the connection with Veldener in his letter to Henry Bradshaw. See above, n. 9.

gave the three French books to Colard Mansion alone.¹³ Meanwhile Seymour de Ricci had listed in his *Census of Caxtons* (1909) the two English and four French books under the heading 'Bruges'.

Volume 6 of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, published in 1934, supplied *Game of chess* (GW 6532) with the imprint '[Brügge: William Caxton, nach 31 März 1474]' and Volume 7, published in 1938, gave the *Cordiale* (GW 7530) the imprint '[Brügge: Colard Mansion und William Caxton, um 1476]'. A radically different interpretation came from L.A. Sheppard in 1952, who at the time was preparing a large part of the ninth volume of BMC, covering the Low Countries, North and South, published in 1962. In a critical essay Sheppard rejected Blades' argument as unconvincing, concluding his article:

It is to Caxton therefore that is due the credit of being the first printer at Bruges and to his press alone we should attribute all those books (five in the first type and one in his second) in the production of which Mansion has so long and so unwarrantably been held to have taken the preponderant share.¹⁴

Sheppard did not doubt that Caxton was skilled in the practice of printing, or that he took an active part himself. He made no mention of Veldener. His opinion was again sharply formulated in his 'Introduction to the presses' in BMC IX (1962) where he explained that, deviating from Proctor's *Index*, the French books were transferred to Caxton, since 'there is no evidence that Mansion ever owned, entirely or in part, either of the types in question'. In the system of the BMC catalogue they are all, without reservations, ranged under Bruges, preceding the books printed by Colard Mansion.¹⁵ A few years later, in 1966, Wytze and Lotte Hellinga reconsidered in *The fifteenth-century printing types of the Low Countries* the question of Mansion's possible share in the production of Caxton's books.¹⁶ We attributed to Veldener the manufacture of the founts of type, but did not discuss the question of place of printing; however, both in the text and in the indexes we designated it as Bruges. In his quincentenary biography of Caxton (1976) George D. Painter obviously did not share his predecessor

13 Duff 25, 81, 108, 242–4. In an introductory note to the edition A.W. Pollard drew attention to the work that Henry Thomas, Assistant Keeper at the British Museum Library, had done to bring Duff's compilation to completion. In assigning the three French books in Type 1 to Colard Mansion, Thomas may have followed Proctor.

14 L.A. Sheppard, 'A new light on Caxton and Colard Mansion'. *Signature*, n.s. 15 (1952), pp. 28–39.

15 BMC IX, pp. 1–li. and 129–31.

16 HPT, pp. 22–3.

Sheppard's view. In a very detailed discussion he stated that Colard Mansion was no doubt chiefly responsible for the French books and suggested that he must have been instructed by Johan Veldener.¹⁷ Painter considered it probable that Veldener set up the shop for Caxton – in Bruges – when they had both left Cologne, at the end of 1472 in the case of Caxton, by July 1473 in the case of Veldener, who matriculated at the end of that month at the university of Leuven. Whereas Veldener had produced the two founts of type, Mansion might have had some involvement in the production of the *Recuyell* and *Game of chess*, but would have been contracted to print the French books – possibly, Painter surmised, for a share in the expected revenues.

As part of the Caxton quincentenary celebrations in 1976, the *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* devoted an issue to him with essays by specialists in Germany, France, Italy and the Netherlands which placed Caxton in an international context.¹⁸ In the first two essays, by Severin Corsten and by Lotte and Wytze Hellinga, Veldener's possible contribution was extensively discussed; we also briefly raised the question – to my knowledge for the first time since Bradshaw's unpublished note – of whether the earliest English books were printed in a place other than Bruges, pointing out that there is no firm basis for assigning them all to Bruges. Nevertheless, in my *Caxton in focus* (1982) I did not pursue the question.¹⁹ It is only very recently, in 2009, that I put a question mark after the word 'Bruges' in the 'Index of the production of each printing house' added to the reprint of Duff's bibliography of 1917.²⁰ In 1986 Paul Needham added a chronological list of all Caxton editions to his *The printer & the pardoner*, in which he ranged nos. 1–5 and 7 under Bruges, with dates from c. 1473 to 1476, and the Sarum Hours (no. 6) as a Westminster book, printed after Russell's *Propositio* in 1476.²¹ In his contribution to BMC XI, 'The paper of

17 George D. Painter, *William Caxton* (1976, see above, n. 5) pp. 60–1, 73–9. Part of Painter's argument is no longer valid since the dating of two of the editions, *Game of chess* and *l'Histoire de Jason*, has significantly changed as a result of subsequent research.

18 *Papers presented to the Caxton International Congress 1976. Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 11 (1976/7). Apart from Severin Corsten on 'Caxton in Cologne' and Lotte and Wytze Hellinga on 'Caxton in the Low Countries', Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer contributed on 'Caxton and France' and Luigi Balsamo on 'Printing in Italy and England'.

19 Lotte Hellinga, *Caxton in focus: The beginning of printing in England*. London, 1982.

20 On p. 205 of the reprint.

21 For John Russell's *Propositio* see ISTC iro0365300. Paul Needham, *The printer & the pardoner: An unrecorded indulgence printed by William Caxton for the Hospital of St. Mary Rounceval, Charing Cross*. Washington, DC, 1986. In his brief biographical introduction Needham states (pp. 15–6) that Caxton set up a press in Bruges and completed six books there, without mentioning Mansion.

English incunabula', Needham changed this order on the basis of further investigations, placing the Sarum Hours at the end of the books printed in Bruges before Caxton's departure, with *l'Histoire de Jason* at a later date.²²

Meanwhile the English STC had been completed in 1991.²³ Excluded are the works in French as outside its scope. Volume 2, published in 1976, includes as no. 15375 the *Recuyell* with the designation '[Bruges, W. Caxton and C. Mansion, 1475?]'. In volume 1, published in 1986, *Game of chess* (no. 4920) is designated as '[Bruges, W. Caxton and Colard Mansion, 1474]', and in vol. 3 (p. 284) the apparent anomaly in the order of publication of the two English books was corrected by the note for the *Recuyell* 'Amend date: 1473?' However, the title of the STC, which includes the year 1475 as the beginning of printing in English, remained unchanged. Finally, in *William Caxton and early printing in England* (2010), I proposed a radical change, designating the books printed in Type 1 as printed for Caxton in Ghent by an atelier associated with the scribe David Aubert.²⁴

The various permutations in the bibliographical designation are, at best, to be taken as a sign that the data are scarce and that historical actuality may be much more complex than can be expressed in bibliographical shorthand. There may also be some reluctance to rock the bibliographical boat, for lack of any unambiguous evidence that contradicts the easily accepted assumptions. As a consequence, the bibliographical designation – a simplification forced by the need to provide a label in a classification system – tends to be adopted into the narrative approach and presented as an established fact. In the extensive literature relating to the first books printed in English, their place of printing is now invariably and without reservations named as Bruges.

The rigour of a classification system may be too easily confused with the rigour of the external (or circumstantial) evidence surrounding the production of books. Henry Bradshaw formulated the much-quoted principles of classification of early printed books that he called the natural history method,²⁵ but,

22 BMC XI, pp. 330–1.

23 Katherine F. Pantzer *et al.* (compilers), *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475–1640*. 3 vols, London, The Bibliographical Society, 1976–91.

24 In this chapter I present this hypothesis more fully argued and supported by broader documentation than was possible in a book destined for general readership.

25 Bradshaw formulated the principles of classification of early printed material in 1870 in a note to his inventory of the De Meyer collection of incunabula, re-arranging the catalogue in which the collection was offered for auction (Ghent, November 1869). Famously he argued: 'In fact, each press must be looked upon as a genus, and each book as a species, and our business is to trace the more or less close connexion of the different members of the

strict as he was in the application of this principle as a method for creating order in a vast amount of material, it did not prevent him from speculating briefly on what might have caused a gap in the production of a particular printing house – or rather recognizing that after classifying the material further interpretation should follow.

Summary of William Caxton's biography

Although published many times, it may be convenient for the reader to summarize once again what by (mostly) general consensus is known about the biographies of Caxton and Mansion, before they each set out on independent and well documented careers as printers.²⁶

William Caxton was born about 1420, probably in the Weald of Kent, into a family that had been associated for several generations with the London Company of Mercers. Young William followed a career that conformed to this pattern: apprenticed at an early age, he became a mercer and was sent overseas to Bruges, where English merchants had a settlement, the English Nation, controlled from London by the Merchant Adventurers. During a stay of some 30 years in Flanders, mainly based in Bruges, he rose in the ranks, and as a mature man in 1462 became Governor of the English Nation. We would now call this function consular, but his task was also to represent English interests, and was therefore partly political. It connected Caxton not only to a wide circle of merchants, but also to high-ranking administrators, diplomats and nobility, especially when the courts of Burgundy and of the king of England negotiated the dynastic marriage of Duke Charles the Bold with Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV, king of England. Their wedding took place in Damme (near Bruges) in July 1468. The spectacular pageants in Bruges at the time of the marriage, with displays of the icons alluding to the mythological ancestry of the House of Burgundy, probably inspired Caxton to embark on English translations of French versions of the histories of Jason and the Argonauts and the destruction of Troy.²⁷ At this time he also entered into some form of service with Margaret, Duchess of York.

family according to the characters which they present to our observation ... When studied as a branch of natural history, it is as fruitful in interesting results as most subjects'.

26 See above, n. 5. For a full bibliography see Norman F. Blake, *William Caxton: A bibliographical guide*. New York, London, 1985.

27 Hercules and Jason, both Argonauts, were considered the mythical ancestors of the dukes of Burgundy, and the myths of the Argonauts and the Golden Fleece, and of the

But then the wheel of fortune turned. Politically the times were unstable: Edward IV was temporarily deposed and for some unknown offence, possibly connected with political allegiance, Caxton was dismissed as Governor in 1471 and went into exile. During this episode, which lasted 18 months, we find him in Cologne. His misfortune became a turning point in his life, for an obvious contact for him in that city was with the merchants who were backing the printing trade there; through them Caxton came to know the printers who from 1466 had introduced the art of printing in Cologne. By the time Caxton arrived several printers had established a steadily expanding industry in which a number of gifted individuals were active. A pivotal figure was Johan Veldener, who in the early 1470s set out on a varied career as punch-cutter, type-founder, typographical adviser and publisher. Veldener was to have a major influence on early printing in the Low Countries and in England, but his first contact with Caxton must have taken place in Cologne. Caxton decided to take part in the new ventures and published three substantial books in Latin, destined for the markets pioneered by the early Cologne publishers. It is not known for certain who carried out the typesetting and printing, but all three were set in a printing type developed by Veldener that appeared in the early 1470s in a succession of states in some 50 books. These were mostly small works (all in Latin), and some include statements that they were financed by local merchants who used their trade connections to reach a market far beyond the city itself.²⁸

When Caxton returned to Flanders at the end of the year 1472, his exile over, he had found his future métier. Instead of continuing to publish in Latin, however, he decided to apply the new technique for disseminating texts in print to

destruction of Troy, were expressed at their court all through the fifteenth century in many forms of art. Raoul Lefèvre, writing the last in a sequence of versions of the stories, cast the mythological heroes in a chivalrous mode. He began c. 1460 with *l'Histoire de Jason* and dedicated it to Duke Philip the Good, who subsequently commissioned him to write *Le recueil des histoires de Troies* (c. 1463–4). Shortly after she had married into the Burgundian dynasty, Margaret of York encouraged Caxton to complete the translation of the *Recueil* into English; he dedicated the book to her when it was printed.

- 28 On the small presses operating in Cologne in the early 1470s see: Severin Corsten, *Die Anfänge des Kölner Buchdrucks*. Greven, 1953; his article 'Caxton in Cologne'. *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 11 (1976–7), pp. 1–18; and his 'Johann Veldener in Köln: Geschichte eines Problems'. In: Chris Coppens et al. (eds.), *E codicibus impressisque: Opstellen over het boek in de Lage Landen voor Elly Cockx-Indestege*. Leuven, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 253–67. Partly in response to Corsten (1976–7) see Paul Needham, 'William Caxton and his Cologne partners: An enquiry based on Veldener's Cologne type'. In H. Limburg, H. Lohse and W. Schmitz (eds.), *Ars impressoria: Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchdrucks: Eine internationale Festgabe für Severin Corsten zum 65. Geburtstag*. Munich, 1986, pp. 103–30.

his own translation into English of the *Recuyell of the histories of Troy*, which he had completed in Cologne. It was the first of his publications in English, and appeared in 1473 about a year after he had left Cologne. In extensive prologues he respectfully dedicated the *Recuyell* to Margaret of York, possibly hoping to create a market for printed books in English among the nobles in the entourage of the new duchess, or perhaps even to become an 'author in residence' at the English court, as had become traditional at the court of Burgundy. The *Recuyell* was followed by a translation of Jacobus de Cessolis, *The game of chess*, which he dedicated to George, Duke of Clarence, Margaret's brother, and which bears the date 31 March 1474 – referring to the completion of either its printing or the translation. We shall return to Caxton's printing enterprise, but to complete the biographical outline before 1476 it should be mentioned that after his return to Flanders he was not reinstated as Governor of the English Nation. In the course of 1473 and 1474 he was charged to take part in several diplomatic missions, culminating in a tour of towns in Holland in 1475 as representative of Edward IV. There is no evidence of any permanent residence in England until he rented premises in Westminster in 1476.

Summary of Colard Mansion's biography

The circumstances that led Caxton to a career as printer are extraordinary. They are more straightforward for Colard Mansion, for all that is documented about him is associated with the book trade and book production. All such documentation originated in Bruges where he was a citizen, although he was probably not born there.²⁹ The main source for Mansion's biography is the account book of the confraternity of St John, formally founded in 1454 at the abbey of Eekhout just outside Bruges. It was formed by the 'librarians', scribes, limners, illuminators and binders; there are some records of payments to Mansion in various scattered sources.³⁰ The confraternity was strictly regulated;

29 For the biography of Colard Mansion see Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle*. Nieuwkoop, 1975, pp. 136–9, with full documentation of sources and secondary literature. More recently see Ludo Vandamme, 'Colard Mansion et le monde du livre à Bruges'. In Pierre Aquilon, Thierry Claerr (eds.), *Le berceau du livre imprimé autour des incunables*, Turnhout, 2006, pp. 177–86. A Dutch version is available on the website 'Historische Bronnen Brugge' (www.historischebronnenbrugge.be).

30 The accounts of the confraternity (or guild) of St John are partly published by J. Weale, 'Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges'. *Le Beffroi*, 4 (1872–3), pp. 239–337. Comparison with the original in Bruges, Stadsarchief, shows that Weale's editing was

although it was a religious organization, it functioned also as a guild and is usually referred to as the guild of St John or 'the librarians guild'. Membership was open only to citizens of Bruges and obligatory for anyone who had anything to do with the book trade or book production. This was in Bruges an important industry, particularly famous for its production of illuminated Books of Hours that were adapted to the liturgy of many different dioceses.³¹

Mansion's membership of the confraternity is recorded in the accounts from 1457/8, where records show he paid a larger sum than the standard annual contribution – presumably (in view of his later history) paying arrears. In 1471–3 Mansion served as its dean. His profession is not stated in the accounts, but from various entries in diverse other accounts it appears that he may initially have been a bookseller who occasionally received orders to produce manuscripts or to co-ordinate the illumination and decoration of a book.³² In due course he was established as a scribe, and a very characteristic and generous scribal hand is associated with him and his atelier. The earliest date connected with his work as scribe is a payment to him in 1462/3 by the chancery of the local authority ('het Brugse Vrije') for copying official documents related to the governance of the lands around Bruges. In May 1467 Mansion appears to have been definitely in the ascendant, when he was paid for a manuscript of 'Romul  on' for the library of Philip the Good, just weeks before the duke's death. It is not clear whether he actually produced this manuscript or mediated the work of others. The dating of one or even two manuscripts of a French

highly eclectic and that he omitted large sections of the accounts. Of particular relevance to the present study is that Weale omitted the notes that recorded Mansion's debt to the guild; it increased in each of the years when he was dean.

- 31 An organization encompassing all aspects of the book trade was unique to Bruges. It is clearly distinct from the Bruges guild of St Luke in which painters were organized, as they were in other towns in the region, notably Ghent, Antwerp, Tournai and Lille. See the clear exposition by Catherine Reynolds, 'Illuminators and the painters' guilds'. In Thomas Kren, Scott McKendrick (eds.), *Illuminating the Renaissance*. Los Angeles, London, 2003, pp. 15–33.
- 32 Much of the following information, which derives from diverse sources, is assembled by L. Vandamme, '*Colard Mansion*', see above, note 29. The complicated textual transmission of 'La vie de Saint Hubert' is extensively discussed by F.C. de Rooy, in his introduction to the text edition *La vie de Saint Hubert dite d'Hubert le Prevost*. Leiden, 1958. [Doctoral thesis, Leiden]. The Gruuthuse manuscript is now Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 424. The financing of the manuscripts of Valerius Maximus by Jan Crabbe was unravelled by Noel Geirnaert in his unpublished dissertation *Vlaamse Cisterciensers en Europese stadscultuur: Johannes Crabbe en het cultureel leven in de Duinenabdij tijdens zijn bestuur (1457–1488)*. KU Leuven, 2001. I am grateful to Dr Geirnaert for permitting me to make use of his unpublished research.

translation of 'La vie de Saint Hubert' (possibly by Mansion, before 1463) is conjectural. There is a description of a copy made for the Abbey of St Hubertus in the Ardennes and signed by Mansion, which was lost in a fire in 1635. The other, now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, was written for Louis de Gruuthuse, probably around 1470, but not signed or dated; its ascription to Mansion should be considered uncertain. Around 1475 the production by Mansion of a very fine manuscript of Valerius Maximus, 'Facta et dicta memorabilia', including a translation into French and commentary, was financed by Jan Crabbe, the learned bibliophile abbot of the wealthy Cistercian Duinen Abbey near Bruges. The manuscript, in three volumes, now in the library of the Groot Seminarie in Bruges, includes miniatures by the painter known as the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook; in 1480 the nobleman Philippe de Hornes, Seigneur of Gaasbeek, commissioned Mansion to produce a manuscript for him of the same text, and paid him in instalments.

Mansion did not cease producing manuscripts once he had embarked on printing books. Perhaps the patronage of the manuscripts helped to meet the inevitable risk incurred when copies of printed books had to be sold as a return on investment in production. Undoubtedly his main patron in the 1470s and early 1480s was Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de Gruuthuse, one of the great bibliophiles of the era. Mansion produced two or three lavish manuscripts of his own translation of a religious tract, 'La pénitence d'Adam', that was commissioned by his patron. They are undated and there is no basis for dating them other than 'between 1472 and 1484'.³³ Another translation by Mansion, 'Le dialogue des créatures', was produced in two richly illuminated manuscripts, one of them also commissioned by Louis de Gruuthuse; these cannot have been produced before 1482, the date of the translation.³⁴ In 1478–9 Mansion was again paid by the chancery of the Brugse Vrije for assembling, tabulating,

33 Contemporary manuscripts of Colard Mansion's French version of 'La pénitence d'Adam' are: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 5092; Paris, BnF, ms fr. 1837, formerly belonging to Louis de Gruuthuse, now Collection Heribert Tenschert, Bibermuehle, Switzerland, presumed to be written by Colard Mansion himself, undated, but not before 1472. See also below, n. 65.

34 Colard Mansion translated the 'Dialogus creaturarum', a text ascribed to Maino de Maieris, from one of the Latin editions by Gheraert Leeu, published in Gouda successively in 1480, 1481 and 1482. Leeu's editions included woodcut illustrations at the beginning of each of the 121 dialogues. They were the model for the miniatures in both manuscripts written by or for Colard Mansion: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. Vindob. 257, and Collection Heribert Tenschert, Bibermuehle, Switzerland, with the date 1482, and probably from the library of Louis de Gruuthuse. See Eberhard König, *Streitgespräch der Geschöpfe: Le dialogue des créatures*. Bibermuehle, 2012.

copying, decorating and binding their collection of charters and other official documents. The result can probably be identified as an indeed splendidly written and decorated two-volume work, preceded by a careful Table of Contents, known as the 'Roodenbouck', now in the Rijksarchief in Bruges.

Mansion's name appeared for the first time in print in a small book, designated by himself as his 'primum opus', a religious tract by Petrus de Alliaco (or Pierre d'Ailly) with the title *Le jardin de dévotion*.³⁵ It was followed by a very large book with the date 1476, the French translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* with the title *De la ruyne des nobles hommes et femmes*, some copies illustrated with very fine copper engravings.³⁶ A sequence of major and minor texts rapidly followed, ending in 1484 with the very large *Ovide moralisé*, magnificently produced and illustrated with woodcuts – an enterprise that is thought to have been Mansion's financial undoing.³⁷

In the final phase of Mansion's known career everything seems to be on a large scale. The printing type, so striking and so uneconomical, certainly expresses generosity regardless of expense. The type is one of the largest founts, if not *the* largest fount, of type used in the fifteenth century as a text type. We may see something of the same tendency to extravagance in his activity as dean of the guild of St John from 1471 to 1473. The guild's accounts record his initiative to establish an altar in the chapel that it maintained in the Abbey of Eekhout. Mansion advanced the money and the brethren and sisters of the guild contributed. The financial aftermath was complicated if not chaotic, and possibly a source for some acrimony, with the accounts showing Mansion's mounting debt. It ended with Mansion's successor as dean, who had to clear up the financial mess, recording in the accounts that a meeting was convened in the hostelry Het Vliegend Hert. Here Mansion was presented with a written account in the presence of named witnesses and numerous other members of the guild.

Mansion had for some years rented a shop adjoining the church of St Donatian. In September 1484 the note 'profugit' was written by his name in the rental accounts; he had left debts behind. Wherever he fled – it may have been Picardy – he left no trace other than the words written over erasures in the Vienna manuscripts of the 'Dialogue des créatures': 'Arras' over 'Bruges' and a dedication to 'Philippe de Crevecoeur, Lieutenant du Roi en Picardie' over an erased inscription that has become indecipherable.

35 ISTC ia00478100.

36 GW 4432, ILC 400, ISTC ib00711000.

37 ILC 216, ISTC i000184000, GW M11804.

Changing insight into Caxton and Mansion as authors and publishers

Reading Blades' biography of Caxton now, after an interval of 150 years, it can only strike us how much successive finds have gradually contributed to forming an altogether different portrait of him. From Blades' merchant turned enthusiastic artisan he was gradually transformed into a gifted translator and author who established a publishing firm. It began in 1905 when the unique copper engraving was discovered in the then Chatsworth copy of the *Recuyell*, now in the H.E. Huntington Library. The image represents the dedication of the work to Margaret of York, who is identified by her device 'Bien en aviegnie' and monogram CM (for Charles and Marguerite); this image, and the identification of its designer as a prolific miniaturist, will turn out to be crucial for our modern understanding of this phase in Caxton's career as printer/publisher. When the discovery was published in 1905, and commented on by A.W. Pollard, its implications were not yet fully realized.³⁸ The year 1905 was also when E. Gordon Duff mentioned Johan Veldener as the probable punch-cutter for Caxton's first types, at the same time identifying the Cologne edition of Bartholomaeus Anglicus as a book printed in Cologne by or for Caxton.³⁹ But the full impact of these observations was not realized until 1924, when documents in the City Archives of Cologne were published by J.G. Birch.⁴⁰ These, the safe-conducts granted to Caxton by the city authorities, provided precise dates for his stay in Cologne, including the date when he was to leave the city towards the end of 1472. Caxton's move from Flanders to Westminster could be dated with more precision when in 1928 an indulgence was discovered in the then Public Record Office (now the National Archives), printed in two of his printing types and issued in Westminster with the date 13 December 1476 filled in.⁴¹ Also in 1928, W.J.B. Crotch made an immeasurable contribution to completing the portrait of Caxton by preceding his edition for the Early English Text

38 S.M. Peartree, 'A portrait of William Caxton'. *Burlington Magazine* 7 (1905), pp. 383–7. Alfred W. Pollard, 'Recent Caxtoniana'. *The Library*, 2nd ser. 6 (1905), pp. 337–53. Seymour de Ricci, *A census of Caxtons*. London, 1908, no. 3.11. The designer was identified by Otto Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*. London, 1948. A further interpretation is in Lotte Hellinga, 'Reading an engraving: William Caxton's dedication to Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy'. In Sue Roach (ed.), *Across the Narrow Seas: Studies in the history and bibliography of Britain and the Low Countries presented to Anna E.C. Simoni*. London, 1991, pp. 1–15, with a list of reproductions of the engraving, n. 2. See also below, n. 51.

39 E. Gordon Duff, *William Caxton*. Chicago, 1905, pp. 26–7.

40 J.G. Birch, 'William Caxton's stay at Cologne'. *The Library*, 4th ser. 4 (1924), pp. 48–52.

41 Alfred W. Pollard, 'The new Caxton indulgence'. *The Library*, 4th ser. 9 (1928), pp. 86–9.

Society of all Caxton's prologues and epilogues with a very full edition of all the archival documents known about Caxton at that time, both in England and abroad.⁴² These revealed various dates when Caxton had occasionally been active as a negotiator and diplomat in Flanders and Holland in the two years between the summers of 1473 and 1475. The latest was 4 September 1475 when, commanded by the king, he witnessed at Bruges the exchange of ratification documents with the Hanseatic League. Crotch also published the full text of the lease of Caxton's 'shopa' in the precincts of Westminster Abbey, rented by him in September 1476. It is additional evidence for the date of his move to England. The lease had earlier been noted by E.J.L. Scott, who in 1892 had published the discovery but not the text.⁴³

The publication and interpretation of the documents regarding Caxton's tenancy of several premises in Westminster Abbey was completed by the Abbey archivists: in 1957 by L.E. Tanner and in the quincentenary year 1976 by H.M. Nixon. The latter also presented in that year a systematic study of the contemporary bindings on Caxton's books, which showed him as an importer of continental books.⁴⁴ N.F. Blake pointed out in 1978 that the printed date in *Game of chess*, traditionally misinterpreted as '1475', is in fact 31 March 1474. This is generally taken as the date of completion of printing, although the possibility that this is the date of completion of Caxton's translation cannot be excluded.⁴⁵ In any case, the *Game of chess* is ranged indubitably after the *Recuyell* for which a date late in 1473 or very early in 1474 remains probable. Other research in the years after 1976 has concentrated on Caxton's activities in Westminster, but relevant for defining the earlier period is a more precise dating of the first work printed in Westminster. In the *Propositio ad Carolum duces* by John Russell, the author is named as ambassador for Edward IV, as he indeed was at the time of the oration, in 1470. But Paul Needham observed that in July 1476 Russell was promoted as bishop to the see of Rochester, and consecrated in September. As he puts it, the machinery for promotion would have begun to turn earlier, and he considers it probable that the *Propositio* was printed in the early summer. That it is the earliest known piece of Westminster printing (in Caxton Type 2) is borne out by the paper evidence.⁴⁶

42 W.J.B. Crotch, *The prologues and epilogues of William Caxton*. London, 1928. [Early English Text Society o.s. 176].

43 E.L.J. Scott, 'Caxton at Westminster'. *The Athenaeum* (1892), 1, pp. 761–2.

44 L.E. Tanner, 'William Caxton's houses at Westminster'. *The Library*, 5th ser. 12 (1957), pp. 153–66. Howard M. Nixon, 'Caxton, his contemporaries and successors in the book trade from Westminster documents'. *The Library*, 5th ser. 31 (1976), pp. 305–26.

45 Norman F. Blake, 'Dating the first books printed in English', *GbJb* 1978, pp. 43–50.

46 Duff 367, 1STC iro0365300. Paul Needham, *Paper in England*, BMC XI, p. 328.

With this last date the length of Caxton's time in Flanders – the period after his exile in Cologne had ended, in December 1472, until he moved his residence from Flanders to Westminster (between September 1475 and the summer of 1476) – is now somewhat better defined, although it may still vary from some 33 to 39 months. Four of the five books in Type 1 must have been printed within this time frame. We have already noted that the fifth, *l'Histoire de Jason*, is isolated and may provisionally be designated as printed after Caxton's departure from Flanders by 'the Printer in Type 1'. I shall propose a name for this printer after some further investigation.

Caxton and Mansion have significant elements in their biography in common: their background as long-term residents in Flanders, an overlap of time (between 1457 and 1470) when both are firmly documented as living in Bruges, an interest in literature of various genres and the patience to undertake lengthy translations. Add to this, initially at least, a desire to seek patronage among the nobility, followed by their later careers as printers. Since interest in books is a prominent characteristic in both men, it seems quite probable that they had known each other – if perhaps superficially – during the years when they had resided in Bruges. Yet there is no evidence for any kind of a transaction between them.

Their common interest appears also in the lists of their publications in later years. Six of the works published by Mansion in French were printed not much later – in English – for Caxton, but this need not necessarily indicate a special relationship, for these works were popular at the time.⁴⁷ What is more remarkable is that they were both translators and editors of substantial texts. Both men followed a tradition that was established at the Burgundian court and much encouraged by its entourage. The culture that produced the famously splendid manuscripts went hand in hand with that of producing texts by translation, adaptation and editing, in many cases by the same talented individuals who created the manuscripts. Caxton and Mansion followed in the footsteps of Jean Wauquelin, Charles Soillot, Jean Miélot and David Aubert, to name but a few illustrious representatives of a profession that seems unique to this era: authors and scribes who were creators of books in every sense and who shaped the text as well as its presentation.⁴⁸ We may even imagine that Caxton

47 In respectively French and English: *Dicta philosophorum*; Buonaccorso da Montemagno, *De nobilitate*; Boethius, *De consolazione philosophiae*; *Disticha Catonis*; Jean Boutillier, *La somme rurale*; *Ars moriendi*. Caxton translated a French version of the *Ovide moralisé* which survives only in manuscript.

48 Georges Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne*. Paris, 1909. [Bibliothèque du XVe siècle 8.].

and Mansion would have been surprised, possibly disappointed, that posterity remembers them chiefly as printers, instead of as authors who made their mark on the literary scene. It is significant that they both followed the same model, that of establishing organizations consisting of small teams of specialist workers co-ordinated by the author/scribes, usually under the protection of patrons.⁴⁹ Caxton and Mansion both decided to adapt this model for the production of printed books.

The year 1476 marks the time when both began enterprises that were obviously independent. Colard Mansion published in 1476 in Bruges his spectacular edition of the French translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*, preceded by his smaller 'Primum opus', *Le jardin de devotion*;⁵⁰ Caxton started his printing business in that year in the accommodation he had rented in Westminster Abbey with a few modest publications.⁵¹ Although each printer left a considerable body of work (almost a hundred books in the case of Caxton, produced over a period of about 20 years, and in the case of Colard Mansion at least 25 in only eight years), the archival documentation in the crucial years between 1473 and 1476, before they established themselves independently and when they are assumed to have published in partnership, is scarce for both. Not in a single archival document or in an imprint in any of the books they published do their names appear together. For any indication – let alone evidence – of a partnership between the two publishers we primarily rely on what their books may reveal, but we must also widen our view of the contemporary scene.

In recent decades a great deal has been published about the spectacular manuscript production associated with the court of Burgundy in Flanders,

49 L.J.M. Delaissé conceived the organization of scribes such as Wauquelin in Mons and Aubert in a succession of towns as 'publishers of manuscripts'; see *La miniature flamande: Le mécénat de Philippe le Bon*. [Exhibition catalogue.] Brussels, 1959, *passim*. P. Charron and Marc Gil, 'Les enlumineurs des manuscrits de David Aubert'. In Danielle Quérueil (ed.), *Les manuscrits de David Aubert, 'escripvain bourguignon'*. Paris, 1999, pp. 81–100. They pointed out that although an atelier such as Aubert's would act as co-ordinator, the work was always commissioned by a backer or carried out in the service of a nobleman. It therefore did not have the financial risks of a publishing house.

50 See above, nn. 35, 36.

51 John Russell, *Propositio ad Carolum ducem* (Duff 367, ISTC iro0365300), was followed by quarto editions of small texts in English, of which four survive: *Disticha Catonis* (Duff 7, ISTC ic00314000), John Lydgate, *The churl and the bird, The horse, sheep and goose and Stans puer ad mensam* (Duff 257, 262, 269, ISTC il00406000, il00407000, il00411000). All are undated, but now assigned to the year 1476. For a fuller list see BMC XI, p. 86, and Duff (repr. 2009), p. 205.

Brabant and adjoining areas of Hainaut, Picardy and Artois, which leads to better understanding of the organizational structures behind it. Very little of this cultural landscape in which both Caxton and Mansion moved for a substantial number of years has to date been reflected in the (mainly English-language) studies of Caxton and his early vernacular books. Of the scribes of the period only the name of Colard Mansion was familiar to English bibliographers – but that was because he was also a printer. But by taking account of what has become known about other scribes and the organization of book production in the Flemish cities in their time, it is now possible to view the work of Caxton and Mansion against a more detailed background.

It eluded Sheppard, for example, who maintained that Caxton was the first printer in Bruges where he taught Mansion, that it was quite out of the question for Caxton to have operated a printing house there independently. The book trade was strictly regulated in Bruges, more strictly in fact than anywhere else, and the guild of St John allowed only citizens of the city to carry out any form of the trade.⁵² Caxton, diplomat and at times representative of the king of England, was in formal terms an alien in Bruges; he was not in a position to acquire citizenship. If he wished to publish books and finance a workshop there, he had to associate himself with a member of the guild of St John. It has to be stressed, once again, that nowhere are the names of Caxton and Mansion found together, either in colophons or in documents. There is no documentary evidence that Caxton published in association with Mansion – nor, for that matter, with any other atelier active in Bruges, or anywhere else in Flanders and Brabant. There is no evidential ground for preferring any guesses, except for Blades' argument in favour of Mansion, the technique for two-colour printing.

The dubious evidence for Mansion's part in printing the first English books

Let us return to this for a moment. Blades observed black smudges in the red initials of French *Cordiale* (no. 5 in the list above). He recognized this as the effect of an unusual procedure. All through the 1460s two-colour printing in red and black was often beautifully executed in Mainz, for Fust and Schoeffer and

52 Catherine Reynolds, *Illuminators* (2003, see above, n. 31). Also A. Vandewalle, 'Het librariërs-gilde te Brugge in zijn vroege periode'. *Vlaamse kunst op perkament: handschriften en miniaturen te Brugge van de 12de tot de 16de eeuw*. Bruges, 1981, pp. 39–43. [Exhibition catalogue Gruuthusemuseum, Brugge.]

for Schoeffer working alone, and in the early 1470s also frequently in Cologne, especially in Arnold ther Hoernen's early books, printed from c. 1470.⁵³ A good result was achieved by letting a page with two colours pass through the press twice, inking first the parts of the typesetting that were to be red, then the second time the parts that were to be black. The parts that were not inked were either replaced in the typeset page by a blind block of type or the typesetting was masked.⁵⁴ This procedure required of course very accurate register. The black smudges on the red initials in the *Cordiale* (the first book printed in Caxton's Type 2) betray a different procedure: Blades surmised that the pages had first been inked entirely in black, and that the black ink was wiped off from the initials which were then inked with red, whereupon the page went through the press only once (i.e. once for each side of the leaf). Blades observed the same smudged impressions in captions and initials in several books printed by Colard Mansion.⁵⁵ He concluded that this showed Colard Mansion to be the printer of the *Cordiale*, and that this was therefore evidence for the existence of his press in Bruges, working for Caxton before he started independently in 1476.

However, Blades overlooked the fact that there was red printing in another book connected with this phase of Caxton's venture into print: the earliest of them all, the *Recuyell of the histories of Troy*. There are only three pages with red printing in this book and numerous spaces are left open for initials to be filled in. The first page of text contains the title, names of the author and the translator, dates relevant to the translation and finally the dedication to Margaret of York. This informative content, set in 22 lines of type (which are all the page contains), is printed entirely in red, making a strong impact at the beginning of the work. The next page with red printing is the fourth verso, which has only four lines in red with the incipit of Book I on an otherwise blank page. The red printing on these two pages is impeccably executed, but since it is one-colour printing it does not offer a comparison with the smudged two-colour printing

53 Many of Arnold ther Hoernen's books dated from 1471–3 include red printing. See for example the colophon of Adrianus Carthusiensis, *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, with the date 8 February 1471 (ISTC ia00055000) and also in many copies the title of its table of contents. For further examples see BMC 1, pp. 202–5.

54 Konrad Haebler described this procedure in his *Handbuch der Inkunabelkunde*, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 108–9. In Mainz it was used in 1459 for the proofs of Duranti, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, but not for the final printing of the book. See Lotte Hellinga, 'Proofreading and printing in Mainz in 1459'. In *Texts in transit*, Leiden, Boston, 2014, pp. 137–8.

55 Blades observed Mansion's printing with red in copies of his *Boccaccio*, *Boethius*, *La somme rurale* and the *Ovide moralisé*.

In these two booke precedent. We haue by the helpe
of gode tretyde of the two first destructions of Troye
with the noble saytes and dedes of the stronge and
pussant Hercules. that made and dyde so many mere
varillie that the origine humayne of alle men oughte to
meruaillie. And also how he slew the kynge Laomedon
that sette downe and put his cyte of troye to ruine. Now
in the thirde and laste booke gode to fore. we shall saie
how the sayde cyte was by Priamus sone of the saide
kynge laomedon reediffied and repaired more stronge
and more pussant than euer hit was before. And
afterwarde how for the nauysflement of dame helene
wyf of kynge Menelaus of grece. the sayde cyte
was totally destroyed Priamus hector and alle his
sones slayn with noblesse with out nombre. as hit
shall appere in the proces of the chapitres..

How the kynge Priant reediffied the cyte of troye
more stronge than euer hit was afore. & of his sonnes
and doughters. And how after many counceyllis he
sente Antenor and Polixenes in to grece for to re-
mande his suster exone that Agray mayntyned ..

HOR to ouer than in to the matre. ye haue
herde here to fore at the seconde destruction of
Troye how hercules had taken prysouner
Priamus sone of kynge Laomedon. And
had put hym in prysoun. how he hit daries of frige sayth
his fader had sente hym to maue warre in a strange

FIGURE 8.1

The first book printed in English, c. 1473, William Caxton's own translation The recuyell of the histories of Troy, is experimental in the style of a printing type to go with the language. Caxton engaged an expert (probably the printer Johan Veldener) to set up his printing house; to him we owe the impeccable two-colour printing that occurs on only one page of the book (fol. [aa]¹^a). The initial F is drawn by hand. Two other pages are printed entirely in red.

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(LONGLEAT SALE).

in the *Cordiale* and in several of Mansion's books. The third instance, however, which occurs at the beginning of Book III of the *Recuyell*, a page usually designated as [aa]¹ recto, includes five lines of red sandwiched between 16 lines in black above, and six lines below (see Fig. 8.1). The black text on top is a short prologue to this section of the text, followed in red by its title: 'How kynge Priant reediffied the cyte of troye...', etc. The title in red is followed by the beginning of the text, in black. This page is therefore produced in two-colour printing – and it is clear that the procedure followed is the same as that practised successfully before 1473 in Mainz and Cologne. The red ink is bright and free of any black smudges; the inking and impression are sharply defined. An indentation caused by the impression of the red lines is stronger than that of the lines in black.⁵⁶ We must conclude that the page had passed twice through

56 The difference in indentation was observed by John Goldfinch on the verso of the leaf with the help of raking light in the copy in the British Library, C.11.c.1. The red-printed opening page of the *Recuyell* is reproduced in Hellinga, *Caxton in focus* (1982), fig. 11, and Ead. *William Caxton and early printing in England* (2010), fig. 10. Hellinga (1976, see above, n. 18) noted that the three pages with red printing occur all in sections of the text

the press (and the leaf another time for the reiteration printed in black). The technique is therefore evidently not the same as that used in the *Cordiale*. Blades' argument cannot be applied to the *Recuyell* and, consequently, bibliographical rigour cannot allow all books printed in Type 1 to be designated as Mansion's on this basis alone.

Rigour is not always the best guide, but here it may steer us towards linking the *Cordiale* to Mansion, while, in Bradshaw's words, leaving the books in Type 1 in the 'salle d'attente',⁵⁷ provisionally classifying them as 'printed for Caxton by his associate, the printer in Type 1'.

Patronage providing circumstantial evidence for the place of printing

When we extend our arguments beyond the limits of strictly bibliographical evidence, new ways may be found to address the uncertainties around the production of this bibliographically distinct group of books and their printer. There is in fact a great deal of published material, much of it fairly new, that may change our understanding of the circumstances under which books, including these books, were produced in Flanders in the years 1470–6. Before the introduction of printing, patronage was the single condition on which practically all book production in that area depended. It was an essential feature of the Burgundian culture, and it is here that we may find a key for reviewing our interpretation of the circumstances of Caxton's enterprise. Instead of founts of type and paper, we may put Caxton's first patron, Margaret of York, under the spotlight. She has become famous for continuing the tradition of collecting manuscripts, her enthusiasm matched by discriminating taste: she engaged the services of the foremost scribes and illuminators of her time. But her choice of texts was different from that of the dukes. Instead of the history, pseudo-history and translations of the classics they assembled, she consistently preferred religious texts, mainly of her own time. Her encouragement of the translation of the pseudo-historical *Recuyell* stands almost alone – a tribute

(at the beginning of books) which on the basis of paper stocks and compositors' habits we surmised to have been set and printed by the same experienced compositor /printer (Johan Veldener?). Extending the hypothesis that Veldener instructed the printers of the *Recuyell*, the two-colour printing would imply either that Veldener did not instruct Mansion and that someone else did this, or that Mansion ignored his instructions. For other examples of impeccable two-colour printing see Figs.3.1 (Leuven) and 3.3 (Mainz).

57 See above, n. 9.

to the mythological Burgundian ancestry, a dynasty into which she just had married.

In recent decades much has been written about Margaret of York's library and the manuscripts produced for her.⁵⁸ Her patronage was almost entirely confined to the years of her marriage to Charles the Bold, from 3 July 1468 until 5 January 1477, when he was killed on the battlefield near Nancy. Probably the earliest among those working for her was an anonymous scribe in Brussels. This was followed by the commission to Caxton in 1471 and then, most spectacular of all, by the eight or nine manuscripts she commissioned from the scribe David Aubert in Ghent, with dates from 1475 to 1476 and illuminated by Simon Marmion and the painter known as the Master of Mary of Burgundy.⁵⁹ We have already noted that the one known image of Caxton shows him kneeling in front of the duchess as he presents her with his translation. The copper engraving, in itself an innovative form of illustration, survives in only one copy of the *Recuyell* with an inscription by Elizabeth Woodville, Edward IV's queen. It shows Caxton with a bound book in his hands – whether this represents a manuscript, the text to be printed later, or that novelty, a printed book, we shall probably never know for certain. No presentation manuscript to the duchess is extant, and the impression of the engraving may have been made well after the letterpress of the book.⁶⁰ The engraved image witnesses a moment

58 For a biography of Margaret of York see C. Weightman, *Margaret of York, duchess of Burgundy, 1446–1503*. Gloucester, 1989. A summary by Michael Jones, in ODNB, with further references. For her collection see M.J. Hughes, 'The library of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy'. *The Private Library* (1984), pp. 53–78.

59 The most recent list of eight or possibly nine illuminated manuscripts prepared by David Aubert for Margaret of York was compiled by P. Charron and Marc Gil, *Les Enlumineurs* (1999, see above, n. 49) pp. 81–100, the list on p. 100. Their list corrects on some points R.E.F. Straub, *David Aubert, escriptvain et clerc*. Amsterdam, 1995. See also below, n. 64. Margaret also commissioned a sumptuous manuscript of Pierre de Vaux, 'Vie de sainte Colette', including a miniature showing herself with her spouse in prayer. This was written in Ghent, but not by Aubert, and was destined for the convent of the Poor Clares in that city. It is still in the convent.

60 The copy of the *Recuyell* in which the unique copy of the engraving is extant, formerly Chatsworth, now in the H.E. Huntington Library, was rebound late in the eighteenth or early in the nineteenth century. On this occasion the leaf with the engraving was mounted in a paper frame (as was the first page of text), and both frame and engraving are backed by a sheet of tissue. Therefore, short of dismantling the book, it has become difficult to ascertain whether the engraving was printed on a first blank leaf of the book, conjugate with the final leaf of the quire, or whether it was inserted at some point in the history of the copy. This question was investigated by Paul Needham, who kindly informs me that he found that the state of the framed, tipped-in leaves (notably the position of the

full of symbolism, but also a vivid image of Caxton's presence at the court of Margaret of York. As a portrait image of Caxton it is unique, but of Margaret there are many portraits, most of them in miniatures in manuscripts she commissioned.

In addition to recent literature about Margaret of York, there is a somewhat older published resource, the invaluable record of the locations of herself and her spouse during the whole period of their marriage, noted day by day.⁶¹ There we can see that hers was still a court on the move, settling for periods of several months at a time in apparently favoured residences in Brussels, Hesdin, Lille, Bruges and above all Ghent, but interrupted from time to time by short tours to other residences, thus covering a wide territory. Her more restless spouse roamed much wider. Brussels and especially Ghent appear to have been Margaret's preferred cities in those years, and that is where most of the manuscripts she commissioned were produced.

mould sides) is compatible with their being the former conjugates of the two final leaves of the quire. This finding cannot provide certainty, but it seems likely that the leaf with the engraving was indeed originally conjugate with the tenth leaf. The dubious status of this leaf has been a problem for bibliographical description. The various interpretations by previous bibliographers are discussed by J.A. Dane, "'Wanting the first blank': Frontispiece to the Huntington copy of Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*'. *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67 (2004), pp. 315–25; Dane also lists many of the times the engraving was reproduced. His discussion is largely repeated in his *Abstractions of evidence in the study of manuscripts and early printed books*. Farnham, 2009, pp. 124 *sqq.* However, the bibliographical issue is of limited significance for the printing history of this copy. It has been overlooked that even with the engraving printed on the original conjugate of the final leaf of the quire, it is still uncertain whether it was printed at the time of the production of the book. It may have been printed at a later date, for a copper engraving had to be printed separately from letterpress. A special dedication copy (as this copy was, later owned by Elizabeth Woodville) may have been embellished by adding the engraving by using a sheet with two printed pages (10 recto and verso) and printing the engraving on the blank conjugate space. If printed at a later date than the body of the book, the design of the engraving, ascribed to the Master of Mary of Burgundy, may be connected with his miniature portraits of 1475–6. The engraver may possibly be the same as the engraver of the plates in some copies of the *Boccace* printed by Mansion in 1476. In bibliographical terms we should now consider calling the Huntington copy of the *Recuyell* a 'variant issue'.

- 61 H. Vander Linden, *Itinéraires de Charles, Duc de Bourgogne, Marguerite d'York et Marie de Bourgogne (1467–1477)*. Brussels, 1936. [Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire.].

The earliest in the (provisional) sequence of commissions may be two manuscripts with religious texts provided by her almoner Nicolas Finet, but the scribe of these two manuscripts, the production of which can be located in Brussels, is unknown. The beautiful miniatures, including her portrait set in various scenes (one featuring the church of St. Gudule in Brussels), are ascribed to the painter Dreux Jehan. These two manuscripts are undated.⁶²

In a tentative chronology of her commissions, Caxton seems to be the next in line. Caxton is precise in his dating of his translation of the *Recuyell*. He began, he tells us, in Bruges on 1 March 1468/9, working on his own initiative, but after 'five or six quires' laid it aside for two years. That takes us to the first half of 1471, the months preceding his exile. He writes in his prologue that at that time he was in Margaret's service, earning an annual fee and other benefits, and that he found occasion to show her the beginning of his translation, which she instructed him to complete. Caxton states that he continued his work in Ghent and we may infer that he stayed at Margaret's court, for in 1471 she resided in Ghent from 15 February until 16 June; four weeks later, on 17 July 1471, Caxton's presence is recorded in Cologne, where after another two months' work he finished his translation on 19 September. When Caxton returned from his exile, at the end of December 1472, his duchess was residing in Ghent, where she stayed for the whole year of 1473 until 10 January 1474, with the exception of only two brief excursions at the end of March and September. Early in 1474 she spent a month in Bruges, returning again to Ghent on 18 February.⁶³ There is no reason to assume – as all his biographers do – that Caxton returned from his

62 'Benois seront les miséricordieux', Brussels, BRB ms 9296; Nicolas Finet, 'Dialogue de la duchesse de Bourgogne avec Jesu Christ', London, BL, Add. ms 7970.

63 Margaret's residence in Bruges from 11 January to 18 February 1474 may be significant because Caxton writes in the prologue to the second edition of *The Game of Chess* (1483) that he had found the French-language manuscript in Bruges 'at suche tyme as I was resident ... And whan I so had achyved the sayd translacion I dyde doo sette in enprynte a certayn nombre of theym, whiche anone were depesshed and solde'. He 'finished' either his translation or its printing on 31 March 1474. Caxton may have accompanied the court to Bruges, or may by that time have returned to the city on a more permanent basis. His words may be taken to mean that the whole process took place in Bruges, but it has to be remembered that Caxton wrote this passage about ten years after the printing of the first edition, possibly truncating the story in the telling. In the prologue to Chapter 2 of Book III of the first edition he devotes a lengthy passage to his familiarity with the White Friars in Ghent.

exile straight to Bruges. Instead he may have resumed staying with the court, mainly at Ghent, until he was gradually drawn into the trade delegations and negotiations that are documented on a few occasions in 1473 and 1474. From 17 December 1474 Margaret resided exclusively in Ghent until after the death of her spouse.

Precisely how closely connected Caxton was with her court we do not know. Nevertheless, it is extremely likely that his solemn dedication of the *Recuyell*, the ceremony depicted in the engraving, took place in Ghent. The date of its completion in print, late in 1473 or perhaps early in 1474, must alert us also to the dates we can associate with David Aubert, about whom much more is known than the manuscripts he produced in Ghent for Margaret of York towards the end of his career.⁶⁴

The scribe David Aubert

David Aubert was one of the most prolific translators and scribes of the Burgundian era. Some 30 manuscripts are known to have been produced either by himself or in his atelier, many of them illuminated by outstanding miniaturists. He began his career writing fairly modest manuscripts for Jean de Créquy, a nobleman with a discriminating taste for literary texts. From 1458 Aubert was in the service of Duke Philip the Good for whom he produced at least 20 manuscripts, uniform in their display of opulence although illuminated by various artists. From the colophons in the manuscripts we can deduce that his small atelier moved with the duke's court to its various long-term residences. Many of the works that Aubert produced in manuscript are his own translations or adaptations and include prologues, praising the duke's patronage; at the same time he also worked for several other distinguished clients. From 1465 Aubert seems to have fallen out of favour with the ducal court: no more manuscripts were commissioned and he was demoted to 'clerc'. Nor, after Philip's death in 1467, did his son and successor Charles the Bold employ Aubert as 'ecrivain'.

64 David Aubert's importance was first highlighted by L.J.M. Delaissé in the exhibition catalogue *La miniature Flamande*. Brussels, 1959, see above, n. 49. The most informative recent studies are R. Straub, see above, note 59, and J. Paviot, 'David Aubert et la cour de Bourgogne'. In D. Quérueu (ed.), see above, note 49, pp. 9–18. His biography was briefly summarized by Scott McKendrick in *Illuminating the Renaissance* (see above, n. 31), with further references.

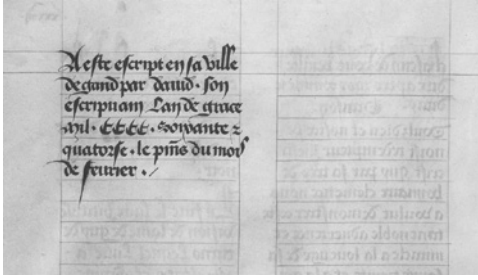


FIGURE 8.2

Caxton's first printing type shows many of the characteristics of the hand of the scribe David Aubert, here seen in the colophon of Guy de Thurno, *La vision de l'âme*. It declares that the work was completed in Ghent on 1 February 1474, a date which should perhaps be read as 1474/5. MALIBU, J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM, FOL. 34^v.

His final duty for the ducal court was to draw up an inventory of the late Duke Philip's goods.

In 1470 he signed the last of three manuscripts written for Antoine of Burgundy, after which there is a long gap of four or five years with no record at all. We may infer that Aubert had fallen on hard times. But early in either 1474 or 1475 he reappears in full splendour, protected by a new patron. He completed in Ghent two magnificent manuscripts with miniatures by Simon Marmion, written for Margaret of York and dated 1 February and 30 March '1474' (which can be read either as the year 1474 or 1474/75); see Fig. 8.2.⁶⁵ Apparently he had settled in Ghent, by then Margaret's sole residence.⁶⁶ A further six manuscripts for Margaret were written in that city. Aubert did not work for another patron during this period, which ended in 1477, but his last known manuscript, dated 1479, was also written in Ghent, possibly also for Margaret, by then a widow.⁶⁷

The five manuscripts following those illuminated by Marmion, and with dates in 1475 and 1476, all contain miniatures attributed to the Master of

65 Guy de Thurno, 'La vision de l'âme' and 'Visions du Chevalier Tondal', illuminated by Simon Marmion; both manuscripts are at the Getty Museum, Malibu. See Thomas Kren and Roger S. Wieck (eds.), *The visions of Tondal from the library of Margaret of York*. Malibu, 1990. They read the date as referring to the year 1475.

66 As a scribe David Aubert would not have been a member of the St Lucas guild of painters and illuminators in Ghent. The guild of St John of the 'librarians' in Bruges was the only organization that included scribes. Even here there were exemptions: clerics and those working for the dukes of Burgundy were not required to contribute, and therefore their names would not occur in the account books. See Reynolds, *Illuminators* (2003), see n. 31.

67 'La vie, passion et mort pour le sauvement du monde' and 'La vengeance de la mort de Jhesu Christ', dated Ghent, 1479, London, BL, ms Royal 16 G. iii.

Mary of Burgundy, the earliest known work of this artist. They are *La Bible moralisée* and Frère Laurent, *La somme le roi* (both dated 1475), and the *Apocalypse*, undated, but probably also of 1475. In 1476 two manuscripts were produced with Margaret's portrait in their miniatures, a French translation of Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae*, where she is seen surrounded by her ladies as she receives the book from the scribe/translator, and the *Traités moraux et religieux*, with a miniature showing Margaret kneeling in prayer.⁶⁸

The miniatures by the Master of Mary of Burgundy may be taken as one of the possible links between the 'Printer in Type 1', David Aubert and Caxton, for the design of the engraving in the Huntington copy of the *Recuyell* has been attributed to this miniaturist.⁶⁹ As noted above, the engraving may well have been made after the event and printed on the blank leaf of a copy of the *Recuyell* destined for presentation; it may therefore be contemporaneous with the miniatures of 1476. There is a striking affinity to the miniature in Aubert's manuscript of the Boethius translation, in which the scribe is shown solemnly offering his book to Margaret who is surrounded, as in the engraving, by five ladies (one, standing apart, is presumably her step-daughter Mary of Burgundy).⁷⁰ But Margaret's patronage of Aubert began earlier, for the two major manuscripts by Guy de Thurno and illuminated by Simon de Marmion were completed early in either 1474 or 1475. Whichever of these dates we assume, we may note that these dates are coming close to the printing of the books in Type 1, perhaps even overlapping; the one date for the printed books, 31 March 1474, occurs in *The Game of chess* (if this is the date of completion of printing), which was followed by the printing of two books in French, before the end of 1475. We may note the coincidence of the eclipse of David Aubert between 1470 and 1474–5 and the dates of the production of the two printed books connected with his future patron Margaret of York, the *Recuyell* and *The Game of Chess*.

68 'La Bible moralisée', c. 1475, Brussels BRB ms. 9030.37; 'Apocalypse', c. 1475, New York, PML ms 484; Frère Laurent, 'Somme le roi', with date 1475, Brussels BRB ms 9106; Boethius, 'Consolation de philosophie', with date 1476, Jena ULB, ms El F.85; 'Traités moraux et religieux', with date 1476, Oxford, Bodl, ms Douce 365. 'Les chroniques de Flandre', Holkham Hall, was completed by Aubert in 1477 for Mary of Burgundy who presented the manuscript to her stepmother Margaret of York. A miniature by the Master of Mary of Burgundy shows Margaret in prayer.

69 Otto Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy* (1948), see above, n. 38.

70 Reproduced by Pächt, Plate 4, juxtaposed to a reproduction of the engraving (Plate 5). Also Hellinga, 'Reading an engraving' (see above, note 38), Fig. 4.

Caxton's Flemish printing types related to the scribal hands of Aubert and Mansion

There is, however, a much stronger argument for linking David Aubert with the books in Type 1. It is the similarity of Caxton's Type 1 to Aubert's own hand, and that of other scribes in his atelier conforming to the master. Type 1 is closer to the hand of Aubert than that of other scribes of the period, and appears to be modelled on it. Aubert's script was described by L.M.J. Delaissé as 'une courante haute et large, bien caractéristique'.⁷¹ It gives an impression of strength: wide, sloping, balanced by high ascenders and capitals. (For a small specimen see Fig. 8.2). Type 1, taking up exceptionally generous horizontal space, captures these characteristics, and amounts to a typographical interpretation of Aubert's writing hand (see Fig. 8.1). It contrasts with Caxton's second type, Type 2, that he took with him to Westminster (see Fig. 8.3). On a smaller scale Type 2 has more affinity with the bold, upright style that Mansion displayed in his own first type, and is found in extreme form in one of his manuscripts of *La Pénitence d'Adam*.⁷²

The similarity of the type, Margaret's later patronage of Aubert preceded by a gap in his oeuvre and finally the design of the engraving by the Master of Mary of Burgundy – all add up to bring Caxton into the ambiance of the artists who worked for Margaret of York. Among them, Aubert is the only serious candidate for a partnership with Caxton that produced the books in Type 1.⁷³

71 *La miniature flamande* (1959), see above, n. 49, p. 101. Delaissé commented on the increasingly horizontal nature of Aubert's script: 'S'il lui fallut trois volumes pour transcrire les *Chroniques de Charlemagne*, il en remplira aisément quatre pour le *Charles Martel* et même cinq pour un *Renaud de Montauban*'. Caxton's Type 1: 120B seems to belong to the later part of this development. It is illustrated from G.I.F. Tupper's lithograph in W. Blades, *Life and typography*, vol. 1 (1861), Plates v, vi; vol. 2 (1863), Plate xii; from photographic reproduction: Duff (1917 and 2009), Plate I; BMC IX (1962), Plate I^B; Hellinga, *The fifteenth-century printing types of the Low Countries* (1966), Plates 21–2. BMC XI (2007), p. 336. A full inventory and analytical reproduction of the fount was compiled for Blades by G.I.F. Tupper and was included in *Life and typography*, Vol. 2, Plate xi, reprinted in *Journal of the printing Historical Society* 11 (1976/7), following p. 133.

72 The Tenschert manuscript of 'La pénitence d'Adam' is described and extensively illustrated by Eberhard König, *Das goldene Zeitalter der Burgundischen Buchmalerei 1430–1560*. Bibermühle, 1991 [Leuchtendes Mittelalter 3], no. 14, pp. 204–16. The exceptionally large decorative script in the Tenschert manuscript has repeatedly been cited as the model for Mansion's large Type 1. This is correct for the overall impression, but comparison of the form of individual letters in the script and type show this claim to be less than convincing.

73 Cf. above, n. 10 for Henry Bradshaw's assumption that Caxton worked with an 'associate'. Bradshaw had not much opportunity for getting familiar with manuscripts of the

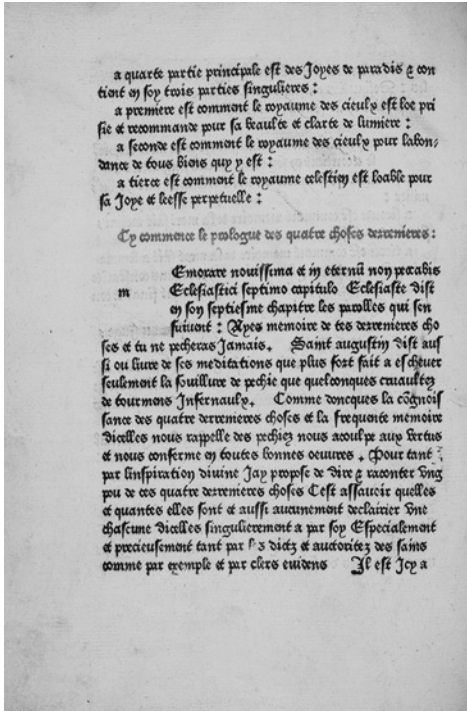


FIGURE 8.3

Caxton chose as model for a second and more lasting type the calligraphic hand of the Bruges scribe Colard Mansion.

The French version of the Cordiale quattuor novissimorum was printed for Caxton in this type, probably in Bruges, shortly before he left Flanders for good. The smudged red printing suggests that Colard Mansion was in charge of production.

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An analogous clue may be found by comparing the style of Caxton's Type 2 with Colard Mansion's exceptionally large Type 1; a similar connection with Colard Mansion as earlier with Aubert may also explain the feature of red printing that the *Cordiale*, the first book printed in Type 2, has in common with several of Mansion's printed books dated from 1476 (Fig. 8.4). Taking this as an indication, we may infer that Caxton had formed a second association with a literary-minded scribe and his atelier, this time in Bruges, and together they would have produced the two books in Type 2 in partnership before Caxton took it to Westminster. The paper evidence, which shows that remnants of stocks were used up in successive books and even taken to Westminster, suggests that Caxton may have financed and owned the paper. He may have moved some of it, first from Ghent to Bruges and then from Bruges to Westminster.⁷⁴ The fount

Burgundian era, unlike Holtrop, who named several scribal hands as stylistically similar, especially to Caxton's Type 2.

74 Paul Needham observed the continuity of paper stocks between Bruges and the earliest books printed in Westminster, BMC XI, p. 330. Paper was such a costly commodity that it was worth utilizing every last bit. Printer's waste could be recycled in bindings, but also

of Type 1, however, possibly cut and cast by Johan Veldener, may have come to be owned by Aubert whose hand it captured, or at least left in his charge in his workshop in Ghent. Caxton obviously owned Type 2, later intensively used in Westminster. Perhaps Aubert was solely responsible for the printing of the French text by Pierre d'Ailly, which is in the vein of the religious texts preferred by Margaret of York, but not at all in Caxton's sphere of interest. At a later time, after Caxton's departure, Aubert would also have printed the *Histoire de Jason*, to complete in the end the French versions of the texts by Raoul Lefèvre, perhaps with financial input from Caxton.

Identifying 'the Printer in Type 1' as David Aubert rests on circumstantial evidence and has to remain hypothetical. In the hypothesis I propose here a slim set of evidence replaces an even slimmer set – in which ink smudges alone had to bear the burden of proof. Yet if accepted as a hypothesis, the story becomes coherent, if not as simple as the previous version. It can now be told with five instead of two players, having moved them in relation to each other first as figures on a chessboard and then with more freedom in a landscape between Cologne and the Channel: Caxton, Mansion, Aubert and Margaret of York, with an important supporting role for Veldener. In conclusion the story can briefly be told as follows:

Caxton learned about the printing trade during a period of exile in Cologne, where he came to know a gifted punch-cutter and printer, Johan Veldener. Both left Cologne at the end of 1472 and Caxton returned to the court of Margaret of York, residing in Ghent. Encouraged by her he had completed his translation into English of Raoul Lefevre's *Recueil*, now the *Recuyell of the histories of Troy*, at the beginning of his exile. On his return from Cologne he put in execution a plan to multiply his new text into print and he dedicated the book to his patroness. His location cannot have been Bruges, where only citizens were allowed to engage in the book trade; in Ghent there were no such regulations, and Caxton may also have enjoyed some protection from his ducal patroness. For technical support

saved as material for packing and for writing. A snippet of printer's waste of the French *Recueil*, printed on one side, found its way to Westminster, where it still survives in the Abbey Library attached to the final verso of MS 29, which has now a seventeenth-century binding. The fragment (identified as part of leaf [s]3) was probably moved along with more waste paper; it ended up strengthening the final leaf of a contemporary manuscript, written in Westminster by the scribe William of Ebesham. See Christopher Cook (ed.), *Incunabula in the Westminster Abbey and Westminster School Libraries*. London, 2013, Frag. 10, with illustration.

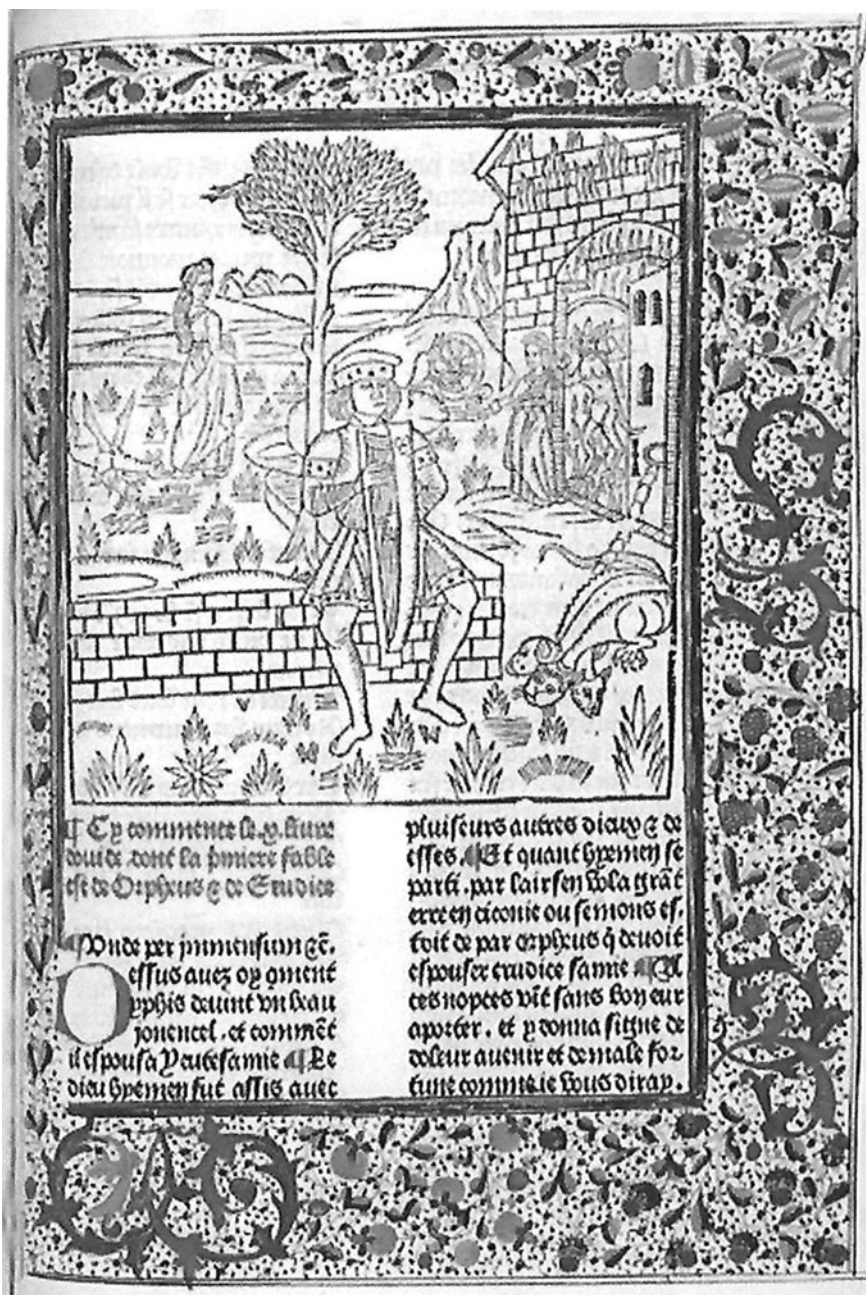


FIGURE 8.4 Colard Mansion began printing spectacular books after Caxton had left for Westminster. His main printing type (his Type 1) emulates the largest version of his script. The *Ovide moralisé* (1484) was the last book he printed, before fleeing with debts. The red printing in the captions of this book shows smudges of black ink in the top line. BRUGES, STADSBIJLIOTHEEK, 3877, FOL. [DD]5^a (247^a).

he engaged early in 1473 Johan Veldener, who was shortly afterwards to set up his own printing house in Leuven. But Caxton also decided that he needed someone well acquainted with the traditions of manuscript production under patronage of the Burgundian court. He thus formed an association with David Aubert, a very experienced scribe and producer of literary manuscripts who seems to have been underemployed at the time. Veldener cut for Caxton a fount of type taking Aubert's hand as model, and installed a printer's shop. Aubert had long experience in running a small atelier producing books; he would be up to presiding over an equally small team of compositors and printers, who had first been instructed by Veldener. The 'mechanically written' books that the partnership of Caxton and Aubert produced were for Aubert rather in line with the modest paper manuscripts he had written for his first patron, Jean de Créquy, and far below the luxurious level of his later manuscripts.

When the partners had finished printing the two English books on (or after) 31 March 1474 Caxton's involvement waned, perhaps because he got drawn back into diplomacy and affairs of state for the next 18 months. He left Type 1 to Aubert who continued to lead his little team to print the French *Recueil* and Pierre d'Ailly's text, but at the same time the patronage of Margaret of York revived his career as scribe. Aubert must have decided that he preferred the métier of scribe when given the opportunity by Margaret, for he was still to complete at least eight manuscripts. Like Mansion in Bruges, who between 1476 and 1484 produced several major manuscripts as well as printed books, Aubert seems to have been capable of managing both manuscript and print in parallel, at least for a while.

Although he had some diplomatic business in 1474, Caxton made plans to return to England and start a more serious and enduring publishing enterprise in Westminster. To this end he ordered another fount of type from Veldener, but this time Veldener was instructed to follow a style closer to that of the scribe Colard Mansion.⁷⁵ Veldener now produced a much more upright fount

75 Caxton's Type 2: 135B was more economical to use than Type 1 because it took less lateral space. It was last used in 1484. It is illustrated from G.I.F. Tupper's lithograph in W. Blades, *Life and typography*, vol. 1 (1861), Plates VII, VIII, vol. 2 (1863), Plates XIV, XV. Photographic reproduction: Duff (1917 and 2009), Plates II and III; BMC IX (1962), Plate I^B; HPT (1966), Plates 37–8. BMC XI, Plates 1 and 2. As with Type 1, a full inventory by G.I.F. Tupper in *Life and typography*, vol. 2, Plate XIII, reprinted in *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 11 (1976/7), following p. 133. Veldener delivered a little later a matching fount in textura style,

on a larger body, Caxton Type 2. Its style was to have an enduring influence on Caxton's successive founts used in Westminster, made between 1480 and 1489.⁷⁶ The first experiments in Caxton Type 2 – the *Cordiale* and the fine Book of Hours for Salisbury use produced in octavo format – were printed in Bruges, where Caxton had persuaded the scribe and bookseller Colard Mansion to execute the job for him and be his frontman, thus staying within the regulations of the St John's guild of the book trade.⁷⁷ Unlike Aubert, Mansion decided after Caxton had departed to make printing books part of his business. In this new guise he made many more books than ever before, using a new and spectacular fount of type, while in the same years he also produced several very fine manuscripts.⁷⁸ In this version of the story the claim that Caxton introduced printing to Bruges can be maintained, as well as honouring Colard Mansion as Bruges' first printer.

To return to bibliographical terminology: to capture in those terms with due caution the nuances of this story, while not neglecting to pay reverence to a century of bibliographical tradition, the bibliographer has to resort to brackets and question marks. When recently asked by a colleague what would be the correct bibliographical designation of a fragment of the French *Recueil*, I advised: [Flanders; Ghent? (formerly often ascribed to Bruges), David Aubert? For William Caxton? 1474–5].

Caxton Type 3: 135G, first seen in the first words of the indulgence of 1476. See BMC XI, Plate 3. It was later used by several other printers in England and in the Low Countries.

- 76 Caxton's small text-type Type 4: 95B, in use from 1480 to 1485, and sporadically thereafter; Type 6: 120B, taking the place of Type 2 in 1489. See BMC XI, pp. 354–9, with plates.
- 77 The production of a Book of Hours for the use of Salisbury is very much in the Bruges tradition, where innumerable manuscript Books of Hours were produced all during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.
- 78 The size of Mansion's Type 1: 162B is extravagant for a text type. He also obtained in 1479 a more economical type, in the style of a 'lettre de somme' or 'rotunda'. He used his Type 2: 110GR ('GR' its designation in BMC IX, for 'Gothico-Romano') for ten books.

Wynkyn de Worde's Native Land

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Documents featuring Wynkyn de Worde

For many years, until quite recently (e.g. in 2004 in the *Oxford National Biography*), Wynkyn de Worde's record as a native of Alsace has stood unchallenged in the now rapidly accumulating literature about him.¹ Changes in taste and greater depth of analysis of the many and varied works he produced have caused him to emerge from the shadow of his predecessor William Caxton, after having for a long time been dismissed as an imitator who followed the work of others in reprints. He is now appreciated as an original and prolific publisher who, during a long career, had a significant impact on the culture of printing in England. Although his work and working life belong wholly to the English literary heritage, Wynkyn de Worde's origins are to be sought elsewhere. They are an integral part of a person about whom we know very little, and further examination may therefore help in understanding his life and work.

It is certain that Wynkyn de Worde joined Caxton not long after he had moved to Westminster late in 1475 or early in 1476. Two entries in the accounts kept at Westminster Abbey testify to his presence in 1479, and suggest that he had been there for some time at that date. Only one source mentions his origins, which obviously were not in England, for this is the letter in which he

1 For a bibliography of works about Wynkyn de Worde see James Moran, *Wynkyn de Worde, Father of Fleet Street*, third edition, with a chronological bibliography of works on Wynkyn de Worde compiled by Lotte Hellinga and Mary Erler, and a preface by John Dreyfus. London, 2003. See also BMC XI, pp. 12–3; Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and early printing in England*. London, 2010, pp. 131–55.

was granted denization, dated 20 April 1496. It was known to E. Gordon Duff as early as 1893, when he referred to the document in his *Early Printed Books*.² However, it was not until a few years later that Duff interpreted the phrase that identified the subject of the letter, ‘...Winando de Worde de ducatu Lothoringie oriundo impressori librorum...’, as ‘a native of the city of Wörth in the Alsace’; he went on to dismiss earlier statements that Wynkyn de Worde came from the small town of Woerden in Holland. Duff repeated this opinion several times, with only minor changes in wording.³ We may note that Duff rather lightly equated the duchy of Lorraine with the landgraviate of Alsace, two distinct territories in the fifteenth century. In mitigation we may remember that since the Franco-Prussian war and the Treaty of Versailles in 1871, when France lost what was then known as Alsace-Lorraine to Germany, the region had been in the forefront of public awareness as one of the main political issues of its time. With extensive public coverage of the war still (relatively) fresh in his memory, Duff may perhaps be forgiven for failing to note that in several earlier episodes of European history Alsace and Lorraine were distinct entities, both of major political significance. As a result he neglected to explore alternatives to his interpretation. In addition, nothing Duff wrote about Wynkyn de Worde suggests that he found him particularly interesting, and this, more than anything else, may account for the superficiality of his treatment.

Content to accept what appeared to be a very rare certainty about Wynkyn de Worde's life, almost all subsequent authors took over Duff's statement.⁴ A notable exception was Konrad Haebler who, in his *Die deutschen Buchdrucker*, called Wynkyn a ‘niederländisch-deutsche Drucker’ who may have come from the town of Woerden in Holland, if ‘Wordensis’ or ‘De Worde’ had not already become fixed as a surname denoting merely the origins of the family.⁵ With Haebler, no less than with Duff, we should note that he did not escape the political issues of his time, appearing to annex Holland into Germany. It was

2 A copy of the letter is preserved in the National Archives (Patent Roll 1496), C66/577 m. 20 (5). E.G. Duff, *Early Printed Books*. London, 1893, pp. 137–8.

3 Entries signed by Duff in: *Handlists of English Printers 1501–1556*. London, 1895; *Dictionary of National Biography* 62 (1900). Also E.G. Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*. London, 1905, pp. 173–4; E.G. Duff, *Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535*. Cambridge, 1906, pp. 23–4.

4 H.R. Plomer, *Wynkyn de Worde & his Contemporaries from the death of Caxton to 1535: A Chapter in English Printing*. London, 1925, pp. 43–6. James Moran, *Wynkyn de Worde, Father of Fleet Street*. London, Wynkyn de Worde Society, 1960, pp. 1–8. Moran reproduced a section of the letter of denization, breaking off after the letters ‘Loth’ of ‘Lothoringie’.

5 Konrad Haebler, *Die deutschen Buchdrucker des xv. Jahrhunderts im Auslande*. Munich, 1924, p. 275.

the time of theories about Greater Germany as a cultural notion, rather than of deeds. Haebler did not refer to the letter of denization, and his statement is not quoted in later literature.⁶

In 1976, the year of the Caxton quincentenary celebrations, Howard M. Nixon published a survey of the documents concerning Caxton, his contemporaries and successors that survive in the muniments of Westminster Abbey and the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster.⁷ Much more archival material about Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde was thus published than ever before – and, even more importantly, it was clearly placed in the context of the relevant accounts. Evidence for Wynkyn de Worde's presence in Westminster in 1479 is found in a document that shows him by this time married to a woman named Elizabeth; she had relatives living in Westminster and was clearly English. Elizabeth inherited the lease of a house, which the couple then let to someone else. Wynkyn de Worde and his wife must already have had their own domestic arrangements, and since no other payments of rent by them to the abbey are on record, we may assume that they were independent. After Caxton's death (probably early in 1492) Wynkyn de Worde took over the lease of Caxton's house, and from that time until Michaelmas 1499 his name appears regularly in the abbey's Sacrist's accounts, recording payments of rent. It features too in the accounts of the Domestic Treasurer, who also acted as Warden of the Sarum Rents – a group of tenements from which Wynkyn rented a 'camera'. Wynkyn de Worde's name in the accounts takes a variety of forms:

Winandum van Worden (1479, WAM 17849).

Elizabeth uxor Winandi van Worden (1480, WAM 17850).

Wykyn for his wyfys pewe (St. Margaret's Churchwardens: 1480–1482, Book A, p.185).

in manibus Johannis Wynkyn (rolls: 1491/2, WAM 19741).

Johannes Wynkyn (11 entries in this form, 1491/2–1498/9, WAM 19742–53).

Wynkyn Vort (1499/1500, WAM 19754).

6 Ferdinand Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker: Ein Handbuch der deutschen Buchdrucker des xv. Jahrhunderts nach Druckorten*, 2 vols, Stuttgart, 1968–70, pp. 344–7, derives the name 'Wordensis' from Wörth in the Alsace, adding that he may have been born in Strasbourg.

7 Howard M. Nixon, 'Caxton, his contemporaries and successors in the book trade from Westminster documents', *The Library*, 5th ser. 31 (1976), pp. 305–26 (esp. pp. 320–3). After publication of the article Mr Nixon very kindly showed me the documents: W[estminster] A[bbey] M[uniments]; St. Margaret's Churchwardens accounts are deposited at Westminster Public Library, Buckingham Palace Road, London SW1.

Sarum rents: Wynkyn (1495/6, WAM 23122); Willelmo Wynkyn (1495/6, WAM 23123); Wynkyn Joh. (1496/7, WAM 23124); Johannes Wynkyn (1496/7, WAM 23125); John Wynkyn Empreter (1499/1500, WAM 23127); Wynken de Vorde (1501/2, WAM 23128).

The name Johannes/John remains a mystery, to the extent that it never appears in any of Wynkyn de Worde's printed colophons. Nixon surmised that Wynkyn was known in the abbey by the nickname Jan, but in the records I have found no trace of this abbreviation of Johannes, which is common in Holland and later even became a generic nickname for Dutch sailors. The German equivalent is Hans. John, however, a form recorded only once, is closer to Jan than it is to Hans, but the name Johannes/John remains a dubious element in the argument. More revealing is the form *van Worden* in the accounts. *Van* is a distinctively Dutch form, as opposed to the German *von*. Nor is it plausible that the name Wörth or Woerth would have been given the soft ending Worde. The name as recorded in the environment where Wynkyn worked for almost a quarter of a century therefore lends some support to the hypothesis that Wynkyn was originally a Dutchman rather than a native of Alsace. To this can be added the fact that the name Winandus is uncommon in German-speaking countries, but is less so in the Netherlands. Even in German-speaking countries, the name is recorded almost exclusively in the north-western part of the country (Hamburg, Bremen, Friesland) and only once in Otzenrath (in the Rhineland). The diminutives Wineco and Wineke (of which Wynkyn is a variation) are in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries recorded in the north-western area by A. Bach, from whose *Deutsche Namenkunde* (1952–6) the above is derived.

Nixon's article (or rather, the lecture in which the material was first presented) provoked Eric Vickers to contribute a short note to *The Library*. In this he pointed out that the small city of Wörth, or Woerth sur Sauer, now in the department of Bas-Rhin in France, had in the year 1206 ceased to belong to the jurisdiction of the dukes of Lorraine.⁸ He briefly outlined its complicated history, as well as that of another place nearby also called Wörth, now in Germany, which in the later part of the fifteenth century came to belong to the Electoral Palatinate.

A link, albeit a tenuous one, with Dutch forms of names, together with a demonstration of the invalidity of the association with Lorraine (or Alsace) may be sufficient to justify some further exploration of Wynkyn de Worde's origins. Below I shall suggest an alternative to Duff's interpretation of the words 'de ducatu Lothoringie'. Since this can be no more than a conjecture, I

8 E. Vickers, 'Caxton, his Contemporaries and Successors'. *The Library*, 5th ser. 32 (1977), p. 269.

shall then consider circumstantial evidence found in Wynkyn de Worde's own publications.

Dux Lotharingie

For much of the fifteenth century 'Lotharingia' did not only apply to the duchy of Lorraine. It was also used to signal the political aspiration of the dukes of Burgundy to reconstitute the Romano-German middle kingdom that in the year 843, following the Treaty of Verdun, had been the inheritance of Charlemagne's grandson Lotharius. A consistent characteristic of Burgundian government was the modelling of its institutions and policies on the often distant past: the mythological past of Jason and the Golden Fleece, of Hercules and Troy, of Aeneas and the legendary heroes, the historical past of Roman administration and also that of the Capetian kings.⁹ The extent of this kingdom was set out with great clarity in 1460 on behalf of Duke Philip the Good by his secretary Pierre Milet, when drawing up the instructions for Antoine Haneron in preparation for his embassy to the Emperor:

Entre le Rin et le royaume de France estoit un royaume bel et grant, contenant plusieurs belles et grandes villes et citez que l'on nommoit le royaume de Lothier, ettrouve l'on que le royaulme de Lothier estoit ung royaume scitué entre l'Escault et le Rin et entre Bourgoigne et la mer de Frize, ouquel royaume sont trois eglises metropolitaines, assavoir Maiance, Treves et Coulongne, et les cathedrales qui s'ensuyvent, Mex, Toul, Verdun, Cambray, Liege et Utrecht....¹⁰

This kingdom coincided partly, but never entirely, with the territorial expansion of the duchy of Burgundy during the first three-quarters of the fifteenth century. The political claim to a historic kingdom rather than any territorial claim led to the dukes customarily using the titles 'Duc de Bourgoingne, de Lothier, de Brabant', always in that order. These formed the beginning of the long litany of their titles, which continued with 'Palatin de Haynay, de Hollande...' further down the line, or '...of Bourgoyne, of Lotryk, of Braband...', as in the prologue

9 See Y. Lacaze, 'Le rôle des traditions dans la genèse d'un sentiment national au xv^e siècle: La Bourgogne de Philippe le Bon'. *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 129 (1972), pp. 303–85.

10 Cf. Chapter 7, pp. 280–1, n. 104. Transcription by H. Stein, 'Un diplomate Bourguignon du XVe siècle: Antoine Haneron'. *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes* 98 (1937), pp. 283–348 (Appendix IV, p. 318).

to Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy*. In contrast to the other titles, Lotharingia, Lothier or Lotryk had no realistic territorial significance. However, they had a great deal of relevance to Burgundian aspirations to be crowned kings of a middle kingdom, and eventually to be elected for coronation with the imperial crown.

The duchy of Lorraine was conquered only briefly by Charles the Bold, by the end of 1475. As fate would have it he fell a year later, on 5 January 1477, before its capital Nancy, in the aftermath of an ill-conceived campaign against the Swiss. He had been close to achieving the crown as 'King of Lotharingia' (or possibly of Burgundy, or of Frisia: there is no certainty about which of these titles would have been preferred) at what had promised to be a glorious meeting with the Emperor Frederick III. This took indeed place in Trier in November 1473, but in the end the emperor evaded the issue by embarking early one morning and vanishing down the many bends of the river Moselle.¹¹ Had Charles the Bold been crowned as King of Lotharingia on that occasion, one of the more remote consequences might have been that Wynkyn de Worde would not so readily have been declared a native of Wörth in Alsace more than 400 years later.

As it is we may contemplate Wynkyn de Worde explaining Burgundian policies and ideals in 1496 to an English official, almost 20 years after the collapse of the Burgundian dynasty with the death of Charles the Bold. In 1477 the Burgundian lands were at once in turmoil. Some of the Burgundian cohesion was saved by the marriage of Charles's successor, his daughter Mary, to the Austrian Archduke Maximilian in 1477, as soon as was feasible after the battle of Nancy, but the titles of the highest authority in the land changed. This was reflected, of course, in all centrally issued documents.

We have already seen that by the time Wynkyn de Worde was first documented in Westminster in 1479, he was settled and married to an Englishwoman. The surviving entry in the account relates to an inheritance of his wife. He must have been in England for some time, and this makes it possible that any documents he had to show in 1496 as 'proof of identity' in the process of applying for denization, for example a safe-conduct, were issued before 1477, still in the name of Charles the Bold, *Dux Burgundie*, *Lotharingie* etc. As an abstract from a more extensive formula the phrase 'de ducatu Lothoringie' may have crept into a document referring to a native of Woerden in Holland, which lay within the territory controlled by Charles the Bold as Count of Holland. We must remember that the letter of denization survives only as a copy of the original, itself based on an interpretation of one or more documents issued in another country by a regime of the past. Its intricacies had become remote

11 R. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The last Valois Duke of Burgundy*. London, 1973, pp. 135–55.

from the political reality familiar to the officials who issued the document in Wynkyn's case and copied it onto the Patent Rolls.

This can be only a conjecture, but it prompts further consideration of the town of Woerden in Holland being an alternative to Wörth, instead of dismissing the idea out of hand. Moreover, the books published by Wynkyn de Worde present a substantial amount of evidence to indicate a connection with printing in Holland and Antwerp. In contrast, I see no evidence for any connection with printing in the region of Lorraine or Alsace, which includes Strasbourg. I shall therefore consider one of Wynkyn de Worde's printing types, his woodcut initials, a woodcut and, most revealing of all, copies of woodcuts which were first used in books in the Dutch language, printed in Holland.

Updating Caxton's Printing material: woodcut initials

When Wynkyn de Worde began to print 'in Caxton's house', both literally and metaphorically, he must have found enough typographical material to continue the workshop in exactly the same way as before. He did indeed continue to use several of Caxton's high-quality types as he had found them, but from the beginning he also introduced changes, and we may suppose that some of the interval of about 15 months between Caxton's death and the completion of De Worde's first dated work was spent on an overhaul of the stocks of typographical material. Two of his earliest publications, the undated *Life of St. Catherine of Siena*¹² (datable 1492–3) and the *Legenda aurea*, completed on 20 May 1493,¹³ are printed in a recasting of Caxton's Type 4, which by then had served for over ten years.

Stylistically these two books show only one departure from Caxton's customary presentation of texts, in that they feature a set of woodcut initials. This is only partly represented in *The Life of St Catherine*, but used very fully in the much larger *Legenda aurea*.¹⁴

These initials are a striking design, adorned with grotesque heads and stylized flowers (see Fig. 9.1). They must be the work of an artist active in Gouda whose work is found in books printed in that town from 1480 onwards. This set of initials is first seen in a dated book in 1486; it is a grammatical work, published on 13 November of that year and entitled *Opusculum quintupartitum*

12 Duff 40; BMC XI, pp. 184–4; ISTC iv00297000.

13 Duff 410; BMC XI, pp. 184–6; ISTC ij00150000.

14 Wynkyn de Worde set 8, illustrated and discussed in BMC XI, pp. 378–9.



FIGURE 9.1

Woodcut initials from Wynkyn de Worde's Golden Legend and Life of St. Catherine, first used in Gouda in 1486. De Worde's use of Dutch printing materials argues for enduring ties with the Low Countries, and especially the towns of western Holland – probably the area where he grew up. However, when De Worde took over William Caxton's printing house in 1492, he had lived in Westminster for many years.

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grammaticale, the colophon stating that it was printed by Gotfridus de Os.¹⁵ With the name of this printer we arrive at once at the core of two bibliographical questions, to date unsolved and with which Wynkyn de Worde is also somewhat embroiled. Was Gotfridus de Os the same person as Govert van Ghemen, a peripatetic printer who is known to have worked in Gouda, Leiden and Copenhagen, his material largely, but not entirely, coinciding with that of Gotfridus de Os? And if so was this person the same as 'the Gouda typesetter' whose existence has to be surmised from the stylistic similarity, concentration and distribution of printing types emanating from the town of Gouda?¹⁶ These questions have to remain unanswered here, but it is certain that there was a connection between Wynkyn de Worde and Gotfridus de Os/Govert van Ghemen/the Gouda Typesetter, whether they were one or three persons.¹⁷ Apart from the set of initials, we shall see that Wynkyn de Worde used one of the typefaces produced by the Gouda Typesetter (and employed by both De Os and Van Ghemen), and also two woodcuts first used in Gouda.

15 ILC 609, ISTC ic00792300, where it appears with the title *Compendium octo partium orationis*.

16 HPT, pp. 80–5.

17 Ina Kok, *Woodcuts of incunabula in the Low Countries*. t Goy-Houten, 2013, argues that Govert van Ghemen and Gotfridus de Os were distinct individuals on the basis that Gotfridus apparently never commissioned woodcuts, since no new woodcuts appeared in any of the books with his imprint (vol. 1, pp. 406–8).

The woodcut initials used in 1486 in the *Opusculum Quintupartitum* are subsequently seen in an edition of Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale* (or '*Opus Minus*') with an imprint stating that it was published in Gouda in 1488 but without the name of the printer.¹⁸ After Wynkyn de Worde had used them in Westminster in 1492–3, some of the initials emerge again in Holland – this time in Leiden in *Den gheesteliken minnebrief* with the colophon 'Gheprent te leyden bi mi Govaert van ghemen', without date.¹⁹ Van Ghemen's apparently brief activity in Leiden must fall between the years 1495 and 1505, but it may be possible to define this more accurately when we take Wynkyn de Worde's use of this material into account. The initial used in *Den gheesteliken minnebrief* is the letter I, its state still quite intact. The same initial I, now damaged by having lost its right and left side, was twice used by Wynkyn de Worde in dated books: in John Alcock, *Mons Perfectionis*, with the date 23 May 1497,²⁰ and in his Thomas Malory, *Morte Darthur*, dated 25 March 1498.²¹ Another letter of this set, still in combination with the same type, is the letter H, seen for the last time still (or again) in the hands of Govert van Ghemen, now back in Copenhagen. It is found in his *Danske Rimkrønike* of 1508.²² Van Ghemen's career, in so far as it can be documented by the books he produced, is complicated and much of its chronology remains uncertain in absolute terms. A reconstruction, published in 1968 and based on analysis of his work, arrived at the following result:²³

Gouda (1486–1488)?
 Copenhagen 1493–1495
 Leiden (between 1495 and 1505)
 Copenhagen 1505–1510

The dates for Govert van Ghemen's periods of activity in Copenhagen are much more firmly fixed than for those in Holland. As it is, the still tentative chronology leaves room for a further question: should the occurrence of the woodcut initials be connected with the recasting of Caxton's Type 4 that Wynkyn de Worde used in 1492–3? This fount, classified as Wynkyn de Worde Type 1: 99B,

18 ILC 179; ISTC ia00440780; GW 1167, 1169 with the imprint Gouda, 16 September 1488.

19 ILC 1596; ISTC im00585980, with the dating [1495–6].

20 Duff 13; BMC XI, p. 210; ISTC ia00366500.

21 Duff 284; ISTC im00103100.

22 Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi* 234.

23 Lotte and Wytze Hellinga, 'Gotfred af Ghemens faerden ca. 1486–1510: En typologisk undersøgelse'. *Fund og Forskning i det Kongelige Biblioteks samlinger* 15 (1968), pp. 7–38.

was cast much better than in Caxton's original versions.²⁴ Since it appears exclusively together with his woodcut initials, could it be, then, that Govert van Ghemen/the Gouda Typecutter had a hand in the recasting of Type 4? Van Ghemen's known itinerary shows a gap before 1493 which may be significant and certainly invites such speculation. Wynkyn de Worde's known activities show also a gap at about the same time.

The use of the letter I in the set of initials can help us to define Van Ghemen's Leiden period. Since Wynkyn de Worde used a damaged state of this letter in a book completed on 23 May 1497, Govert van Ghemen must have printed *Den gheesteliken minnebrief*, where it is intact, and presumably the other small books he printed in Leiden, before that date. It seems likely that at this point, in the time between Leiden and Westminster, the set disintegrated; the individual blocks are at least no longer found together. The use of the initials suggests two episodes of contact between Wynkyn de Worde and Govert van Ghemen: c. 1492–3 and c. 1496–8, when the damaged initial I occurs in two of De Worde's books. Since Wynkyn de Worde used a Gouda typeface in the year 1496, it may well be acceptable to narrow the second period down to that year. The revised chronology of Van Ghemen's career thus runs:

Gouda (1486–8)?

[Contact with Westminster 1492–3]

Copenhagen 1493–5

Leiden 1495–6

[Contact with Westminster 1496]

[Use of some of his material by Wynkyn de Worde from 1496]

Copenhagen 1505–10

Confirmation for this suggested chronology can be found in the use of a typeface and of a woodcut.

A printing type from Holland

In 1496 Wynkyn de Worde printed the second edition of *The Book of Hawking, Hunting and Blasing of Arms* in a type that had been the main success of the Gouda Typecutter.²⁵ Its dissemination can be followed from 1486 on, first to printers in Deventer, to other printers in Gouda itself, to Haarlem, Leiden and

24 Noted in BMC XI, p. 371, illustrated Plate 13. Duff-Hellinga (2009), Plate XI.

25 Wynkyn de Worde Type 7: 103G, illustrated BMC XI, Plate 18. Duff-Hellinga (2009), Plate XVII. Found in *The Book of Hawking*, Duff 57; BMC XI, pp. 203–6; GW 4933; ISTC ib01031000.

Schiedam; it accompanied Govert van Ghemen on his peregrinations to Copenhagen and Leiden.²⁶ Van Ghemen must have owned matrices of the type, for it was recast in Copenhagen as late as 1576 in order to produce an exact reprint (an early instance of a facsimile) of the *Sjaellandske Lov*, printed twice by Govert van Ghemen in 1505.²⁷

As the type was sold to various clients it evolved in some details, thus enabling phases to be distinguished and linked to dates of first appearance. The state used by Wynkyn de Worde was its final development. First used in Gouda in the *Blaffert*, now dated December 1489–90,²⁸ it was then used in 1494 in Leiden, and in Gouda again in 1496 in a dated edition printed by the Col-laciebroeders. It is therefore impossible to decide whether it was acquired by Wynkyn de Worde together with the Gouda initials that he used in 1492–3, and then left unused for three years until it appeared in 1496. Since the initials have shown that there was some contact c. 1496–7 it seems more probable that the type was acquired at the later date. Or perhaps we should not think of a straightforward purchase, but instead consider that the type was made available on a temporary basis. Although some minor adaptations were made to the type to render it suitable for printing in English (such as a high English w and the English contraction þ), the type was not used again by Wynkyn de Worde. Generally he adopted the Parisian-style 'black letter' typefaces for his books, a trend initiated by Caxton that continued in English printing for many decades.²⁹ The square Dutch style did not fit the now preferred aspect of printing. With this taste prevailing, its appearance may have been perceived as somewhat archaic or rural, and therefore particularly suitable for *The Book of Hawking*.

Woodcut illustrations

The third and last material piece of evidence to testify to a connection of Wynkyn de Worde with Gotfridus de Os/Govert van Ghemen consists of two

26 See above, n. 23.

27 Van Ghemen's editions: Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi*, 133, 134. Reprinted by Mads Vingaard, 1576, with a second colophon following the original, '...med samme gammel Danske/Line fra Line/Ord fra Ord/Capittel fra Capittel/aff Matz Vingaardt'. Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi* 1070. HPT, Plate 174.

28 GW 10971 corrected the dating given in HPT, pp. 86–7, to the undated Gouda *Blaffert*, ILC 1111; BMC IX, p. 39; ISTC ig00327000; GW 10971 dates: 'after 24 December 1489, not after 1490', on the basis of the combination of the date 'Christmas Eve 1489', printed in the register, and a manuscript note 'xc' in a copy in the Town Archive in Gouda, which shows that the register was in use in that year.

29 See BMC XI, p. 342, fig. 10.

Here endith a treati se kalled. *Parvula*.



FIGURE 9.2

This woodcut of a master with pupils, much used for grammatical works by Wynkyn de Worde in Westminster, first appeared in Gouda in 1486. *Parvula*, c. 1495–6.

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woodcut illustrations. One was used many times by De Worde. It represents a master and three pupils, and, like all illustrations of this theme, was used as an emblem for schoolbooks (see Fig. 9.2). Unfortunately, although heavily used, the illustration is found only twice in dated editions. Its first dated use, in 1486, was in Gouda, in the same *Opusculum quintupartitum grammaticale* printed by Gotfridus de Os with the date 13 November 1486, a book that seems to be the starting point of everything. Yet the woodcut had appeared once before, in an undated, Dutch-language edition of Albertanus Brixienensis, *De arte loquendi et tacendi*; its state led to the re-dating of this book by Ina Kok, who believed it to have been printed before the *Opusculum quintupartitum* of November 1486, and therefore printed in Gouda.³⁰ The woodcut's further use can only be put in a chronological sequence by exploring the progressive decay of the block. It is last seen in 1516 in York in the hands of Ursyn Mylner,³¹ and we therefore

30 ILC 52; GW 567; ISTC ia00209450. The woodcut: Kok, *Woodcuts*, 178, vol. 1, pp. 406–8. Originally the book was dated as not earlier than 1495 and before 1505, and therefore printed by Van Ghemen in Leiden. See ILC 52 where, following Kok, this book is now assigned to Gouda.

31 Hodnett 918.

know that, unlike the set of woodcut initials, it did remain in England. As was the case with the initials, the use of this block affects the approximate dating of books printed on either side of the North Sea. STC records ten De Worde editions containing the woodcut with dating based on six stages of progressive loss of sections of the border, revising Hodnett's sequence in the process.³² Only one of them has printed dates (1499, one of the dates to be read as 1500), but STC assigns to the earliest edition (Stanbridge, *Long Accidence*, STC 23153.4) the date 1495. When linked to the appearance of the Gouda type in Westminster in 1496 it should be feasible to compress the printing of the ten small books into the four-to five year time span of 1496/7 to 1501.

The second woodcut to cross the North Sea was first used in *Leven ende passie van S. Kunera*.³³ Ina Kok apparently followed HPT and ILC when assigning to it the date 1496–1504.³⁴ She ranged it by implication with Van Ghemen's books printed in Leiden, whereas ISTC gives the edition the earlier date of 1486–7 on the basis of the use of paper established by WILC. The arguments for the earlier dating are strong. Apart from the use of paper, it is beyond doubt that the woodcut was used for the *Leven van S. Kunera* before it appeared not later than 1497–8 in the *Proprytees and medicynes of hors*, printed by De Worde.³⁵ For this book the woodcut image, featuring two horses rearing below a woman, was adjusted by removing the scarf with which the saintly Kunera was strangled (see Fig. 9.3). The English book is also printed earlier than the date [1502] recorded in STC, for Meg Ford has shown conclusively that *Proprytees* was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in Westminster about 1497–8.

Woodcut initials, type and the two Dutch woodblocks suggest a business contact with printers connected with Gouda that may have been confined to contact with one person or firm. This type of connection, of which there are many other examples in the history of printing in the fifteenth century, does not necessarily indicate family origins in the region. The few facts we have can be arranged in various ways, allowing us to speculate either on a Gouda typographer visiting Westminster or on Wynkyn de Worde crossing the North

32 The sequence of dating on the basis of impressions of a much-worn woodcut remains problematic, for irregularity in inking and variety of the strength of the impression may affect the resulting image. The STC numbers in which the woodcut Hodnett 918 appears are in STC order: STC 7016, 13809, 16114, 17011, 23153.4–5, 23163.6–7, 23163.11, 23153.11.

33 ILC 1387; ISTC ik00041000, where the location 'Leiden' as place of printing was mistakenly retained. The woodcut is reproduced by Kok 184.5.

34 Kok, vol. 1, pp. 405 and no. 41.

35 Duff- Hellinga Suppl. 34; BMC XI, p. 217; ISTC ip01019200. For the dating of this edition see Margaret L. Ford 'An addition to the corpus of English incunabula: Wynkyn de Worde's *Proprytees & Medicynes of Hors* (c. 1497–8)'. *The Library*, 7th ser., 2 (2001), pp. 3–9.

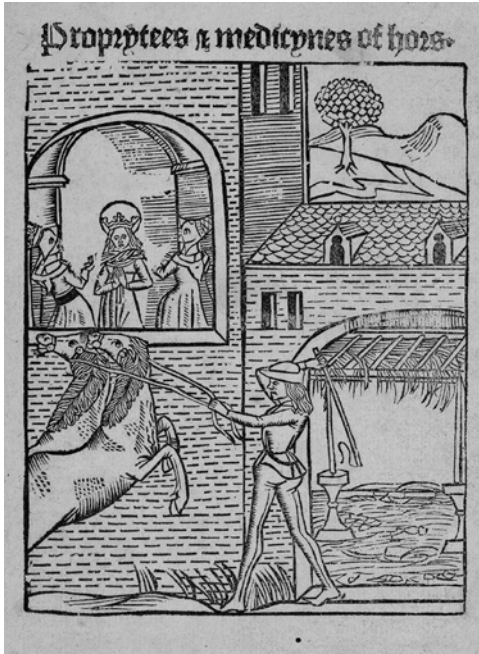


FIGURE 9.3

*When it was first used in Leiden, this woodcut showed the martyrdom of St. Kunera, who was strangled with her own scarf. Wynkyn de Worde adapted the woodcut by removing most of the scarf. It could now serve to introduce his edition of the treatise *The propriytes and medicynes of hors*, c. 1497–8.*

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Sea to visit the Dutch towns of Gouda and Leiden – from neither of which was Woerden ever farther away than a watery journey of a couple of hours.

Evidence from other illustrations can broaden this picture, for in a number of instances woodcuts first used by Wynkyn de Worde can be shown to have been copied from books printed in Holland and Antwerp. It is generally agreed that Wynkyn's blocks were the work of English artists. This implies, therefore, that the books providing the models were available in England. Since at least two of the books were substantial works in the Dutch language, the chances are that Wynkyn de Worde could read them as well as admire the pictures. As evidence that Wynkyn's origins were Dutch, these books must count heavily.

I shall attempt to arrange them in the chronological order of their first use by Wynkyn de Worde. Since most of the books concerned are undated, this is not as straightforward as it might be.

1. [Not later than c. 1494].
Reynard the Fox, a lost edition with 43 woodcuts.³⁶

36 For an extensive discussion see Kenneth Varty, 'The earliest illustrated English editions of "Reynard the Fox" and their links with the earliest illustrated Continental editions'. In J. Goossens & T. Sodmann (eds.), *Reynaert, Reynard, Reynke: Studien zu einem*

The complete series of 43 cuts survives only in much later editions, printed between 1550 and 1585, and even as late as 1620 and 1629. Fragments of earlier works survive, and Wynkyn de Worde's earliest recorded use of single blocks to illustrate other texts shows that the series existed already as early as 1494. These blocks are found in editions (all undated) of John Lydgate, *The horse, the sheep and the goose*³⁷ and John Skelton, *The bowge of court*.³⁸ Kenneth Varty (see n. 36) has convincingly reconstructed the series as used by De Worde. He argues that De Worde's woodcuts and the series used to illustrate the same text in a Low German version printed by the Poppy Printer in Lübeck in 1498³⁹ both derive from the same source – namely the illustrated edition of a verse version of *Reynaert de Vos*, printed by Gheraert Leeu in Antwerp c. 1487, of which only fragments, fortunately with woodcuts, survive in the Cambridge University Library, and are known as the Culemann fragments.⁴⁰

2. [c. 1496].

Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, in the English translation of John Trevisa.⁴¹

Woodcuts: Hodnett 1298–1316.

The work is divided into 19 books, each of which in Wynkyn de Worde's edition is preceded by a large woodcut. Wynkyn took as models for books 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 12 and 13 the delightful woodcuts used in 1485 by Jacob Bellaert in Haarlem for his edition of the same work in a Dutch translation.⁴² Bellaert introduced only 11 of the books with woodcuts.⁴³ Wynkyn de Worde used seven of these as models, and resorted for the other 12 to the series of woodcuts used from 1482 in successive editions of a French translation by printers in Lyon and Paris.⁴⁴ There are no grounds for deciding which of these was used. Since the woodcuts copied from the Bellaert edition are

mittelalterlichen Tierepos. Cologne, Vienna, 1980, pp. 160–95. [Niederdeutsche Studien 27]. Hodnett 1288–90.

37 Duff 263–5; ISTC il00407200, il00407300, il00408000. Hodnett 1288. For dating Duff 263 (c. 1494) and Duff 264 (1497–8) see BMC XI, pp. 218–9, cf. pp. 193–4.

38 Duff 372, [c. 1499], ISTC is00583800. Hodnett 1289.

39 Borchling-Claussen 299; GW 12733; GW iro0136400.

40 ILC 1861; Kok 84.1–3, vol. 1, pp. 235–6. Cambridge UL, Oates 3903; ISTC iro0136300; GW 12727. Facsimile edition: K.H. Breul, *The Cambridge Reynaert Fragments (Culemann Fragments)*. Cambridge, 1927.

41 Duff 40; BMC XI, pp. 200–3; GW 3414; ISTC ib00143000.

42 ILC 349; GW 3423; ISTC ib00142000.

43 Kok 163.1–11.

44 GW 3415–3420. See BMC XI, p. 202.

at the beginning of the two main sections into which the work is divided (Books 1, 2 and 3, and Books 12 and 13), Bellaert's version appears to have been Wynkyn's primary source, with the French version supplementary.

3. [Not later than 1497.]

The seven wyse maysters of rome, a lost edition with 11(?) woodcuts. The earliest survival of the series is in a dated edition of *The seven wyse maysters of rome*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1506,⁴⁵ containing only seven woodcuts with repeats. It is likely that there was an earlier edition containing the full series, for one of the woodcuts appears in Wynkyn's undated Jacques le Grand, *Boke of good maner*,⁴⁶ dated in BMC XI as [1497, before May]. The cuts were copied from editions of a Low German version printed by Claes Leeu in Antwerp in 1488 and a Latin version printed by Gheraert Leeu in Antwerp in 1490, each with 11 cuts.⁴⁷ In between these two editions they had been used by Johann Koelhoff in Cologne to illustrate a Latin version.⁴⁸ It seems most probable that Wynkyn de Worde used a copy of the Antwerp edition in Latin as his model, but the version printed in Cologne cannot be excluded.

The three instances listed above are all cases of direct copying, done skilfully although at the expense of some refinement when compared with the originals. The copying did not result in reversed images. The technique that was used produced a direct image, as may be achieved by sticking the original on a woodblock, its verso facing the woodcutter, and oiling the paper to make the image (in reverse) visible. Wynkyn de Worde had a very large stock of woodcuts, which he used lavishly during his long career. Many of the representations are conventional to the subject, and it may therefore be difficult to decide where his artists (or De Worde himself) found models or inspiration when they did not copy directly. For example, in woodcuts used in Wynkyn de Worde's editions of Raoul le Fèvre, *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (1502 and 1503),⁴⁹ crude as they are, it may be possible to recognize motifs of Jacob Bellaert's illustrations of the text in Dutch and French, published in 1485 and c. 1486.⁵⁰ But here, as in so many other illustrations, there are many possible alternatives.

45 STC 21298, Hodnett 1291–7.

46 Duff 251; BMC XI, pp. 211–2; ISTC im00036950.

47 ILC 1959; GW 12874; ISTC is00450250; and ILC 1953; GW 12854; ISTC is00448600; Kok 92.1–12.

48 Voulliéme (Köln) 587; GW 12853; ISTC is00449000.

49 STC 153766–7. Hodnett 1221–44 and 1267–8, 1270, 1272, 1274–5, 1282–4.

50 ILC 1420, 1421. Kok 1601–21 and 162.1–25.

Conclusion

In Wynkyn de Worde's publications – in so far as survival permits – we can find evidence for direct contact with the Gouda Typecutter and Govert van Ghemen in 1492–3 and in 1496. He had woodcuts copied from books in the Dutch language and printed in the Netherlands. This does not add up to proof that his surname should be read as 'De Woerden', but it makes it a great deal more likely that he had early connections with Holland than with the region of Alsace-Lorraine.

Aesopus Moralisatus, Antwerp, 1488 in England

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Ownership as evidence for the trade in early printed books

Theodorus Whytton, Thomas Wartop, Edward Launder, William Povey – these names, found in a book printed in Antwerp, cannot be other than English. Written in a sixteenth-century hand in a copy of *Aesopus moralisatus cum commento*, printed in Antwerp by Gheraert Leeu in 1488,¹ they – and other notes in this book – invite reflections on the movement of books in the first century of printing, through the trade or otherwise. Importation into England through the book trade was the main point I wished to make when I first wrote about this copy of Aesop, now in the British Library, where it belongs to the collections of the King's Library.² At the time I wrote, in 1988, evidence for the importation trade had mainly been documentary.³ The rich resource of records of early ownership still remained largely untouched.

More or less elaborate notes of early ownership and provenance were already a standard feature of descriptions in the main catalogues of incunabula. They appeared in BMC from early in the twentieth century, while J.C.T. Oates's

1 GW 402; ISTC ia00129500.

2 C.I.a.4, BMC IX, p. 191, provenance the Old Royal Library.

3 Nelly J.M. Kerling, 'Caxton and the trade in printed books'. *The Book Collector* 4 (1955), pp. 190–9. Graham Pollard, 'The English market for printed books: The rise of the wholesale trade', *Publishing History* 4 (1978), pp. 9–17. Elizabeth Armstrong, 'English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent, 1465–1526', *English Historical Review* 94 (1979), pp. 268–90. Paul Needham, 'The customs rolls as documents for the printed-book trade in England', in Lotte Hellinga, J.B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, vol. 3, Cambridge, 1999 (repr. 2014), pp. 148–63.

catalogue of the incunabula in Cambridge University Library (1954) is distinguished by its careful and informative index of provenances. On this model, but on a slightly smaller scale, the provenance information in Dennis Rhodes's catalogue of the incunabula in Oxford college libraries was a rich and reliable source of information on early English book ownership. The catalogues of the incunabula in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, each with provenance notes, were then in course of publication.⁴ It was in the late 1980s that data of early owners and bindings began to be assembled in systems covering more than a single collection, with the intention of improving our understanding of the early movements of books printed in the incunabula period.

In the first experiments the focus was on the British Isles. In the 1980s I undertook a pilot study of the early ownership in the British Isles of 1,000 incunabula printed outside England and now in collections in the United Kingdom, mainly working with published catalogues.⁵ Ownership notes, annotation in English and identification of an early binder may all serve to determine whether a book had found an owner in the British Isles during the first half-century after it was printed. Even from this limited orientation a profile began to emerge, revealing the principal places of printing of the books that from the 1480s onwards found their way to English-speaking owners – presumably through the trade. I arrived at the unsurprising conclusion that before 1500 printers in Italy, notably in Venice, were consistently the largest providers, followed by main centres such as Strasbourg, Basel, Nuremberg and Cologne in the German-speaking countries, by Paris, and a few places in the Low Countries.

The script of the notes in the copy of Leeu's Aesop, a well-printed but modest schoolbook in quarto format, can be dated as belonging to the first half of the sixteenth century, thus indicating that it is probably not until some 50 years after it was printed that the book can be traced to an English environment. Even so, it may be one of many witnesses for the trade connections between England and the continent for which the scarce documentary evidence falls far short; it does not give an adequate idea of the quantity of books that actually crossed the waters. Although it is impossible to arrive even at approximate figures that may reflect the realities of the trade, it is likely that in the

4 Since then the team preparing the index of provenances for the Bodleian catalogue of incunabula (2005) and Margaret Nickson's work on that for BMC XI (2007) have shown what can be achieved with diligent investigations of the names appearing in books.

5 Published as 'Importation of books printed on the Continent into England and Scotland before c. 1520', in Sandra Hindman (ed.), *Printing the written word: The social history of books circa 1450–1520*. Ithaca and London, 1991, pp. 205–24.

incunabula period imported books outnumbered the modest production of printers in England. The term ‘the Latin trade’, as it later came to be called, acknowledges that the majority of books were in Latin, the *lingua franca* of *literati* which drove the trade across (vernacular) language barriers.

Following my pilot study, Margaret L. Ford undertook a more extensive project in preparation of her contributions to vol. 3 of the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*.⁶ By visiting many collections in England, Scotland and Wales she quadrupled the sample of books with inscriptions by English owners before c. 1550, and assembled her data in a database. She arrived at some variations to the proportions I had proposed, distinguished categories of subject matter and showed more clearly the dynamics of centres of printing as they competed and overtook one another. In due course Basel and Paris rose, at the expense of Venice, Cologne and the Netherlands. The relations between Antwerp and England were to remain close, however, as is amply shown by printing in English in Antwerp before and during the Reformation. Gheraert Leeu, for example, evidently had connections with the book trade in England, for he printed books specifically for the English market, in English as well as in Latin.⁷

The projects undertaken by Meg Ford and myself were modest beginnings compared with the compilations of indexes and databases that are now in progress. As I am writing (September 2016) the large-scale project entitled ‘15C Booktrade’, led by Dr Cristina Dondi, has been formally launched earlier this year, one of its objectives focusing precisely on the issues we addressed in our earlier studies. The full title of this five-year project is ‘The 15th-Century Book Trade. An Evidence-Based Assessment and Visualisation of the Distribution, Sale, and Reception of Books in the Renaissance’. The project is supported by the recently established database ‘Material Evidence in Incunabula’ (or MEI for short), which specifically records ownership and provenances.⁸ The

6 Published as the chapters ‘Importation of books into England and Scotland’ and ‘Private ownership of printed books’, in *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain* (see above, n. 3), pp. 179–228.

7 In 1488, when Leeu was established in Antwerp, he printed phrases from (pseudo-)Terence, *Vulgaria*, in Latin and English (ISTC it0011050). An edition of the *Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolphi* in English (ISTC is00102800) may belong to this period, or to the publications for the English market appearing shortly after Caxton’s death in 1492. These include a *Sarum Hours* (ISTC ih00420430, unique copy lost) and in English *The History of Paris and Vienne* (ISTC ip00114500), Raoul Lefèvre, *The History of Jason* (ISTC il00112100) and the *Chronicles of England* (ISTC ic00481000), the last two reprinted from Caxton’s editions.

8 This is a project of the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL) in conjunction with its HPB database. It was announced when work started in 2014, see e.g. *The Library*,

advantages offered by accumulating such materials from a variety of sources in a single automated system hardly need advocating. There is ample precedence in bibliographical – and other – databases, and MEI is conceived on similar lines, benefiting from increasingly sophisticated developments to enable complex retrieval of data. Yet the nature of the materials is significantly different from that in bibliographical databases, and interpretation of data of this kind, due to be one important element in the '15th-Century Book Trade' project, will entail facing new sets of problems. From a bibliographical database we expect straight answers; from a database of ownership we may have to expect at least as many further questions as answers, when the interrelation of data leads to utilization that goes beyond that of a directory of names.

As projects grow and data accumulate and are interpreted, they will have to be managed by classification. The next step in what is inevitably a reductive process will be to express the results in graphs, more elaborate than those Meg Ford and I had started to construct using our preliminary data. We had the advantage that the geographical limitation of our data could be defined without historical complications: the British Isles. One difficulty to overcome is that in modern bibliographical projects territories tend to be defined by present-day national borders with no more than a distant relationship to the divisions (territorial, political, cultural) of the fifteenth century. When visually presenting the history of the book trade on a European scale, we may imagine that graphs and historical maps will show not only quantities of books moving through the trade over a large area without internal borders, but also how these movements developed over time as connectivity varied, appeared or vanished over time.

By and large bibliographical records are hard facts, and would appear to offer a solid basis for presenting the results of quantitative analysis in visual form. But even here it may be wise to heed the cautions from highly experienced historians of the book. In December 1999 a few outstanding experts in this field accepted invitations to comment at a conference organized by the Consortium of European Research Libraries. The theme was the possibilities of quantitative analysis of bibliographical data, now that the collaborative and very large-scale HPB database was getting off to a promising start; it was then in the course of being built from a great diversity of sources.⁹ Hugh Amory,

7th ser. 15 (2014), pp. 347–8. See also Cristina Dondi, 'CERL's work and vision for provenance research'. *La Bibliofilia* 117 (2015), pp. 317–21.

9 Most of the papers presented at this conference were published by the Consortium of European Research Libraries in Lotte Hellinga (ed.), *The scholar & the database*. London, 2001. See also the critical considerations of Peter Blayney, 'STC publication statistics: Some caveats'. *The Library*, 7th ser. 8 (2007), pp. 387–97.

Henri-Jean Martin, Don McKenzie (with whom I discussed the issue shortly before his sudden death) and others considered the issues carefully, and their reservations would be neglected at one's peril. Although all valued the compilation of a wide-ranging database of bibliographical records of pre-industrial materials, they all advised a critical use of them, with historical awareness and contextualisation, as well as due wariness (if not outright suspicion) as to the correctness of the bibliographical records accumulated over many years. When working on a large scale, after millions of records have been accumulated, this is difficult. Even when confined to the very much smaller quantity of fifteenth-century printing, it is still difficult.

Mapping the spread of printing

The record of fifteenth-century printing, covering some 29,000 to 30,000 editions surviving in what may amount to half a million copies, is not exactly small-scale, but it is an area that has been studied intensively and for a long time. In bibliographical terms there is a large body of consensus about much of this material. There is also a long tradition of presenting cumulative results with maps, helpfully presenting the historical process of the spread of printing. Such maps have always been based on the bibliographical records of the surviving printing of the incunabula period that, even while they were not yet complete, invited schematization in this form.¹⁰ With the almost complete record of survival that is now conveniently assembled in the ISTC database and GW online, a further step is an attempt to express in maps the quantities of production in centres of printing relative to each other.

Although telling the story anew with an original slant, the first such series of maps, produced by Philippe Nieto,¹¹ is not yet entirely successful. Here the measure of production used by the compiler is the number of bibliographically distinct editions as recorded in ISTC; it does not take account of the size

10 S. Corsten, R. Fuchs (eds.), *Der Buchdruck im 15. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart, 1988–93, lists (p. 12) publications of maps beginning with Gottfried Reichhart in 1853 and ending with the still useful Robert Teichl, *Der Wiegendruck im Kartenbild*, second revised edition. Wiesbaden, 1964. To these should be added the maps in the BMC volumes preceding each geographical section: the German lands, Italy, France, the Netherlands, the Iberian Peninsula and 'Anglia Typographica'.

11 Philippe Nieto, 'Géographie des impressions européennes du XVe siècle', *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 118–21 (2003), pp. 125–74. [Société des Bibliophiles de Guyenne.]

(i.e. number of sheets) of each edition, while the print run remains unknown in all but a few exceptional cases. Thus a multi-volume work is counted the same as a small schoolbook or a broadsheet such as an indulgence. Obviously this inflates the apparent productivity of places that specialized in small-scale materials, for example Cologne in the early years, and later Leipzig and some printers in Rome. With time and patience, maps may be produced which are more refined in this respect.¹²

Another aspect may be difficult to correct. The many incunabula without an imprint date are recorded with an approximate date, or a range of dates, notoriously 'c. 1500' (which makes it so difficult to give a precise figure for the editions printed before 1501 recorded in ISTC). This causes the sequences of maps showing development over time to be slightly unreliable in this respect, but since the approximate datings are generally based on a long tradition of incunable studies this is not a major obstacle. Despite these reservations, Nieto's sequence of maps and the *Atlas of Early Printing* leave strong impressions of the dynamic force of printing once it had arrived. We can even be confident that the present maps are already successfully distinguishing the main centres of printing before 1501, for it is a characteristic of early printed books that they were produced in places that can be defined by pinpointing them on a map; 150 years of studying incunabula has resulted in near-certainty about where most of what survives was printed. That the rate of survival is an inherent uncertainty is, of course, a factor that permeates the entire subject.

It would appear that for illustrating the history of the trade in printed books as it began to develop in the fifteenth century maps would be particularly illuminating, for trade and trade routes bridged geographical spaces. But would they ever be able to represent realistically the volumes of trade, in analogy with Nieto's maps of production? A large proportion of the vast heritage of early inscriptions in printed books cannot offer the stability and reliability of the data on which visual representation has to be based. For these data we have to rely mainly on the reading and interpretation of early inscriptions, which may or may not lead to identification of locations, if not of individuals. The question of by what routes books reached their owners will become more intriguing as data about ownership increase.

12 The more recently developed *Atlas of Early Printing*, available online, is based on the same principle as Nieto's maps and should therefore be used with the same caution. In addition, its attractive animation fails to show instances where printing was not continued until the end of the fifteenth century.

Other evidence for the dissemination of printed books

Inscriptions of names do not necessarily relate to ownership, but users' notes can be enlightening for identifying at least a language area. There is substantial material, copy-specific evidence that may not find easily its way into the MEI database. Records of binding and of illumination form the basis for an entirely different approach. Tracing bindings associated with Peter Schoeffer and illumination by masters and rubricators in Mainz (discussed in Chapter 4 of the present volume) revealed that from about 1475 Schoeffer acted as agent for some of the great printing houses in Venice, Basel, Strasbourg and Nuremberg, and others. In effect he functioned for them as an *entrepôt*, from where copies of their books, after illumination and binding, were sold on.¹³ This is a pattern of trading for which to date very little archival documentation exists.¹⁴ Future research may well produce other instances of such patterns and connections, but this is certainly beyond the scope of the present plans.

Although the MEI project will reveal difficulties and limitations when used for creating an assessment of the fifteenth-century book trade, it will be immensely useful by assembling all archival as well as material evidence within one system, without the demarcations of modern European borders. This is so even if the distribution of such documentation is bound to be uneven, depending on rates of survival – of archives as well as printed books.¹⁵

¹³ See above pp. 95–102.

¹⁴ The business of Peter Drach in Speyer, as known from his ledger, has many similarities to Peter Schoeffer's. See for Ferdinand Geldner's, 'Das Rechnungsbuch' p. 36, n. 20. The list of bindings associated with Ludovicus Ravescot, rubricator, binder and printer in Leuven, suggests a business on the same lines as Schoeffer's, if perhaps not quite on the same scale. See Georges Colin, 'A new list of the bindings of Ludovicus Ravescot', in Martin Davies (ed.), *Incunabula: Studies in fifteenth-century printed books presented to Lotte Hellinga*. London, 1999, pp. 353–70. For the current investigation of a Venetian business by Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris see their 'Exporting books from Milan to Venice ... evidence from the *Ziornale* of Francesco de' Madiis. *La Bibliofilia* 116 (2014), pp. 121–148.

¹⁵ North of the Alps archival documents are particularly thin on the ground. A famous example is the list valued for Thomas Hunt in 1483, published by Falconer Madan as a supplement to his 'Day-Book of John Dorne, Bookseller in Oxford, A.D. 1520', in C.R.I. Fletcher (ed.), *Collectanea*, first series, 1885 [Oxford Historical Society], Part 3, pp. 71–8. See also Rudolf Juchhoff, 'Johannes de Westfalia als Buchhändler', *GbJb* 1954, pp. 133–6. Important additions to documenting the trade in Oxford were found by Paul Needham, 'Continental books sold in Oxford, c. 1480–3: Two trade records', in Martin Davies (ed.), *Incunabula* (see above, n. 14), pp. 243–70. The most extensive example so far known is Peter Drach's ledger, see above, n. 14.

Let us for now consider the practice of deducing patterns of dissemination from data assembled in the MEI database. The location of institutions – monasteries, cathedrals, churches – can usually be identified beyond doubt (although even here there are exceptions), but a characteristic of many early inscriptions is that the names written in the books are often not readily identifiable as individuals. The identity of a proportion of names can be established by research, as is admirably shown in, for example, the provenance index of the Bodleian and Walsh's Harvard catalogues and Margaret Nickson's notes in BMC XI. But when names occur with no other indication of any context in which to place them, they do not allow any further precision than indicating a language area (unless the name is latinized and becomes generic, e.g. 'Pistorius') and a fairly vague notion of period: 'Italian', 'German', 'French' – 'probably contemporary'. It is risky to reduce such information – often quite telling when observed as an individual item – into manageable data to be incorporated in a system of defined categories, especially when such data have to be processed on a large scale.

The cast list in the copy of *Aesopus Moralisatus*

The copy of the Antwerp Aesop mentioned in the beginning of this essay may serve to illustrate how difficult it can be to categorize the fragmentary information contained in such notes. First we have to question whether the names found in this book would even be included in a system such as the MEI database: four of the names are noted in BMC IX, but will the 11 volumes of BMC that were published without an index of provenances – let alone names in notes – be mined to include scattered and vague information in such a project? The index of provenances of vols. VIII and IX of BMC, privately published by Lilian Clark,¹⁶ is no help in this particular case; it is indeed even misleading, for she listed the first of the names (Theodorus Whyttonis) as owner and declares that the note was written in his hand. The other names occurring at various places in the book are not included in her list. However, on reading the inscription it is immediately clear that these four names did not belong to owners, nor were they readers. Who were they?

It is time to open the book. In the *Aesop*, the four names occur on leaf Az^b (the verso of the first page of text) in a note written in neat secretary script of the sixteenth century (Fig. 10.1); it lists four names and part of a fifth in what appears to be the casting list of a play:

16 Lilian G. Clark, *Collectors and Owners of Incunabula in the British Museum: Index of Provenances for Books printed in France, Holland and Belgium*. Private printed, 1962.

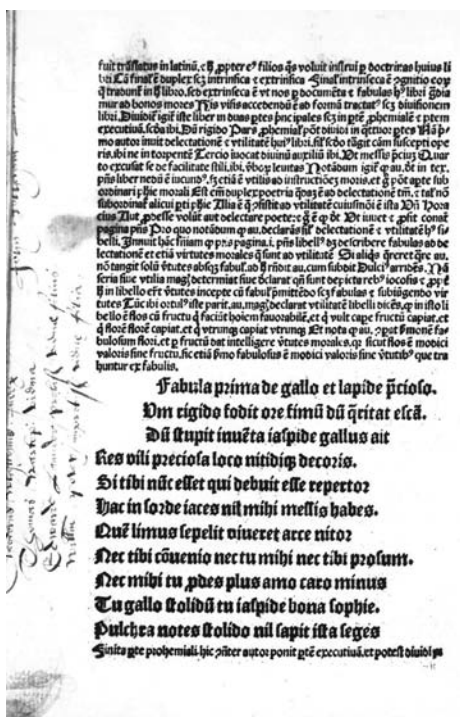


FIGURE 10.1

This copy of a schoolbook version of the fables of Aesop bears evidence of a lot of boredom and inattention. The performance of a play in Latin was planned. Someone less interested in the fables than in who was to play the very naughty daughter scribbled the dramatis personae in the margin. Five English boys were cast in the roles. This reveals that this schoolbook, printed in Antwerp in 1488, was used in England, but does not disclose the identity of the owner or the play, nor where this took place. Aesopus moralisatus, Antwerp, Gheraert Leeu, 1488.

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Theodorus Whyttonis / Judex

Thomas Wartop / Vidua

Edwarde Lauder / probissimus viduae filius

William povey / improbissima viduę filia

And to the right, cropped:

John [R ... h ... p ...?]

The note is written perpendicular to the printed text. On other pages we encounter some of the same names, this time in elegant Italic script which may well belong to the same period, and may indeed be written by the same writer if he was well versed in a different style of writing. In this hand some other names are written: 'K. Huntingdon', 'Edmunde Launder' and, again, 'Theodorus Whettonis'. Most of these notes are written disregarding the direction of the printed text. On the final page, along with Gheraert Leeu's printer's device featuring the castle of Antwerp, the same Italic hand wrote 'populo Romano

populo' and, within the printer's device on the final verso, the letters 'S' and 'B', separated by the tower of the castle and perhaps written at an earlier time. On leaf B2^b, also in the margin and loosely written in a different, less formal style of script, appears the name 'Richard pynson'. The fact that, like the other names, this is written at an angle to the printed text suggests that the name of the English printer is not meant to convey ownership, nor any other relation to the book at all. The angle of all these notes suggests a disassociation, a detachment from the text and even from the book as an object to be read: the book is merely perceived as offering space to be scribbled on by an idle hand. 'Richard Pynson' may well be a *probatio pennae*, idly copied from the imprint of another schoolbook. Time will have passed between the writing of several of these notes.

The four names beginning with Theodorus Whyttonis are found in an unusual context. What is beyond doubt is that they preserve a brief moment in time: somebody planning a theatrical performance. The material environment of the note leaves nothing to be desired: the colophon states place, printer and date (14 May 1488). But the names were written probably some 50 years after the book was printed; even if it had arrived in England in the late 1480s (along with many other books), it may well have changed hands several times before it was scribbled on. Seeking individuals behind those four names conjures up very large haystacks in which to hunt for a needle, or even a small bunch of needles, as we encounter in the combination of four English names.

It is not uncommon to find such scribbles in early printed books, in schoolbooks – perhaps never loved – or in books which had diminished in value over time. Books in the vernacular are particularly prone to such signs of indifference to their contents. In English incunabula in the British Library we find, for example, a note recording 'a sum of money borrowed of my sister', dated 1590 and written in Caxton's *Boethius*, published c. 1478.¹⁷ There are notes that include names which definitely do not belong to owners: 'John Benet ys a knave and so saye All fox',¹⁸ or 'Anthony Perrens yf you lyst to hear / Loveth ale but had rather have bere'.¹⁹ Needless to add that these notes have nothing to do with the text of Caxton's editions of the *Polychronicon* (c. 1482) or Gower's *Confessio amantis* (1483) in which they occur, nor can we identify the individuals who are mocked or slandered.

17 BMC XI, p. 112 (C.11.c.9).

18 BMC XI, p. 143 (1B. 55077), where 'fox' is glossed as 'folks'.

19 BMC XI, p. 129 (G. 6011).

Identifying a location for the names: Performance of Latin plays in English schools

The questions raised by the notes in the Aesop all revolve around identification. Who wrote the notes? Under what circumstances were they written, when and where? What is the play? There are no easy answers, nor as it turns out, any answers at all. Having drawn a blank with the obvious places to search for names of people who had learned Latin, i.e. lists of alumni in universities, it seemed best to see if there was any hope of identifying the play. The casting list, in Latin, suggests a comedy in the Terentian or Plautine vein, although the casting of the widow and her very naughty daughter, to be played in travesty opposite a judge and the upright son and a fifth role (which is cropped by a binder), do not match any of the *dramatis personae* in the canon of classical comedies. Perhaps the plan was to produce in Latin a short interlude or a farce.

Performance of plays in Latin

In the sixteenth century plays in Latin were written for performance at universities, the Inns of Court and in schools, forming a fascinating prelude to the great flourishing of English theatrical performance in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. But very little of this culture remains in print or in manuscript. Tragedies were sometimes preserved in print, but, as Frederick S. Boas observed, comedies were written for entertainment, and were thrown aside when they had served their turn.²⁰

Performances of Latin plays were not only for entertainment – though how hugely entertaining it must have been to play the *improbissima filia* and her mother, and Shakespeare's judges are highlights of histrionic potential. Reading dialogues aloud and performing them on stage served the didactic purpose of encouraging fluency and confidence in the use of Latin. Since the note is found in a schoolbook, we probably see here the planning for a performance at a school rather than at a university.

Surprisingly little is published about the performance of Latin plays in schools in the sixteenth century. As James W. Binns remarks in his *Intellectual culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (1990), the work of Frederick S. Boas on Latin plays was not followed up. In his monograph *Drama in the*

20 Frederick S. Boas, 'Early English Comedy', in *The Cambridge history of English and American literature*, Cambridge, 1907–23, vol. 5, pp. 102–3.

Tudor age (1914, repr. 1966), Boas keeps strictly to his self-imposed brief and writes only about universities. Fortunately he contributed a very enlightening chapter on theatrical performance to *The Cambridge history of English and American literature*,²¹ including two pages on the performance of Latin plays in the schools and at the universities. His short overview is complemented and documented in a monograph by T.H. Vail Motter, *The school drama in England* (1929), who for the early period relied principally on documentary sources such as accounts of expenses. According to both authors, the performance of Latin plays can be traced at St Paul's School in 1527 and in the same decade (if not earlier) at Eton. Later in the century boys at Westminster's St Peter's College performed for Elizabeth I and boys of Merchant Taylors' also appeared at court. Outside the London area there was an early tradition of performing plays at Winchester, and performances are also recorded at the King's School in Canterbury and at Shrewsbury. Headmasters of these schools took the lead and several are known as authors of plays – a few published, notably those by Nicholas Udall at Eton.²²

This information allows us at least to see the casting note as written by a master who was planning to direct a play; the formed handwriting appears to be that of an adult, while the note 'Richard Pynson' may at an earlier time have been scribbled by a previous owner, perhaps a pupil whose thoughts were drifting away from Aesop's fables. But Boas's observation on the scarcity of surviving plays is decidedly discouraging when it comes to identifying a comedy or a farcical interlude. W.W. Greg's list of Latin plays printed in England before 1660 includes none that would fit the *dramatis personae* listed in the note. Nor was the play necessarily of English origin. There are, for example, the Latin dialogues written c. 1530 by Joannes Ravisius Textor for the students at the Collège de Navarre in Paris, which were certainly known in England.²³ A trawl through these dialogues brings up short pieces with similar sets of characters (e.g. 'Pater, Filius, Uxor'), but, disappointingly, an 'improbissima filia' eludes all efforts.

A schoolmaster, then, along with unidentified boys and an unidentifiable play. There remains the identification of the school: where? The only school in the first half of the sixteenth century of which more is known about theatrical performance than a glimpse in an account book is the school at Hitchin in

21 See above, n. 20.

22 STC 24508.

23 Ravisius's *Dialogi aliquot festissimi* were published in 1581 by Henry Byrnesman in London (STC 20761), which suggests that these short plays were used for performance in England, possibly for a long time.

Hertfordshire where Ralph Radcliff was headmaster.²⁴ Radcliff (1518/19–59) is entered as ‘schoolmaster and playwright’ in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. His career as scholar and master in Latin and Greek had started at Jesus College, Cambridge. After the dissolution of the monasteries he was granted permission to open a school in 1539 at the former Carmelite priory in Hitchin. There he was visited by John Bale, who enjoyed staying with him for a few days. Bale, a dramatist himself (of plays in English), obviously took a keen interest in the arrangements at Hitchin where Latin plays were regularly performed by the boys for a lay public. In his bibliographical work *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytannie ... Catalogus*,²⁵ Bale describes how Radcliff had installed a real theatre in a long room on the ground floor of the former priory. There the youths in his care were taught to overcome undue shyness and, instead of stumbling over texts in Latin, to enunciate distinctly, clearly and elegantly. Bale lists ten plays that Radcliff had written himself, ranging from comedies and tragedies to plays on biblical subjects, but also notes adaptations of tales from the *Decameron* (Titus and Gisippus, Griseldis) and Melibeus from the *Canterbury Tales*. Again, there is nothing listed that remotely matches the cast of the widow, son, daughter and judge, and the material seems more elaborate than suggested by the four (or five) characters in the casting list. After the plays Bale lists a number of other works by Radcliffe, and concludes ‘Sunt & alia, quae in eius bibliotheca vidi, sed eorum tituli non occurrunt’.

Bale’s final words may appear to leave the door open for imagining a cache of short Latin interludes and comedies, but there is no evidence at all to link Theodorus Whetton and his friends to Radcliff and the school in Hitchin. So the closest we come to a location for the presence of Gheraert Leeu’s Aesopus, is as follows: a school, anywhere between Shrewsbury, Canterbury and Hitchin, at probably some time between c. 1525 and 1570, the heyday of performance in Latin. It remains probable, but uncertain, that the book was bought in England – like many others – not long after the date of its printing.

With so many unanswerable questions, the notes in the Aesop are bound to fall foul of statistical tables or maps to illustrate the book trade. However, we can still value them as a small but vivid relic of a mainly oral culture that has left very few lasting traces.

24 Radcliff is singled out both by Boas and Motter.

25 John Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytannie, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam vocant, Catalogus*. Basel, Joh. Oporinus, 1557, no. XCVIII, p. 700.

An Early Eighteenth-century Sale of Mainz Incunabula by the Frankfurt Dominicans

(in co-authorship with Margaret Nickson)

Most of the books which once formed the important medieval library of the Dominicans in Frankfurt am Main survive in the Universitäts-Bibliothek (UB) in that city. The monastery, founded in the thirteenth century, flourished chiefly in the fifteenth century during the years when printing was invented and developed in nearby Mainz. It is therefore not surprising that the library of the Dominicans was particularly rich in incunabula. Dr Vera Sack gives ample space to the history of this library in her introduction to the catalogue of incunabula in what was then the Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek.¹ With well over a third of the c. 2,700 incunabula at present in the collection (1,097 in all), the library of the Dominicans is its single largest historical constituent.² In addition to the items still in Frankfurt Dr Sack lists 25 books which she was able to trace in collections elsewhere: the British Library in London, the Royal Libraries in Copenhagen and Stockholm, the University Libraries in Cambridge, Uppsala and Strasbourg, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.³ With further publication of catalogues and examination of copies, items now in the Houghton Library at Harvard University and the Bodleian Library in Oxford can be added to her list.⁴

- 1 Kurt Ohly and Vera Sack (eds.), *Inkunabelkatalog der Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek und anderer öffentlicher Sammlungen in Frankfurt am Main*. Frankfurt am Main, 1966–7. (From here on quoted as Ohly-Sack). The historical introduction is signed by Dr Sack alone. On pp. XIII–XVII she discussed the history of the incunabula of the Frankfurt Dominicans.
- 2 Ohly-Sack (1966–7), p. 735. There are also 200 manuscripts from the same source. See Sigrid Krämer (ed.), *Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters, Teil 1: Aachen-Kochel*. Munich, 1989, pp. 144–5, with reference to Gerhard Powitz, *Die Handschriften des Dominikanerklosters und des Leonhardstifts in Frankfurt am Main*. Frankfurt am Main, 1968. Dr Krämer adds 17 manuscripts to those listed by Dr Powitz, including seven in other libraries.
- 3 Ohly-Sack, p. XIV.
- 4 The copies of Justinianus, *Corpus iuris* (Schoeffer, 1468) and of Thomas Aquinas, *Super quarto libro Sententiarum* (Schoeffer, 1469) in the Pierpont Morgan Library have the ownership inscriptions of c. 1500, see below. Walsh records the provenance of the copy at the Houghton Library of Albertus Magnus, *De muliere forti* (and other tracts), Cologne, Heinrich Quentell,

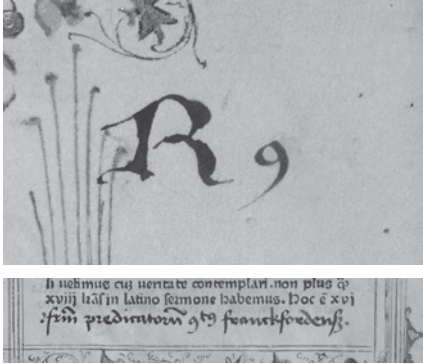


FIGURE 11.1 A-B

The Dominicans in Frankfurt am Main, in possession of a very large library, were persuaded in 1717 to part with some of their earliest printed books. These can be recognized by the original shelf-marks (Fig. 11.1a) and by the ownership inscriptions written by the librarian c. 1500 (Fig. 11.1b).

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, G.11966 FOL.

[A]1^a (DETAILS). © THE BRITISH LIBRARY

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In her survey Dr Sack discussed the accumulation of printed books from a variety of sources during the half-century from the 1470s to the Reformation. She also recorded losses and dispersal, in so far as it can be documented, from the seventeenth century onwards. For the seventeenth century she quoted sales in 1628, 1650 and 1685, all to book binders, who were probably simply seeking to acquire strong vellum for use in bindings. The sums of money involved were low, and we can therefore consider this in every respect as a depreciation in value of the materials.⁵ The next sale referred to by Dr Sack is quite different. The account books of the Frankfurt Dominicans record the sale in 1718 of four unspecified precious volumes for a price of 90 Gulden. Although very incomplete, this information can help us to identify at least three of the items sold, and to reveal some of the circumstances of the sale.

Generally it is not difficult to identify books from the Frankfurt Dominicans. An owner's inscription '*fratrum predicatorum conventus franckfordensis*' was written uniformly in the copies, probably c. 1500, by the librarian Johannes Lenglin, who was very actively engaged with the monastery's library (see Fig. 11.1B). His inscriptions show only some variation in the abbreviations used. Many books with this inscription still have an early shelf-mark, probably of the early sixteenth century, consisting of a capital letter followed by an Arabic figure (Fig. 11.1A). In the middle of the eighteenth century further ownership

7 May 1499 (1STC ia00286000, GW 699, Walsh 463) as '*Conventus francofurdiani ordinis Predicatorum*'. Apparently this quarto edition did not have an early shelf-mark. The copy of the *Missale Dominicarum*, Venice, Octavianus Scotus, 24 December 1482 at the Bodleian Library (1STC im00636000, GW M24176, Bod-inc M-246) has the inscription '*Fratrum predicatorum franckfordie*'. Neither of these two ownership marks conforms to the uniform inscriptions written by Johannes Lenglin, c. 1500, see below.

5 Ohly-Sack, p. xvi.

marks were added by the librarian Franz Jacquin, but obviously these are not present in the items sold in 1718.⁶

In 1911 Seymour de Ricci noted that a two-volume vellum copy of the Mainz *Catholicon*, now in the British Library and once owned by the Frankfurt Dominicans, had at one time been part of the Harleian library.⁷ Dr Sack found that another book had the same provenance, a vellum copy of Clemens v, *Constitutiones*, printed in Mainz by Peter Schoeffer in 1467, now in the Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen.⁸ She then surmised that these works were two of the four important books sold in 1718. Neither copy contains any internal evidence of ownership by the Harleys, either Robert, first earl of Oxford, or his son and successor to the title, Edward. Their identification as Harleian copies is based on recognition of their splendid red morocco gold-tooled bindings as the work of known Harleian binders. As a result of research published by Howard M. Nixon in 1975, the binding of the *Catholicon* can be identified as the work of Christopher Chapman and that of the Clemens *Constitutiones* of Thomas Elliott.⁹ The two volumes of the *Catholicon* bear the early shelf-marks R. 9 and R. 10, the *Constitutiones* P. 4.

A neighbour on the Dominicans' shelves can now be shown to have been another item destined for the Harleian collection. A vellum copy of Bonifacius VIII, *Liber VI Decretalium*, printed in Mainz by Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer in 1465, has the same ownership inscription of the Frankfurt Dominicans and the shelf-mark P. 3. It was also bound by Christopher Chapman in gold-tooled red morocco, and is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.¹⁰ This volume does contain an internal indication of Harleian provenance as the price of £25 was pencilled on the fly-leaf; it can be recognized as written by the bookseller Thomas Osborne after he had bought the Harleian printed books in 1742.

A great deal is known about the acquisition of items, both manuscript and printed, for the Harleian library during the time that Humfrey Wanley,

6 Ohly-Sack, p. xvi.

7 Seymour de Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence (1445–1467)*. Mainz, 1911. [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft 8–9.], No. 90.1. De Ricci gives the subsequent provenance as Thomas Osborne (his sale catalogue of the Harleian printed books, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae* 1, 5010) – Gros de Boze – de Cotte – Gaignat – Duc de la Vallière – Count MacCarthy – Grenville – British Museum. In the British Library the shelf-mark of this copy, printed on vellum, is G.11966-67. See BMC 1, pp. 39–40 and see above, Fig. 5.2 and colour illustration.

8 Madsen 1209. *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, 10193 or 3258 (these two entries may refer to the same copy).

9 Howard M. Nixon, 'Harleian bindings'. In R.W. Hunt *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in the book trade in honour of Graham Pollard*. Oxford, 1975, pp. 153–94.

10 CIBN B-692, Rés. Vélins 375. *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, vol. 2, 10192.

librarian to Robert Harley, kept his Diary.¹¹ Unfortunately there is a gap in the entries between July 1716 and January 1720, so that the Diary cannot be used to show whether the three Mainz incunabula were acquired directly for Harley from the Frankfurt Dominicans. That this was indeed the case, however, is suggested by the inclusion of all three in Wanley's 1721 catalogue of Edward Harley's old Latin printed books.¹² One of Harley's chief suppliers of manuscripts and printed books from abroad at this period was Nathaniel Noel, who obtained many of his prestigious offerings through the manuscript and book buying activities of a peripatetic resident on the continent, George Suttie.¹³ Wanley described Suttie in 1726 as Noel's agent, but Suttie also issued his own catalogues and sometimes acted on his own behalf.¹⁴

Very little is known about Suttie, apart from what can be gleaned from Wanley's Diary and his correspondence.¹⁵ Dark hints by Wanley concerning Suttie's reputation raise the possibility that his long sojourn abroad may not have been entirely voluntary. In January 1725 Wanley gossiped to Noel that Suttie was 'said to live a vagrant & idle Life in Paris, without doing any business at all, for above a year past'. In August of the same year Noel set out for France, at least partly to look for Suttie, while in London Wanley reflected that 'this Man has mended of late Years, and may, if God will give him ... Contrition, & his Saving Grace, obtain Pardon from the most High'. However, on 9 November Noel wrote to Wanley that Suttie had been 'long guilty of private Gaming, undone himself, and cannot leave Paris before his Debts are paid ...'. He is last heard of in the spring of 1726 when Noel, having extracted a promise that Suttie would give up gaming, was proposing a joint continental tour for 'half a year'.

Before his weaknesses got the better of him, Suttie appears to have been for a considerable time a knowledgeable and industrious pursuer of manuscripts and printed books, sometimes producing more than 20 catalogues a year; it was due to his efforts that Edward Harley obtained some of his most

11 C.E. and R.C. Wright (eds.), *The diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715–1726*. 2 vols. London, 1966. [The Bibliographical Society.]

12 BL, Harley MS 7627A, fol. 10^r: 'Catholicon liber ... Magunt. 1460. fol. membr. 2 Voll!'; fol. 10^v: 'Clementinae Constitutiones ... cum Gloss. Magunt. per Petr. Schoiffer, 1476. membr. fol. mag!'; fol. 12^v: 'Decretalium Sextus Liber cum Glossa Magunt. per Petr. Schoiffer. 1465. fol. membr'.

13 For an account of the London bookseller Noel see Wanley's *Diary* (see above, n. 11), p. 457, and C.E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani*. London, 1972, pp. 253–7.

14 He sold two manuscripts originating from the Burgundian court (BL. Harley MSS.2897, 2697) to Edward Harley in 1715 (*Diary*, p. 13).

15 P.L. Heyworth (ed.), *Letters of Humfrey Wanley: palaeographer, Anglo-Saxonist, Librarian 1672–1726*. Oxford, 1989.

spectacular acquisitions. His letters and catalogues were sent regularly by Noel to Wanley, so that the latter could select from them any items which he thought should be acquired by Harley. The letters and catalogues are no longer extant, but Wanley's notes of his selections, made on scraps of paper, were preserved in the Harley family archives, now in the British Library.¹⁶ From these extracts it is possible to piece together some of the circumstances surrounding Harley's acquisition of the three Frankfurt Dominican books.

Suttie's peregrinations in search of books in 1718 may be partly reconstructed from the dates and places mentioned in Wanley's notes.¹⁷ From 10 February to 17 March he was in Strasbourg and by 9 April he was in Mainz. By this time he must have visited the Dominicans in Frankfurt, for the books listed in a letter to Noel from Mainz, dated 9 April, include the Clemens v, *Constitutiones*.¹⁸ The Boniface was listed 'in some of Mr Sutties Papers communicated to me [Wanley] by Mr Noel, 13 July 1718',¹⁹ and the *Catholicon* was referred to in a letter sent by Suttie to Noel from Würzburg, dated 14 July.²⁰ Both these latter items appeared again in a 'General Catalogue' sent by Suttie to Noel and received by Wanley on 12 September; they were afterwards recorded by Wanley as being part of a consignment of books which arrived at Harley's country seat at Wimpole on 5 February 1719. In spite of the fragmentary nature of this evidence, surviving on scraps of paper, there seems little reason to doubt that Suttie had obtained the Clemens, Boniface and *Catholicon* from the Frankfurt Dominicans in the spring of 1718, or that they were bought from him by Noel on Harley's behalf in the same year.

This enables us then to identify three of the four valuable printed books sold by the Dominican in 1718. But what of the fourth book recorded in their accounts? The *Catholicon* was certainly already bound in two volumes while in the Dominicans' library, as the ownership inscriptions and the shelf-marks R. 9 and R. 10 show. It is thus possible that these three works alone were counted

16 BL, Add. MSS. 70001–70523. The scraps of paper are referred to by C.E. Wright in his edition of the *Diary* as being among the Welbeck Harleyana, but are now included in BL, Add. MS. 70488.

17 For a reconstruction of Suttie's journeys see Wright's introduction to the *Diary* (see above, n. 11), pp. XLVIII–XLIX.

18 'Institutiones Clementinae. Mogunt. per Peter Schoiffer de Gerentzheim. 1467. fol. max. membr. Colord Letters.fine'. Cf above, n. 12.

19 'Sextus Decretalium Liber cum Glossa D. bernardi. Mogunt. per Jo. Fust & P. de Ger. 1465 Velum.fol.large. Illum'. Cf. above, n. 10.

20 'Catholicon, on large Parchmt. 1460.2 Voll. Illuminated. fine'. Cf. above, n. 12. Wanley copied the date of the letter as 1716, but this is an evident error in view of the inclusion of the same item in the 12 September excerpt.

as four volumes. But it is also possible that Suttie bought at the same time a fourth treasure, most probably another early Mainz book. There was no shortage of such items in the Dominicans' library, and Suttie would have been well aware of their attraction for noble collectors such as Harley and the Earl of Sunderland. If so, however, it cannot yet be identified with certainty, although there are several copies with ownership marks of the Frankfurt Dominicans which could be possible candidates.

Librarian Lenglin's ownership inscription is present in the vellum copy of Justinianus, *Institutiones*, printed by Peter Schoeffer in 1468 and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library; it was acquired (at an unknown date, but later than 1718) by the Frankfurt medical doctor Johann Christian Senckenberg (1707–72).²¹ This copy can be identified with certainty, since it bears the spectacular feature of the coat of arms of the Holzhausen and Glauburg family. Also in the Pierpont Morgan Library is a copy on paper of Thomas Aquinas, *Super IV libro Sententiarum*, printed by Peter Schoeffer in 1469. This is still in its original binding and features the Dominicans' early shelf-mark, E. 6.²² In addition to Lenglin's inscription it has a note to the same effect in a later eighteenth-century hand, which excludes it from a possible change of ownership in 1718.

A far more serious candidate is a copy of Thomas Aquinas, *Summa* P. II.II, printed by Peter Schoeffer in 1467. There is a copy on paper in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, with the Lenglin ownership inscription and the shelf-mark I. 31.²³ This copy, in a red morocco binding with gold-tooled spine decoration, is not bound by one of the binders working for the Harleian library. If this book had been sold by the Dominicans in 1718 and subsequently been offered to the Harleian collection, there was good reason for it being rejected: by 1718 Edward Harley already owned a vellum copy of the Mainz *Summa*, which

21 ISTC ij00506000, PML, ChL ff13, Goff J-506. Dr Schenckenberg established a foundation in Frankfurt in 1763. In 1869 a list of incunabula was published in which the Justinianus can be identified. Only part of the books in this list remains in public collections in Frankfurt. See Ohly-Sack, pp. x and 688.

22 ISTC it00168000, PML, ChL ff14, Goff T-168.

23 ISTC it00209000. CIBN T-175, Rés. D 2637. The binding of this copy suggests that it may have been owned by Loménie de Brienne and is the same as appeared in 1791 in his sale (Laire, p. 65, no. 3) which was sold to the London bookseller Payne. The library stamp indicates that it was acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale before 1830. Apart from the early sixteenth-century shelf-mark I.31, the copy has a large shelf-mark 'No. A.16', which could well have been written in the eighteenth century, thus suggesting a later date of sale by the Dominicans. We are very grateful to Denise Hillard for her opinion on the provenance of this copy.

he had splendidly bound by Jane Steel, who was paid for this work in 1717.²⁴ The copy is now in the Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen, donated in 1787 with the collection of Count Otto Thott.²⁵

A further possible candidate is another early Mainz book, a copy of Peter Schoeffer's Gregorius edition of 1473, printed partly on paper and partly on vellum. This book was mentioned in Wanley's notes on Suttie's letters of 1718.²⁶ It was listed among the books received at Wimpole on 5 February 1719 and must be the part paper, part vellum copy described by Wanley in his 1721 catalogue of Harley's Latin books. Only two copies answering to this description are listed in the *Gesamtkatalog*; one is in the Library of Congress and the other is the former Doheny copy, subsequently in the library of St. Mary's of the Barrens in Perryville, Missouri, and sold at Christie's, London, 14 December 2001 (lot 32). However, neither of these copies has marks of ownership of the Frankfurt Dominicans, nor any indication of having once belonged to the Harleian library. The identity of the fourth item (if there was one) remains unsolved.

The reason why Wanley and Harley were eager to acquire these books for the Harleian library is clear. Three of them at least, possibly all four, were monumental works, outstanding witnesses to the early years of printing in Mainz, preserved in a library not far from the place where they were produced. A collector in search of the origins of printing could not do better. Here the modern world met the remnants of the medieval world and its way of thinking, for in the friars' decision to sell these books we can detect, apart from need of money, a weighing of values other than those of the collector. Fortunately the collection as it is still preserved in Frankfurt allows us to perceive what they kept. In each case they had a number of incunabula editions of the same text. They owned, for example, at least five other editions of Boniface's *Liber Sextus Decretalium*.²⁷ Of the *Catholicon* they had two later editions printed in

24 This was probably the Thomas Aquinas bought from Pembroke Hall, Cambridge in November 1716 (see Wanley's correspondence, ed. Heyworth, p. 359). Jane Steel's bill was dated 30 April 1717; see Nixon, *Harleian bindings* (1975, see above, n. 9), pp. 160–3.

25 Madsen 3931, Thott, vol. 7, 404.

26 ISTC ig00447000. GW 11451. For Wanley's note see BL Add. MS. 70488. The Gregorius is included in the list dated 13 July and in the 'General Catalogue' received by Wanley on 12 September, where an entry for the 'Decretalia Gregorii Pape ... half velum, half paper' follows immediately after the Boniface discussed above.

27 The other Boniface incunabula owned by the Dominicans are Ohly-Sack 666 (Basel, 1477, GW 4860); 670 (Venice, 1484/5, GW 4873); 671 (Venice, 1489, GW 4883); 674, (Strasbourg, 1491, GW 4887); 676 (Basel, 1494, GW 4890; this is Froben's edition with a number of additional texts).

the 1480s;²⁸ of the Clemens *Constitutiones* three later editions, two of them conveniently bound with Boniface.²⁹ And of the Thomas Aquinas of 1467 – if that was the book they sold – they also had a duplicate of the same edition in a Mainz binding,³⁰ as well as at least five other editions of the same text.³¹ If, on the other hand, it was the Gregorius, they would have had at least one, possibly two copies of an edition printed in Basel.³² In obliging the taste of noble English collectors for these handsome witnesses to the achievements of the earliest printers, the friars were not substantially depriving themselves of their intellectual heritage.

28 Ohly-Sack 354 (Strasbourg, not after 1482, GW 3186); 355 (Nuremberg, 1483, GW 3187).

29 Ohly-Sack 885 (Venice, 1484, GW 7102); 886 (Venice, 1489, GW 7106); 888 (Strasbourg, 1491, GW 7107); Ohly-Sack 676–7 (Basel, Joh. Froben, 1494, GW 4890).

30 Ohly-Sack 2763; binding Kyriss 160, cf. above, Chapter 4, Appendix 1, no. 8/I.

31 Ohly-Sack 2762 (Strasbourg, not after 1463, ISTC it00208000, GW M46490); 2764 (Basel, not after 1474, ISTC it00214000, GW M 46480); 2765 (Venice, 1479, ISTC it00215000, GW M46498); 2766–7 (Venice, 1480, ISTC it00216000, GW M 46491); 2768 (Venice, 1491, it00217000, GW M 46492).

32 Ohly-Sack 1311–12, GW 11488 (Basel, Joh. Froben, 1494).

A Caxton Tract-volume from Thomas Rawlinson's Library

(in co-authorship with Margaret Nickson)

Antiquarian interest in William Caxton first manifested itself late in the seventeenth century, and that of collectors of his works followed almost immediately in its footsteps. From early in the eighteenth century we can observe the development of new patterns of behaviour with regard to the extant material as it was acquired for large collections, cleaned, repaired, rebound and often made to look 'as new'. In this culture of new love for antiquarian books, items which are bibliographically distinct were often treated as separate entities, and taken out of the original larger volumes in which they had survived. Thus much evidence for what readers and owners in the fifteenth century had chosen to put together was thoroughly disturbed, obliterating practically all traces of the cultural patterns of the time in which those books were printed. In the nature of things, the work of those printers most avidly collected suffered most.

The practice of physically dividing material in order to reflect units of bibliographical description continued until well into the twentieth century – if ever it was wholly discontinued.¹ For Caxton, a careful record of these procedures is found in Seymour de Ricci's *Census of Caxtons*,² which lists the successive ownership of all Caxton's works known at the time, arranged by editions and copies. It is an outstanding achievement, not as yet satisfactorily brought up to date, but it is not particularly helpful for establishing what was at one time

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- 1 For a discussion including recent examples see Felix de Marez Oyens, 'ISTC and provenance'. In Lotte Hellinga and John Goldfinch (eds.), *Bibliography and the study of 15-century civilisation: Papers presented at a colloquium at the British Library, 26–28 September 1984*. London, 1987, pp. 216–7. An observation by Margaret M. Smith should, however, also be heeded: '... the forces in the nineteenth century leading to disbinding are intrinsically as interesting to the historian as the fifteenth-century forces that had brought the editions together in a composite volume'. See her review in *Fine Print* 12/2 (1987), p. 104 of Paul Needham, *The printer & the pardoner*. Washington DC, 1986. In Appendix B Needham listed copies of Caxton editions included in composite volumes known to him at the time; no. 15 only lists the four items now in the British Library. In BMC XI a list of composite volumes of English incunabula in the British Library is given on p. 476 under the heading 'Tract-volumes'.
 - 2 Seymour de Ricci, *A census of Caxtons*. Oxford, 1909. [The Bibliographical Society Illustrated Monographs 15.] From here on quoted as 'De Ricci (C)'.

bound together in one volume. Reconstructing the composition of original volumes may bring us closer to their first readers and owners. The present study of one such volume shows how its constituent parts later came to be dispersed over several collections, in different guises, while their subsequent owners may have done their best to remove all traces of earlier history.

The tale begins with a witness who saw an original Caxton volume when it was still almost intact, before it was disturbed by one of the first collectors of early printing in England. Among the Bagford papers in the Harleian collection of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Library is a notebook, in which John Bagford recorded about 1714 the contents of a volume belonging to the book collector Thomas Rawlinson.³ With the eccentricities in spelling and transcription which are characteristic for him he noted:

- [1] Chaycers workes to dii
 - [2] with the Booke of fame all he could see
 - [3] The Morale proverbs of Christ in four leaves finished in ye severe season
 - [4] Mr Alaayn Character Letter why come you not to Court translated by Will Caxton in Rime 6 leaves
 - [5] The Life of St. Wenefred in folio 13 leaves & 3 in Latin no date
 - [6] The Craft to know will to dye translated out French by Wm Caxton ye 15 of June 13 leaves Diiiii CLXXX ... 1480
 - [7] Vergeles Eneydos Imprinted in ye first yeare of ye Rayne of King Henry ye 7 Diiiii in folio ... 1490
- Thise date must be a mestake for he began his rayne ... 1480

All these titles can be recognized as productions from Caxton's press, and all, except 'Chaycers workes to dii' can be identified among the Caxtons listed in the posthumous sales catalogues of Rawlinson's books.⁴ They appear in these, however, as separate items, so it is reasonable to suppose that the volume had been broken up and the individual items rebound separately before his death in 1723, and in any case before the sales, the first of which took place in 1727. Three of the books came to the British Museum with King George III's library:

3 Harley ms 5979, fol. 87^v. The date is suggested by a note on fol. 65^v recording a purchase in 1714.

4 The posthumous sales of Rawlinson's books are discussed by Brian Enright in 'The later auction sales of Thomas Rawlinson's library, 1727–1734.' *The Library*, 5th ser. 11 (1956), pp. 23–40, 103–13. See also Seymour de Ricci, *English collectors of books & manuscripts (1530–1930) and their marks of ownership*. Cambridge, 1930 (reprints London, 1960 and New York, 1969), p. 46. For a census of copies of the auctions before 1800 discussed in this article see A.N.L. Munby and Lenore Coral, *British book sale catalogues 1676–1800: A union list*. London, 1977.

The Book of Fame, Alain Chartier's *Curial* and the *Life of St Winifred*. The *Eneydos* was reunited with its former companions in 1799 when it was bequeathed to the British Museum library by the Rev. C.M. Cracherode (see below).⁵ All four were foliated in the same characteristic manner in an early sixteenth-century hand (see Fig. 12.1). One of these, *The Book of fame*, bore on the first recto Rawlinson's collation mark 'C & P',⁶ and the foliation of the four volumes indicated the same order of items as that followed in Bagford's note. Here, without doubt, was the nucleus of the Rawlinson tract-volume.

To the four parts in the British Library we have been able to add:

Christine de Pisan's *Moral proverbs*, in the John Rylands University Library, Manchester⁷

The Arte and Crafte to knowe well to dye in the Bibliothèque nationale de France⁸

Finally, to the seven items listed by Bagford we can make one substantial addition:

Christine de Pisan, *Fayttes of Armes*, in the Beinecke Library, Yale University.⁹

The foliation in parts of this volume is much washed, and therefore not as clear as in the other items, but it is nevertheless unmistakable. Presumably it ran originally from 200 to 340, but not all of this is visible in the book's present condition;¹⁰ it is the last in the sequence of foliation, and since Bagford did not

5 Respectively *Book of Fame*: BMC XI, pp. 136–7 (C.10.b.13), Duff 86; *Curial*: BMC XI, p. 135 (C.10.b.17), Duff 84; *St Winifred*: BMC XI, pp. 151–2 (C.10.b.19), Duff 144; *Eneydos*: BMC XI, pp. 174–5 (IB.55.135), Duff 404.

6 See David Pearson, *Provenance research in book history: A handbook*. London, 1994, p. 22.

7 Duff 95, JRL 12025.

8 CIBN A-603; BMC XI, p. 175, Duff 35.

9 Beinecke Library *Zi + 9677; BMC XI, pp. 166–8, Duff 96, Goff C-472.

10 With the help of an ultraviolet lamp, enough can be read on 79 leaves (out of 139) to identify the number. The leaves were cropped in rebinding and the last digit is often missing. The first visible figure is 204 on A5^a. The two unsigned leaves of the Tabula of chapters of Book I were presumably already missing at the time of the foliation. The foliation can therefore be taken to have run from 200 (on A1^a) to 340, which can be read on S5^a. The final leaf (S6) is blank. There would therefore have been a gap of two figures between 197 and 200, as also occurs between other constituent parts. The bookseller Longman must have supplied the present two preliminary leaves after buying the book in or after 1814.

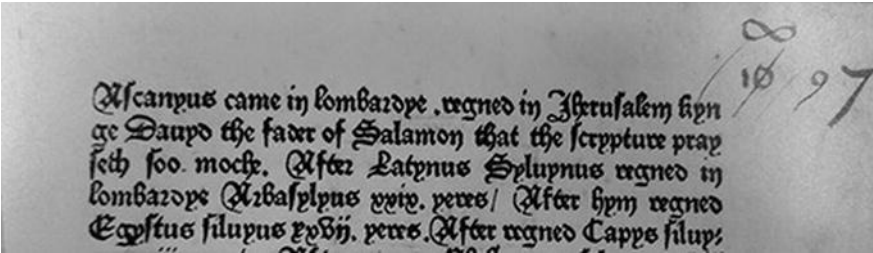


FIGURE 12.1 *The volume consisting of 340 leaves was foliated throughout early in the sixteenth century in a style that makes them immediately recognizable. One of the still extant seven items in the original volume is Virgilius Maro, Eneydos, in the translation of William Caxton. Westminster, William Caxton [1490]. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, IB.55135, FOL. L7^a (DETAIL). © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED 2017.*

include it in his list we must assume that at the time he wrote this note, c. 1714, it had already parted company with the seven items preceding it.

It has not been possible to trace the first item in Bagford's list, 'Chaycers workes to dii'. Since all the other works can be identified as books produced during Caxton's lifetime, this is presumably a fragment of the second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, Duff 88, which unlike the first edition has signatures; this was possibly the imperfect copy offered at Rawlinson's sale of 13 November 1732, lot 2084. The later ownership of this fragment is unknown.

The surviving foliation shows the composition of the volume from at least the early sixteenth century. In addition, on the first leaf of printed text in each of six of the constituent parts their titles are written, all in the same seventeenth-century hand; this confirms that the parts were still together about a century later.

To sum up the composition of the volume:

	Duff, ISTC	Location of copy	Foliation	
[1] probably <i>Canter-</i>	Duff 88	De Ricci (C)		
<i>bury Tales</i> second	ISTC	De Ricci (C) 22.13,	–	
edition [1483]	ic00432000	presumably now		
		lost		
[2] G. Chaucer, <i>Book</i>	Duff 86	BL	40–67	ms title
<i>of Fame</i> , [1483]	ic00430500	BMC XI, pp. 136–7		
		De Ricci (C) 22.13		
[3] Chr. de Pisan,	Duff 95	JRUL	70–73	ms title
<i>Moral Proverbs</i> ,	ic00473000	De Ricci (C) 27.2		
1478				

[4] A. Chartier, <i>Curial</i> , [1483]	Duff 84 ic00429000	BL BMC XI, p. 135 De Ricci (C) 20.1	76–81	ms title
[5] <i>Life of St Winifred</i> , [1484]	Duff 414 iw00062000	BL BMC XI, pp. 151–2 De Ricci (C) 100:2	84–98	ms title
[6] <i>Art and Craft to know well to die</i> [c. 1490]	Duff 35 ia01140300	BnF, CIBN A-603 De Ricci (C) 6:2	101–12	ms title
[7] <i>Eneydos</i> , [1490]	Duff 404 iv00199000	BL BMC XI, 174–5 De Ricci (C) 96:7	115–97	ms title
[8] Chr. de Pisan, <i>Fayttes of Armes</i> , 1489	Duff 96 ic00472000	Beinecke Library De Ricci (C) 28.40	[200] 202–340	first two leaves supplied and in- laid, no evidence for title

In the *Book of Fame* a note on leaf b8^a, written in a hand of the late sixteenth century, provides an indication of association, if not of ownership, which presumably applies to the whole volume:

Edwardus berisford, essioniatu per Anthonium Foster de comitatu [...].

An Edward Berisford, fifth son of Christopher Berisford of Leadenham, Lincolnshire, was admitted to Gray's Inn on 26 May 1587, having matriculated from Pembroke College, Cambridge as a Bachelor of Arts in 1584–5.¹¹ It is, of course, impossible to decide on the basis of what appears to be a pen-trial of a legal formula whether this indicates that Edward Berisford himself wrote the note and owned the book. At the very least, however, it indicates that in this period the volume was in the hands of someone in the legal profession, and with some connection to Berisford.

That all but one of the items in the volume seen by Bagford can be traced reflects that by the early eighteenth century they were recognized as being of great antiquarian interest; they therefore stood a good chance of finding

11 J. and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A biographical list from the earliest times to 1900*, 10 vols. Cambridge, 1922–54, vol. 1, p. 138. J. Foster (ed.), *Register of admissions to Grays Inn, 1521–1880*. London, 1889, p. 71.

their way into major collections in England and even beyond. The parts of the volume broken up before 1725 or 1727 were dispersed by different routes. We now propose to follow these, noting how their appearance changed during their often complicated journeys while they continued to display their characteristic foliation.

The *Book of Fame* includes most information in the form of marks made during its course through collections. Its fly-leaf containing Thomas Rawlinson's collation mark 'C & P', followed by the number 950, written later, indicates that this was lot 950 in one of the sales of his collection, on 16 October 1727. It was there acquired for Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, and it appears in a list drawn up after the Rawlinson sale of the purchases made for the Harleian library and the prices paid for them.¹² A further witness for the presence of this item in the Harleian library is a title written on the fly-leaf by Harley's librarian, Randal Minshull.¹³ This title, like many others in Minshull's hand in Harleian copies of English incunabula, was the model for his entry in the catalogue of the collection he drew up about 1720.¹⁴

After Harley's death his collection of about 50,000 printed books was acquired in 1742 by the bookseller Thomas Osborne; the *Book of Fame* was listed in his *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae* (1744), Vol. III, p. 242, as item 3542 (misprinted as 2542), with reference to a manuscript note 'written in a Modern Hand' on leaf 12 verso; this note is, in fact, in the hand of Joseph Ames who had obtained access to the Harleian Caxtons in the early 1740s. Osborne's price '10-6' is written in pencil on the fly-leaf. The volume was acquired from Osborne by James West, and his 'Ames 38' is written on the fly-leaf. It was sold at West's sale, 29 March 1773, lot 2281, to John Ratcliffe, whose collation mark 'Perfect' is written on the verso of the fly-leaf. Subsequently we find the book at Ratcliffe's sale of 27 March 1776, lot 1014, where it was bought by the book dealer George Nicol for King George III.

Two more parts of the volume were likewise acquired for the Harleian collection from the Rawlinson sales. Christine de Pisan, *Moral Proverbs* and Alain Chartier, *Curial* – the first in the same sale (lot 791) as the *Book of Fame*, the *Curial* five weeks later on 22 November 1727 as lot 2869. Both were included in Minshull's catalogue (fol. 57^v) and both can be identified in the Osborne catalogue.¹⁵ Then the two books separated, for the *Moral Proverbs* disappeared

12 British Library, Portland Papers, Add. ms.70466 (unfoliated).

13 De Ricci (C) (see above, n. 2) wrongly identified the copy now in the John Rylands University Library (De Ricci 21.2) as the Harleian copy.

14 British Library, Add. ms. 19775, fol. 59^r.

15 Osborne (1744), vol. 3, nos. 3507 and 1549.

from view until it came into the Spencer collection, where its presence was recorded by Dibdin in 1815 in his *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*.¹⁶ The volume was bound for Spencer in blue morocco by C. Hering. The Spencer collection was acquired for the John Rylands Library in 1892.

The *Curial* continued to share its fate with the *Book of Fame*; it was also acquired from Osborne by James West from whose sale (lot 2284) it went to Ratcliffe, who wrote 'Perfect' on the fly-leaf; at the Ratcliffe sale (1770, lot 1422) it was bought by Nicol for George III.

The *Life of St Winifred*, sold in the Rawlinson sale of 16 October 1727 (lot 953) also came to the library of George III through the collection of James West, where Joseph Ames had seen it by 1749; he mentions it in his *Typographical Antiquities* of that year.¹⁷ We do not know from what source West acquired it.¹⁸ At West's sale (lot 1864) it was bought by John Ratcliffe, and from his sale (lot 1422) it was acquired by Nicol for George III. Once in the royal collection all three volumes were separately rebound in the king's private bindery at Windsor in straight-grained red morocco, gold-tooled with his arms.

The *Eneydos*, now in the British Library, was sold either at Rawlinson's sale of 16 October 1727 (lot 621) or on 21 April 1729 (lot 1050); in both cases the buyer is unrecorded. When Joseph Ames saw it, Sir Peter Thompson owned it;¹⁹ his signature appears on the front fly-leaf. Later James West acquired it and wrote 'Ames 32' on the same fly-leaf. In 1773 it was bought in the West sale (lot 1190) by John Ratcliffe, who added the word 'Perfect' to the notes on this leaf. In the catalogue of the Ratcliffe sale two copies of the *Eneydos* are listed: lot 1015, bought by the bookseller Thomas Payne, and lot 1423, bought by Nicol. As the latter is surely the copy purchased on behalf of George III (now BL C.10.b.12), it follows that lot 1015 must have been the Rawlinson copy; this was sold by Payne in the same year, 1776, to the Rev. C.M. Cracherode, who added his monogram with that date to the inscriptions on the fly-leaf. At an earlier date the volume had been bound in mottled brown calf with some gold tooling by Christopher Chapman. Cracherode, who was fastidious about bindings and had most of his

16 *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, vol. 4, pp. 218–24.

17 Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*. London, 1749, p. 70.

18 De Ricci (C) 100.1 wrongly identified the Harleian copy as acquired from the Rawlinson sale in October 1727. A copy was already in the Harleian collection by that time, as shown by a record of payment for binding the Harleian copy in March 1726/7 which is preserved in the Portland Papers (see above, n. 12). See H.M. Nixon, 'Harleian bindings'. In R.W. Hunt *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in the book trade in honour of Graham Pollard*. Oxford 1973, p. 166.

19 Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 53.

purchases beautifully rebound, merely added his arms on the front cover.²⁰ He bequeathed his collection to the British Museum in 1799.

Less is known of the successive owners of *The Arte and Crafte to knowe well to dye*, now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, after it was sold at the Rawlinson sale of 16 October 1727, lot 2667, to an unknown buyer. Later Mark Cephas Tutet owned it, in whose sale, on 15–18 February 1786, it was sold (lot 329) to the bookseller Thomas Payne. He in turn must have sold it soon afterwards to the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris.

The pedigree of the copy of the *Fayttes of Armes* in the Beinecke Library is by far the most complicated. It has been washed, probably in the nineteenth century, and the foliation is therefore not as clearly visible as in other parts of the original volume. Nevertheless there is enough of the foliation visible to feel confident that it originally belonged to the composite volume, although apparently it had already been separated from the rest of the volume by 1714, when Bagford listed its contents. There is no trace of ownership in the book itself until its acquisition from Bernard Quaritch by the Earl of Crawford.²¹

An earlier trail can be pursued, albeit conjecturally. The book may perhaps be identified as lot 476 in the Rawlinson sale of 22 November 1727, where it was sold for 11 shillings to John Blackb[o]urne (1683–1741) for the Harleian library. This is noted in a copy of the Rawlinson catalogue in the Bodleian Library. That the purchase must have been for the Harleian library is confirmed by the Harleian list of purchases in the Rawlinson sale, where a copy of the *Fayttes* is entered, noting the same price.²² Subsequently the book appears in Thomas Staunton's sale of 25 April 1785, lot 2140. There it was sold to Stanesby Alchorne, whose sale took place in May 1813. The *Fayttes* was sold (lot 171) to the bookseller Thomas Longman with 'two leaves of the table wanting'. While owned by Longman the missing leaves of the table were made up from another copy acquired by Longman at the sale of John Towneley, 1814, lot 650.

20 Cracherode's monogram is illustrated by David Pearson, *Provenance research* (see above, n. 6), p. 20, Fig. 2.14. A Chapman binding often, but not invariably indicates a Harleian provenance. Harley, however, is not known to have owned more than one copy of the *Eneydos*, and this is now in the R.E. Hart collection (no. 9851) in the Blackburn Art Gallery. The Harleian provenance of this copy is evident by a manuscript title in the hand of R. Minshull.

21 Quaritch had bought the book in July 1868 at the sale of Thomas Corser, lot 471. On Lord Lindsay's acquisition see Nicolas Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*. London, 1978, p. 238, describing Lord Lindsay's hesitation, 'Caxton was but a very indifferent, a 4th or 5th rate printer', and Quaritch's reaction which convinced him to buy the book: '... There is no denying the fact that there is a perfect halo of sanctity round his name...'

22 Portland papers, see above, n.12.

The Towneley copy (now missing the two leaves with the table) was next sold by Longman to the Marquess of Blandford, then in his sale (known as the White Knights' sale, June 1819, lot 1569) bought again by Longman (the table described as wanting). The Towneley copy, subsequently owned by Richard Heber, is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.²³ The Staunton-Alchorne-Longman copy was sold to George Watson Taylor, and at his sale in 1823 (Cat. vol. 2, p. 28, lot 603) sold to Thomas Jolley. On 10 June 1844 Jolley's collection was sold; the *Fayttes* can be identified in his catalogue vol. 3, lot 1633, where it is marked as bought by 'Langley'. Afterwards it came into the possession of Thomas Corser and appears in his sale of July 1868, lot 471, where it was bought by Bernard Quaritch and sold by him to the Earl of Crawford. A bookplate of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana is still affixed to the inside of the front cover. At the second Crawford sale, which took place in June 1889²⁴ and in which the book, lot 259, was described as 'table inlaid, olive green morocco', it went to the bookseller F.S. Ellis. He in turn sold it to Julien Ashton Ripley (bookplate), who presented it to Yale University in 1911.²⁵

The constituent parts of the original volume are found in the following catalogues of auctions or, in the case of John Osborne, of stock:

Thomas Rawlinson: 16 October, 22 November 1717, 21 April 1729,
13 November 1732
John Osborne, vol. 3, 1744
James West: 29 March 1773
John Ratcliffe, 27 March 1776
Thomas Staunton, 25 April 1785
Mark Cephas Tutet, 15–18 February 1786
Stanesby Alchorne, 22 May 1813
George Watson Taylor, 20 March–14 April 1823
Thomas Jolley, 10 June 1844
Thomas Corser, 28 July 1868
James Ludovic Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, 19 June 1889

23 CIBN C-307, where a sequence of ownership from the Heber sale (1834) is detailed.

24 Barker (see above, n.21) p. 304.

25 The present binding is the olive morocco of the nineteenth century.

Buying Incunabula in Venice and Milan: The *Bibliotheca Smithiana*

Among famous collectors Joseph Smith has an exceptional place. This is not only because he was outstandingly successful in assembling so many objects of great beauty and significance, but also because so much of it largely stayed together in the collections of George III, becoming valued as national treasures in the Royal Collections and in the British Library. His books have a special place amid the paintings, graphic art, gems, coins and seals because they were so systematically and expertly recorded for him, and among the books his incunabula, for they are the subject of the first still extant list of items in his collection, published around 1724. Listed are 218 incunabula, mainly collected in Venice and the Veneto, as well as some in or near Milan; to this core further items were added later. They can still be identified in the collections of the British Library.

Most of what was assembled on behalf of great collectors from early in the eighteenth century was scattered when circumstances forced the collections to be sold. In the previous chapters we saw the fate of the copies of great Mainz editions sold by the Frankfurt Dominicans, which were part of the Harleian collection for only some 20 years before they were offered for sale. Worse is the fate of the Caxtons in the Rawlinson volume that, after at least 200 years being bound in one volume, were separated to be sold as individual items. Even more drastically, as discussed in Chapter 6, fragments of what was regarded as very early printing were often made to part company with the objects (bindings on early books) that had sheltered them for centuries, leaving an offset of printing ink on the binding's wooden board as the only trace of their former presence.

Building up the history of the spread of printing that took off early in the eighteenth century – and that went hand in hand with the formation of, for example, the Harleian library – was a reconstruction that left many scars. In those years rich pickings of carefully chosen materials were to be had, long before revolution and secularization caused floods of incunabula (some more interesting than others) from religious houses and institutions to change ownership, sooner or later through the book trade. It is rare still to find such material assembled early in the eighteenth century virtually intact as a single collection. Apparently this was what Joseph Smith sought to achieve when he first published his list, an aim that was fulfilled almost 40 years later.

'Pretiosissima haec librorum collectio cujusvis magni principis bibliotheca dignissima ...' are the words with which Consul Joseph Smith (c. 1674–1770) concluded the earliest surviving printed catalogues of part of his library. They might well have been applied to the sale to George III in 1762–3 of the book collection formed by him. As it is they were printed in 1724, to be repeated in 1737, revealing at these early dates Smith's ambition that the early printed books he had assembled might either be the envy of a high-ranking collector or attract an acquisition *en bloc*. Was this a sales pitch or a boast? He cannot possibly have foreseen that these precious incunabula would indeed become part of the library of a monarch, if only after an interval of the almost 40 years they stayed with Smith. In the long life of Consul Joseph Smith, pride in connoisseurship and collecting and his mercantile instincts are often difficult to tell apart. Over the years the emphasis also shifted: he began his career as a banker and merchant, then became a collector, until financial adversity forced him into sales, after which he became a collector again. Towards the end of his life the story repeated itself, and after his death his newly formed collections were auctioned off as part of disentangling complicated financial arrangements and debts.¹

It was with the purchase of Smith's very large library that George III acquired the 'pretiosissima' collection of incunabula from him – along with the thousands of other books, paintings, drawings, prints, gems and coins that were the beginning of the Royal Collection. The lapse of time shows that Smith was prepared to wait many years, either because he failed to find a suitable buyer for the entire collection or because he simply cherished it too much. When his second catalogue of incunabula was published in 1737, he may indeed have entertained some hope of selling the incunabula to a king.² It would not have

1 For the life of Joseph Smith see Francis Vivian's introduction to her *The Consul Smith Collection: Masterpieces of Italian Drawing from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, Raphael to Canaletto*. Munich, 1989, pp. 11–6. Also *ODNB*. Smith's books discussed in this chapter are listed with reference to his successive catalogues in the Appendix, pp. 488–95.

2 Smith's successive catalogues are discussed by Stuart Morrison, 'Records of a Bibliophile: The Catalogues of Consul Joseph Smith and Some Aspects of his Collecting', *The Book Collector*, 43 (1994), pp. 27–58. Morrison shows (p. 32) that the undated first catalogue of Smith's incunabula was published in 1724 in Padua by the Stamperia Comeniana. It bears the title *Catalogus librorum rarissimorum. ab artis typographicae inventioribus, aliisque ejusdem artis principibus, ante annum Millesimum quingentesimum excusorum; Omnium optime conservatorum*. The copy in the British Library, RB.23.a.20277, was acquired in 1997. The second catalogue was published by Giovanni Battista Pasquali in Venice; Morrison (p. 33) quotes the auction catalogue of M. Gros de Boze, in 1753, as the earliest evidence that it was published in 1737. Its title is identical to that of 1724 except in typesetting: *Catalogus librorum rarissimorum, ab artis typographicae inventioribus, aliisque ejusdem artis principibus, ante annum*

eluded his notice that João V of Portugal, one of the great collectors of his age, had purchased in 1726, after much diplomatic negotiation, a collection of 121 fine manuscripts from the estate of Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland (1675–1722); this collection had been originally assembled by Smith in Venice and sold by him to the earl in December 1720. Even if the Smith/Sunderland/João V manuscripts still exist, they cannot at the present time be traced.³

However, the collections of books and art sold by Smith to George III are still extant: apart from the art collection in the Royal Collection, the printed books are an important component of the King's Library at the British Library, and some manuscripts with Smith provenance are in the Department of Manuscripts; the collection of graphic art remained in the British Museum in the Department of Prints and Drawings when the British Library was established in 1973. After the sale to the king in 1762–3 Smith continued to collect on a generous scale, although, as we shall see, he was no longer able to rely on the remarkable resources from which his earlier collections were built. Upon his death in 1770 his later collections were scattered to the four winds in a succession of sales.⁴

Smith's activities as banker, agent, bookseller, publisher and collector in Venice span some 60 years, but it is as an art dealer and collector that he has won fame. His name is forever linked to the paintings of Canaletto, whose agent he formally was, but hardly less important were his close contacts with other Venetian artists, including Rosalba Carriera, Sebastiano and Marco Ricci,

Millesimum quingentesimum excusorum. Omnium optime conservatorum. British Library copies: 821.C.20; G.407.

- 3 On the Sunderland manuscripts, their sale by Smith and subsequently by the Sunderland heirs to João V of Portugal see Katherine Swift, 'Poggio's Quintilian and the Fate of the Sunderland Manuscripts', *Quaerendo*, 13 (1983), pp. 224–38 (esp. 229–32). More particulars about the negotiations between the Sunderland heirs and the representatives of the king are given in Marie-Thérèse Mandroux-França (ed.), *Catalogues de la collection d'estampes de Jean V, roi de Portugal, par Pierre-Jean Mariette*. 3 vols. Paris, 2003. [Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian.] See vol. 1, notes to 'Journal', p. 323. The present whereabouts of this collection of manuscripts is of some relevance to tracing the sources from which Joseph Smith assembled his collection of incunabula, for in all probability they were the same. The manuscripts are often thought to have been lost in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Dr Fernanda Campos, formerly of the National Library of Portugal, Lisbon, has informed me that the royal collections were dispersed in various locations and that only those in the royal palace were destroyed; however, to date no manuscripts with a Sunderland connection have been traced in Portuguese libraries. I am grateful to Dr Campos for her information.
- 4 Unlike the books sold *en bloc* to George III, books sold by Smith at earlier and later dates usually have his armorial bookplate. Illustrated by Morrison (see above, n. 2), figs 5b, 6. See also below, Fig. 13.1.

and Antonio Visentini. Usually he is referred to as 'Consul Smith', although he had the function of British Consul in Venice only from 1744 to 1760.

Little is known about Smith as a person. Born c. 1674 and educated at Westminster School, he went to Venice c. 1700 to train as a merchant banker with the firm of Thomas Williams, later Williams and Smith; they were representatives for several English aristocratic families and, on a small scale, dealers in art and agents for Italian painters. Smith may have continued this pattern after Williams's retirement in 1711, although initially his interest seems to have been in manuscripts and early printed books; his important contacts with painters of his own time were not established until later years. His earliest documented transaction in the world of books is in 1717, when he assisted the young Thomas Coke, the future Earl of Leicester, and his tutor Thomas Hobart in the acquisition of more than 30 medieval manuscripts from the Canons Regular of S. Giovanni in Verdara in Padua, and a couple of years later from Bernardo Trevisan and other collectors in Venice.⁵ But at the same time he began to assemble from similar sources manuscripts and incunabula on his own account, in the expectation of offering them as coherent collections to other aristocratic Englishmen.

It is known from the diary and correspondence of Humfrey Wanley, librarian of the Harleian library, that the collection of 121 medieval manuscripts that was purchased in December 1720 by the Earl of Sunderland had initially been offered to the Earl of Oxford, who rejected it, finding the price too high.⁶ The offer was made on the basis of a printed list, now lost, but we may see here the beginning of a pattern. Again we know from Wanley's diary that a further attempt was made in September 1722; this time it was a collection of 101 manuscripts which could be inspected in London, again accompanied by a printed list. This attempt proved equally unsuccessful; the list was lost and the manuscripts probably sold in Italy.⁷ The list issued c. 1724 consists of 218 incunabula in roughly alphabetical order.⁸ The same incunabula reappeared in the second

5 W.O. Hassall, *The Holkham Library: Illuminations and Illustrations in the Manuscript Library of the Earl of Leicester*. Oxford, 1970, pp. 23–5. Vivian, *The Consul Smith Collection* (1989, see above, n. 1), p. 12 and n. 8. Suzanne Reynolds, *A catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library at Holkham Hall*. Vol. 1, Part 1, Turnhout, 2015, pp. 12–3. Reynolds does not mention Smith's assistance in these transactions.

6 C.E. and Ruth C. Wright, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715–1726*. 2 vols. London, 1966. [The Bibliographical Society.] See vol. 1, p. 74. Smith's letter offering the collection, dated 11 October 1720, survives in BL, MS Landsdowne 841, fols 98–9.

7 Wright, vol. 1, p. 161 (Diary 10 Sept. 1722).

8 Not 227 incunabula, as the catalogue claims. For the catalogue see above, n. 2.

printed catalogue already referred to above, generally assumed to have been issued in 1737 and printed by Giovanni Battista Pasquali, the scholarly partner in the Venetian printing and publishing firm financed by Smith. The collection now included 28 new items. With only few exceptions the 246 incunabula collected by Smith before 1737 can be identified as copies still in the King's Library.

They were to make yet another appearance in a Smith catalogue, but this time only as a thin sprinkling of titles in a far more ambitious work, compiled and published by Pasquali in 1755, which eventually tempted a king. The *Bibliotheca Smithiana seu Catalogus librorum Josephi Smithii Angli per cognomina authorum disposita* is a volume of more than 900 pages. It records Smith's entire library as it stood in 1751, consisting of an enormous variety of books and also precious volumes of prints and atlases, and a few manuscripts (Fig. 13.1).⁹ Arranged in alphabetical order, the catalogue systematically records works in chronological order of publication of each text, from the beginning of printing up to 1751. The preface by Pasquali engagingly explains that in an Appendix – which counts 66 pages – books are recorded that were acquired by Smith after the compilation of the body of the catalogue. Although the Appendix ends with the statement that it was completed in 1751, at least one item, Girolamo Zanetti, *Commentariolum*, has the date of imprint 1756. The catalogue was published in two distinct issues, both with the date of 1755, and a detail such as this suggests that its printing history is not as straightforward as it was meant to look.¹⁰

9 To my knowledge nobody has counted the number of items in the *Bibliotheca Smithiana*, which must be in the order of over 12,000. It was significantly larger than the Old Royal Library, presented in 1757 by George III to the British Museum and consisting of 9,282 items. Since they are the residue of books owned by British monarchs from the late fifteenth century onwards, these are of an entirely different nature.

10 The British Library has five copies of the *Bibliotheca Smithiana* of 1755: the King's Library copy 123.e.10, the Duke of Sussex copy 11909.s.4, with his bookplate, and 11907.cc.23. All three belong to an issue distinct from Smith's own copy, 823.h.26, and the Cracherode copy, 681.g.24, with Cracherode's monogram, and previously owned by the Earl of Holderness, with his bookplate. The two issues are distinguished by the typesetting of pages 1–CCLXXX (quires A–Oo) of the body of the catalogue. When compared with the King's Library copy 123.e.10 it appears that the issue represented in the Smith copy is reset, for in that issue nine lines of text have been lost. In this section of the catalogue most pages have different endings in the two issues. There are substantial differences, for in the first 280 pages 823.h.26 and 681.g. 24 include numerous detailed cross-references from authors' names to collected editions, not present in the other issue. In the continuation pp. CCLXXXI–DXIX, where both issues are printed from the same typesetting, the cross-references are included. On this basis we may speculate that the decision to make these cross-references was taken half-way through the setting of the catalogue (in the middle of



FIGURE 13.1

In 1755 Joseph Smith (known as Consul Smith) published a catalogue of his enormous collection of printed books under the title Bibliotheca Smithiana. He had assembled this library in Venice over a period of more than 30 years. International in character, it also included a collection of some 250 mainly Italian incunabula; these had already been recorded in two separate catalogues. The engraving on the title-page displays his coat of arms.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, 823.H.26, TITLE PAGE WITH THE COAT OF ARMS OF JOSEPH SMITH. © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED 2017.

The *Bibliotheca Smithiana* shows the library as a monumental testimony to Smith's erudition and very wide interests; equally it reveals how much he was able to acquire from his particular vantage point. Its remarkable range, in subject matter and also in places of publication, reflects that between the mid-1720s and c. 1750 Smith had moved from relying on Venetian or even Italian sources onto the international book market. In the same period the international art market became for him a channel for the acquisition of major paintings and graphic art. Assembling his general library must have been underway by the 1720s, for as early as 1725 the English collector Richard Rawlinson noted in his journal:

This day went to see Mr Smith and his fine Library where are above 227 books printed before 1500 many on vellum, a large collection of Italian

the entries for Macchiavelli), and that an improved version of the first 280 pages was set and printed later, without discarding the previously printed version. This must all have happened before 1763, when a copy of each version was used to record the transaction of the sale on 28 January of that year.

Topography and History, books on the Italian language, and many other curious pieces ...¹¹

At that time the focus of the library appears to be Italian, but in the 1730s Smith opened a bookshop with Pasquali. The Smith-Pasquali bottega, situated in Campo S. Bartolomeo and named 'Felicità delle Lettere' (the Italian version of the motto of their publishing house 'Felicitas Litterarum'), was the greatest importer of foreign books into the Venetian Republic.¹² Here the mercantile and the collecting interests went happily hand in hand, for the large proportion of recent London, Paris, Brussels, Netherlands and even some German imprints in the *Bibliotheca Smithiana* owe their presence undoubtedly to the flourishing bookshop and its importation business. Smith's far-reaching contacts in northern countries, primarily established as a banker, can also be seen in a parallel development in his collecting of graphic arts. Albums of prints and drawings by artists as diverse as Jacques Callot, Nicolas Poussin, Albrecht Dürer, Anthony van Dyck and Gerard Lairese are recorded in the *Bibliotheca Smithiana*, along those by the Venetians Sebastiano and Marco Ricci, Canaletto and Antonio Visentini. The result is a rather arbitrary collection of works by northern artists, as Antony Griffiths observes in an article that traces the origin and later fate of these albums.¹³ Griffiths surmises that Smith's acquisitions of graphic work by North European artists were opportunistic, whenever he could buy an album already formed. The albums by Canaletto, the Riccis and Visentini were acquired in enduring patronage of these Venetian artists, while other Italian art was bought from the Venetian collector Zaccaria Sagredo. It is likely, especially in the early years before the 1730s, that collections of books were similarly purchased, as the opportunity arose.

Thus, by a combination of influences, Italian and international, it came about that the *Bibliotheca Smithiana* was rich in Latin, classical Greek, Italian,

11 Quoted by Morrison, *Records of a Bibliophile* (1994, see above, n. 2), p. 32 and in *ODNB*.

12 Vivian, *The Consul Smith Collection* (1989, see above, n. 1), p. 14.

13 Antony Griffiths, 'The prints and drawings in the library of Consul Joseph Smith'. *Print Quarterly* 8 (1991), pp. 127–39. Outstanding paintings, such as Rembrandt's *Descent from the Cross*, sold by the Royal Collection in 1781 and now in the National Gallery, must have been acquired by Smith through similar channels in the art market, as was Rembrandt's allegorical *De Eendracht van het Lant* (*The concord of the State*), now in Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans. See Vivian, *The Consul Smith Collection* (1989, see above, n. 1), p. 25, where she also observes that Vermeer's *Lady at the Virginals* in the Royal Collection was obtained from the Venetian Gian Antonio Pellegrini upon his death in 1741, along with several other paintings by Dutch artists.

French and English works, with occasionally works in Spanish. Classical authors are well represented in early as well as in modern text editions, but the main texts of European literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can also be found, and there is particularly interesting coverage of theatrical texts in English, French and Spanish. A focus of collecting, noted by Pasquali in his preface, were famous publishing houses: the Estiennes, Elzeviers and the Imprimerie Royale in Paris. Other strong subjects are architecture, topography, some natural history and science, and there is much that we would term reference material to support Smith's wide-ranging collecting interests, especially those of coins and gems.

The many areas of published material represented here make the *Smithiana* indeed one of the most important libraries of its period, rich in early treasures but also kept up to date. In addition there are many cross-references from authors' works to editions of multi-author collections. The *Bibliotheca Smithiana* had therefore considerable value as a bibliographical reference tool and was used as such, as demonstrated by bibliophiles such as the Rev. Cracherode, and the Duke of Sussex owning copies of the work.¹⁴ There is therefore even room for some doubt as to whether Smith's initial initiative for the compilation, in the late 1740s, was to achieve an *en bloc* sale. From his failure to part with his incunabula once catalogues were published, we may detect perhaps some ambivalence about selling his books – the flourish that they were fit for a prince can perhaps be read as an indication of status. Smith's vanity was noted by his contemporaries. However that may be, in the late 1750s the time for ambivalence was over, for this is when his financial fortunes turned, it is thought as a consequence of the Seven Years War and failing banks. It was then, in 1756, that Smith entered into negotiations about the sale of his Old Masters, modern Italian paintings, including his collection of Canalettos, prints, drawings, coins and gems, as well as the library as recorded in the *Bibliotheca Smithiana*. James Stuart Mackenzie, envoy to Turin and the younger brother of the Earl of Bute, who had been tutor to the future George III, conducted negotiations on behalf of the prince, later the king.¹⁵ The outcome, after delays, was the beginning of George III's Royal Collection.

As far as the library was concerned, the printed catalogue of 1755 became the basis for the sale. Two copies, now in the British Library, were used as

14 See above, n. 10.

15 Philip R. Harris, 'The King's Library'. In Giles Mandelbrote, Barry Taylor (eds.), *Libraries within the Library: The origins of the British Library's printed collections*. London, 2009, pp. 296–317 (esp. p. 296).

formal documents, one for the buyer and one for the vendor.¹⁶ Both copies include the following inscription (with slight variations in spelling), written and signed by the King's librarian, Richard Dalton, and with the King's (indistinct) seal (Fig. 13.2):¹⁷

I underwritten confess to have receiv'd from Mr Joseph Smith all the Books express'd in the Present Catalogue, & the addenda Comprized in a Volume in quarto intituled Bibliotheca Smithiana printed by Pasquali at Venice in the Year 1755, all in perfect good order, and this by Virtue of an order given to me by the Rt. Honble J.S. Mackenzie by the Command and for the account of his Majesty King George the Third, Signify'd to the said Smith by the said Mr Mackenzie, in his Letter dated the 24 august

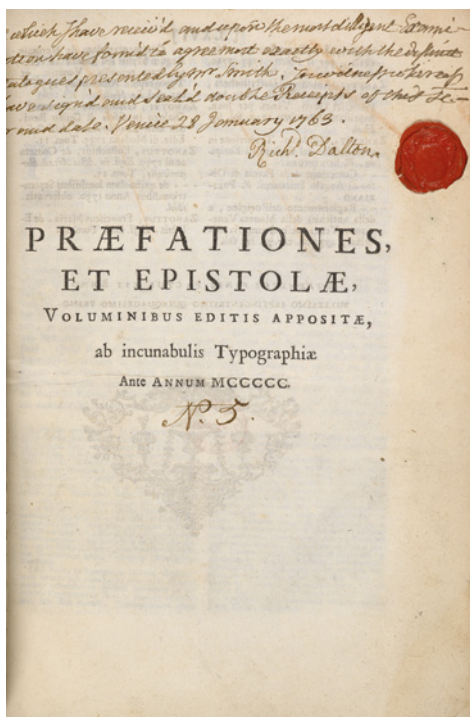


FIGURE 13.2

In the two copies of the Bibliotheca Smithiana used for the sale the king's librarian, Richard Dalton, signed and sealed a declaration that as part of the transaction he had checked the books against the catalogue descriptions and had found everything in order. Shown here is part of the inscription, dated 'Venice, 28 January 1763 and signed by Richard Dalton, sealed with the royal seal.

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- 16 The copies 123.e.10 for the king and 823.h.26, Smith's copy with his bookplate and that of 'Winmarleigh' (not identified), acquired by the British Museum in 1913.
- 17 In both copies the manuscript record of the transaction is found on the page following the 'Addenda & Corrigenda' (with a new sequence of pagination 1–LXVII), on the page with the title 'Praefationes et Epistolae Voluminibus editis appositae ab incunabulis Typographiae Ante Annum MCCCCC', a section with pagination LXIX–CCCXLVIII.

1762 (which I have seen) which advises the said Smith of the Contract he had concluded for the said Books (part of his Collection) according to the Conditions Stipulated and express'd therein (in the said letter of 24 august 1762) for the whole Collection, all which I have receiv'd and upon the most diligent Examination have found to agree most exactly with the distinct catalogues presented by Mr Smith. In witness whereof I have sign'd and seal'd double Receipts of this Tenor and date Venice 28 January 1763. Richard Dalton.¹⁸

In both copies the items are marked in red chalk, indicating that they were all present at the time of the sale and showing that the transaction was indeed accomplished with 'diligent' care. In the king's copy this is effected by long vertical chalk lines in the margins. In the Smith copy each item is separately marked by a red chalk stroke through it, and many items are followed by a figure, written in ink, apparently a valuation on behalf of Smith (Fig. 13.3). The Blaeu *Atlas Major*, to take one of the most highly valued items as an example, is followed by the figure '3000', but Jenson's Latin Pliny of 1472, on vellum, by only '400'.¹⁹ In the archival copies a few items are struck out to the point of illegibility, including a copy of the Fust and Schoeffer edition of Guillelmus Duranti, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, Mainz, 1459.²⁰ Smith apparently sold the Duranti (which is present in the catalogues of 1724 and 1737) between 1751, the date when compilation of the *Bibliotheca Smithiana* was stated to be completed, and January 1763, the date of the final transaction.²¹

The acquisition of Smith's library was the beginning, indeed the flying start, to the King's Library. From then on the books were fully integrated into the flood of material acquired in the following years, in which its size was multiplied by a factor of at least five.²² Smith's books are not distinguished as a sequence of press-marks or in any other formal way, but on the fly-leaf of the Smith copies of incunabula the name 'Smith' is noted, followed by a series of

18 Transcribed from Smith's copy, BL 823.h.26.

19 Griffiths, 'The prints and drawings' (1991, see above, n. 13), p. 129, n. 12, surmises that the valuations were in ducats.

20 ISTC id00403000. GW 9101. It is possible that this copy went to the Spencer collection, and hence to the John Rylands University Library.

21 Another now absent incunable had appeared in the catalogues of 1724 and 1737, but not of 1755. *Attila flagellum Dei*, printed in Venice by Gabriele and Filippo di Pietro 1472/3 (ISTC ia00177500), is now in the Bodleian Library, Bod-inc. A-482, with Smith's bookplate and, as further provenance, the Crevenna sale (1789).

22 For a general history of the King's Library see P.R. Harris, 'The King's Library', in Giles Mandelbrote, Barry Taylor (eds.), *Libraries within the Library*. London, 2009, pp. 296–317.

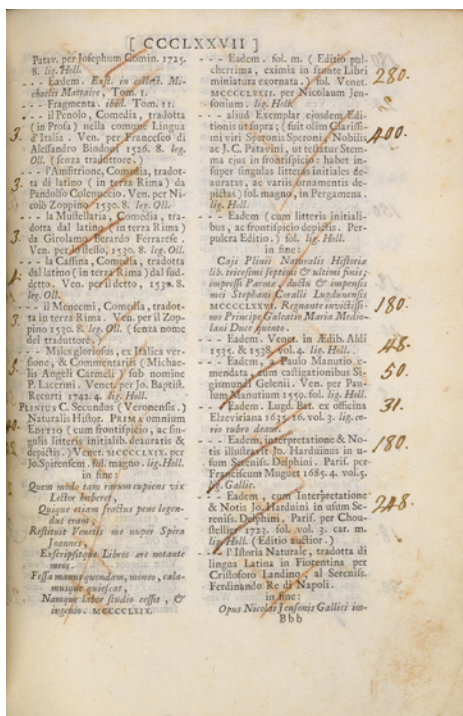


FIGURE 13.3

*The collection of Consul Smith was acquired en bloc for George III in 1763. Two copies of the printed Bibliotheca Smithiana were used as the inventory on which the sale was based. In one of the copies a valuation was written for each item, and it was later checked off piece by piece with a line in red chalk. On the page illustrated here a fine copy of Nicolas Jenson's edition of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* is described and valued at 400 [ducats].*

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bibliographical references.²³ These notes were made by Frederick Augusta Barnard, the king's librarian, and 'Smith' indubitably indicates the provenance of the copy; it is not a reference to the *Bibliotheca Smithiana*. These notes remain therefore the only way by which any identification of Smith copies can be confirmed.

Despite the fact that Smith's books were never treated as a distinct entity in the king's collections, some of them still stand out among the volumes in the British Library's glass tower that now houses the King's Library. Smith had most of his books bound or rebound in white vellum, with red, green, and black spine labels lettered in gold, and a few with a little gold tooling. Exceptionally, some books were bound in calf's leather with a gold-tooled border.²⁴ In the 1755 catalogue the binding of each item is marked according to the language

23 To what extent such notes occur in later printed books from the Bibliotheca Smithiana has not been investigated.

24 The illustration in Morrison, *Records of a Bibliophile* (1994, see above, n. 2), fig.1, is a good example of the border, but the coat of arms on the cover was apparently used only exceptionally.

of the work, the vellum bindings as 'lig. Holl'. (Latin), 'leg Oll'. (Italian), 'rel. en vel'. (French), etc. Leather bindings are also noted. George III had many of his books, both those from Smith and later acquisitions, uniformly rebound in his own bindery in Windsor in red or dark-blue morocco – a material transformation that is a telling symbol of what had begun to take place in this sale transaction. What had been part of a cultural environment strongly linked to Venice and the Veneto was now to become the core of a collection soon regarded as a great cultural asset to the British nation. As it is, some of the vellum Smith volumes escaped the king's livery, their provenance still visible to all.

Failing other obvious external marks of their antecedents, it would be a daunting task, if possible to undertake at all, to establish a concordance between the *Bibliotheca Smithiana*, the successive catalogues of the King's Library and the modern press-marks. It is, however, perfectly feasible to do so for the incunabula, because they were separately described in the catalogues of 1724 and 1737. Since they remain as the only witnesses for Smith's earliest collecting activities, and to a lesser extent for the sources from which he obtained his books in this period, and not less because they form an outstanding collection by any standards, they may be discussed here in some detail.²⁵ There are not many problems in identifying Smith's incunabula as to edition, and usually as to copy. His descriptions routinely provide place of printing, printer and date when they are known from the colophon; in their absence he makes several good guesses on the basis of similarity of type. Whenever applicable, illumination is enthusiastically described. In the successive catalogues the descriptions are almost all verbally identical, but whereas in the two early catalogues the bibliographical format was only stated when it was not in folio, the catalogue of 1755 does specify the format, as well as adding notes on the binding. Several incunabula disappeared after their purchase by the king, probably sold as duplicates as other copies were acquired.²⁶

25 See also earlier discussions in L. Hellinga, 'Notes on the incunabula of Consul Joseph Smith: An exploration'. In Denis V. Reidy (ed.), *The Italian Book 1465–1800: Studies Presented to Dennis E. Rhodes on his 70th Birthday*. London, 1993, pp. 335–48; also with fine illustrations: *Eadem*, 'Il console Joseph Smith, collezionista a Venezia per il mercato inglese', *La Bibliofilia*, 102 (2000), pp. 109–21.

26 For example, the King's Library copy of Pier'Andrea Bassi, *Fatiche d'Ercole* (Ferrara: Augustinus Carnerius, 1475), 86.k.10 (*olim*, 167.e.3), recorded in 1724 and 1737 as a work by Boccaccio – corrected in 1755 and ranged with Bassi. It was marked as present in 1755, but is stated in BMC VI, p. 606 to be a copy obtained from Dr Anthony Askew, presumably at his sale in 1775. The Smith copy was probably discarded as a duplicate after the purchase of the Askew copy. Diogenes Laertius (Venice, Nicolas Jenson), 167.d.6, BMC V, p. 175, is described in 1737 (no. 128) as having a miniature and decorated initials,

We may surmise that a card catalogue, convenient for arrangement in alphabetical and chronological order and for interfiling of additions, was the method by which the catalogues of 1737 and 1755 were compiled. The catalogue of 1737 may have been compiled from a cut-up copy of the 1724 catalogue, the additions interfiled and the alphabetical arrangement improved; the wording of the many items they have in common is identical. The earlier catalogue is arranged in a random order within the letters of the alphabet, as if printed from a ledger recording purchases, whereas the 1737 catalogue has a correct alphabetical arrangement throughout. The 1724 catalogue therefore may take us close to the order in which items were acquired.

The number of items in the 1724 catalogue (218) clearly indicates that the most fruitful period for finding the spectacularly illuminated copies listed here was before that year. This coincides with the years in which Joseph Smith managed to assemble a similar number of manuscripts, the two collections offered for sale (in total 222 items) as well as assisting in the acquisition of manuscripts for Thomas Coke. There can be little doubt that they all came from the same or similar sources. At the beginning of a period of economic decline in the Veneto it was not hard to persuade convents and monasteries to part with books. Some had been donated in earlier times by Venetian families who perhaps had lost the taste for the ornate illumination for which Smith had such a keen eye, or who, alternatively, judged a religious institution to be a more secure place for preserving something precious. Other Venetian owners may perhaps have thought the collectors' attentions an opportune moment for discarding heirlooms that were no longer cherished. Smith's interest in manuscripts may have waned, but a sign that for incunabula sources had dried up, at least for the products of the early presses which appealed to him most, is the sparse addition of such items in Smith's catalogues after 1724. The numerous worthy but dull volumes produced by Venetian printers in the 1490s must still have been plentiful, as they were at a later date, but these were obviously spurned by Smith.

but the King's Library copy has no decoration at all. Recently John Goldfinch established that the Smith copy of Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, *Decades rerum Venetarum*, Venice, Andreas Torresanus, 21 May 1487, ISTC is00005000, was retained in the royal library and is now at Windsor in the Royal Collection (RCIN 1057942). It has painted decoration, as recorded in the Smith catalogues, whereas the copy at the British Library, 167.g.2, has no decoration at all. A few incunabula appear for the first time in the *Bibliotheca Smithiana* in 1755; reading through the whole catalogue is the only way to find them. Editions of short works by Juvenal, Martial and Ovid, which appeared *sine nota* and for which no further characteristics were provided by Smith, remain very difficult to identify.

Although no longer buying them on any large scale after his initial prolific haul, Smith continued to be fascinated by early incunabula; even in the *Bibliotheca Smithiana* they get special treatment, returning to the focus of the catalogues of 1724 and 1737. The final section of the *Bibliotheca Smithiana* consists of 280 pages of prefatory matter and dedications in the incunabula in the collection, entitled 'Praefationes et epistolae voluminibus editis appositae, ab incunabulis typographiae ante annum MCCCCC'. Its editor, Giovanni Battista Pasquali, added learned notes, for which he acknowledges the help of fellow Venetian Girolamo Zanetti.²⁷ Devoting so much space in the *Bibliotheca Smithiana* to the prelims of incunabula may be seen as an extension of an interest in the extraneous material regarding the publishing history of these works that is already apparent in the earlier catalogues. The quotations and notes about imprints in the descriptions, first appearing in the 1724 catalogue and therefore certainly not written by Pasquali, are extensive and competent.²⁸ The *Bibliotheca Smithiana* includes in a long note a notable argument regarding the printed date in Nicolas Jenson's *Decor puellarum*, correctly recognized as a typographical error: it reads '1461' instead of '1471'.²⁹ The date of the introduction of printing in Venice was at stake.

Between 1720 and 1737 other agents were hunting in Italy for manuscripts on behalf of English aristocrats, and the sources to which Smith had access were getting stripped of their more spectacular assets. John Gibson, who bought especially for the Earl of Sunderland, and Conyers Middleton, who acquired manuscripts for the Harleian library, were variously in competition with each other or working together. Gibson offers us a glimpse of the mode of operation, noting '... I was at the Charge of a monk travelling from place to place ...'.³⁰ Smith, a long-term resident in Venice and by then fluent in Italian, was probably less dependent on such assistance. Nevertheless, he wrote

27 Pasquali thanks him in his preface. Zanetti wrote scholarly works on Venetian history, especially on coins and gems.

28 Perhaps their model were some of the descriptions in Pellegrino A. Orlandi, *Origine e progressi della stampa o sia dell'arte impressoria e notizie dall' anno M.CCCC.LVII sino all' anno M.D.* Bologna, 1722; there is otherwise no sign that this work was regularly consulted.

29 On p. CXVI, as a note to De Spira's Cicero *Epistolae ad familiares* of 1469, which, the note correctly argues, is the first book printed in Venice. Other arguments had been proffered by Conyers Middleton (1735) and Prosper Marchand (1740), but not by Orlandi (1722).

30 For John Gibson's methods see Katherine Swift, 'Bibliotheca Sunderlandiana: The making of an eighteenth-century library'. In Robin Myers, Michael Harris (eds.), *Bibliophily*. Cambridge, 1986, pp. 63–89 (esp. 77–9).

pessimistically in 1720: '... there is an end of Collecting, for there is no more left in Italy ...'.³¹

Thus through good fortune a rare feat is possible – not only to reconstruct, but actually to assemble almost all of the incunabula collected by Consul Smith in the years before 1724, as well as additions made in subsequent years before 1737. Their separate treatment by Smith and later by Pasquali allows to regard the incunabula as a collection within the Smith collection, and therefore as the earliest identifiable component of the King's Library. It is a truly magnificent collection. Smith's interest in the visual arts manifested itself first in his preference for fine illumination and fine printing; his taste in incunabula was for those printed in Italy, especially for the earliest presses in Venice and Milan, preferably in copies illuminated by the artists of the period. The early printers in Venice are particularly well represented, with 25 items printed by Nicolas Jenson and 17 by Johannes and Vindelinius de Spira or Vindelinius alone, in addition to seven books printed by Johannes de Colonia and six by Jacobus Rubeus. The Milanese presses of Antonius Zarotus and Philippus de Lavagnia are also well represented. The collection was strong in editions of the classics (120 items), patristic texts and Italian humanist authors. Most of the Italian texts, mainly the works of the great poets, were acquired between 1724 and 1737.

We have no direct information about his sources for these acquisitions. However, the context of the formation of Smith's other collecting activities leads to a vivid picture of the situation in Venice; he acquired a variety of contacts in the city including with religious houses, possibly directly as well as through agents and middlemen. In this respect the Smith collection is distinct from another collection of incunabula formed in Italy in the eighteenth century and still extant. The Durazzo collection, still in private ownership in Genoa, was formed later in the century, between 1772 and 1812. Its records of acquisition are fully preserved, and show that the sources for this collection are auctions and dealers on the international market.³² As in Smith's collection, many incunabula in the Durazzo collection are printed in Italy, but the

31 Letter to John Gibson, dated 11 October 1720, BL, MS Landsdowne 841, fols 98–9, see above, n. 6. Swift, see above, n. 29, p. 79.

32 Alberto Petrucciani, *Gli incunaboli della Biblioteca Durazzo*. Genoa, 1988. George Jackson, British Consul at Genoa and Livorno, assembled a collection of books that was catalogued in 1756 and sold to the Duc de la Vallière in 1775. Comparison with the Smith collection would have been interesting, but since his collection was subsequently dispersed tracing the sources for the Jackson collection seems impossible. I am grateful to Dr Cristina Dondi for giving me information on this collection.

proportion of non-Italian items is much larger. Some early owners and style of illumination of Italian incunabula even show that the books had left Italy soon after they were printed.

In contrast, the Smith incunabula – even the few that are not Italian – are homogeneous in that their early ownership is north Italian, mainly Venetian and from other places in the Veneto. Fifteen items have marks of early ownership in and near Milan and it seems likely that Smith bought them in that region, but there are very few direct indications of the routes through which Smith acquired his books. In Venice itself Smith is known to have had some dealings with Bernardo Trevisan during his negotiations for Thomas Coke in 1717.³³ Trevisan's large library, including 700 manuscripts, was dispersed after his death in 1732, and we may speculate that this was for Smith an occasion to acquire some early printed books.³⁴

In a single instance, the bookplate of Smith's contemporary Jacopo Contarini, who is known as a great benefactor to the Biblioteca Marciana, shows that he once owned the book; it is found in the Italian *Sforziada* of 1490.³⁵ W.O. Hassall notes that after the Augustinian Canons of S. Giovanni in Verdara in Padua had sold some 30 manuscripts to Thomas Coke (a transaction in which Smith was involved), they continued to sell off material until the Venetian Republic put an end to it in 1781. The sources of the Augustinian Canons' library can be traced to benefactors in the fifteenth century, among them Giovanni Marcanova, Battista a Lignamine, Pietro da Montagnana and other earlier owners, whose names are found in manuscripts now at Holkham and elsewhere.³⁶ Ownership notes of other great religious houses in Padua, especially the Benedictine Abbey of Santa Giustina and the Franciscans of Sant'Antonio, are found in manuscripts and early printed books in many diverse collections. These houses obviously sold off books destined to become part of collections formed in the eighteenth century. A copy of Johannes Crastonus, *Lexicon graecum-latinum*, with an inscription recording its donation by Petrus de Montagnana to the Canons of S. Giovanni in Verdara, is recorded in the Smith catalogue

33 Vivian, *The Consul Smith Collection* (1989), see above, n. 1, p. 12. Reynolds, *Manuscripts in the library at Holkham Hall* (2015), see above n.5, pp. 12, 19.

34 Hassall, *The Holkham Library* (1970), see above, n. 5, p. 25.

35 BL, 167.e.9, a very plain paper copy which first appeared in the catalogue of 1724. Bibliographical identifications and concordances with the Smith catalogue of items in the British Library mentioned in this chapter are listed in the Appendix.

36 Hassall, *The Holkham Library* (1970), see above, n. 5, p. 24. Also Vivian, *The Consul Smith Collection* (1989), see above, n. 1, p. 12. One of the incunabula once belonging to the great scholar Petrus de Montagnana, Augustinus, *De civitate Dei* (Venice, Vindelinius de Spira, 1470, ISTC ia01233000), is in the Bodleian Library, Bod-inc. A-520 (1).

of 1737, but was acquired for the King's Library in 1775 from the Askew sale. It is not clear when the work left the Smith collection, but it was probably replaced before 1755 by a less spectacular copy.³⁷ A copy on vellum of Cicero, *De Tusculanis* (Venice, Nicolas Jenson, 1472), also suggests a Paduan provenance. Its very rich illumination, ascribed to Giovanni Vendramin, renders this perhaps the most sumptuous item of all Smith's incunabula. The coat of arms at the bottom of the fully painted first page can be identified as belonging to the notable book collector Jacopo Zeno, bishop of Padua, who probably commissioned the painting.³⁸ A route to Smith via one of the great religious houses in Padua seems at least possible.

There are a few tenuous connections with Venetian monasteries, among them the partly erased inscription in Flavius Blondus, *Roma triumphans* (Brescia, Bartholomaeus Vercellensis, 1482): 'Iste liber est monasterij S. [...] venetijs reliq [...]'.³⁹ More informative is the ownership note found in three copies of classical works. They belonged to Pietro de Fossis (d. 1527), the composer and

37 Johannes Crastonus, *Lexicon graecum-latinum* ([Milan], Bonus Accursius, [not after 1478]), C.5.c.4, BMC VI, p. 754, with a long inscription recording Da Montagnana's gift of this book to S. Giovanni in Verdara in 1478. This copy was acquired for the king at the sale of the Askew library in 1775 (lot 1400), but it seems to have been in the Smith collection in 1737 and was known to Pasquali when he compiled the Appendix to the *Bibliotheca Smithiana*. Here the inscription is fully and correctly quoted on p. xxii as an addition to the brief main entry under 'Lexicon'. In the catalogue of 1737, in words that leave little doubt that this is the later Askew copy, the copy is described as follows: 'Apparet autem, hanc editionem fortasse perfectum fuisse ante annum MCCCCLXXVIII, cum eodem anno dono data sit; ut in fine legitur, cum singulis litteris initialibus deauratis'. It remains unclear at what point in its history this copy became Askew's property.

Another incunable with an ownership inscription of S. Giovanni in Verdara in the British Library is Appianus, *Soliloquia* (Cremona: Carolus de Darleriis, 1496) (IA.30845, BMC VII, p. 959); cf. Stephen Parkin, 'The Presence of Italian Books in the British Library in the Light of the *Ricerca sull'inchiesta della congregazione dell'Indice*'. In Rosa Marisa Borraccini, Roberto Rusconi (eds.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli ordine regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della congregazione dell'Indice*. Vatican City, 2006, pp. 129–43. Parkin points out that the inscription records the loan of this volume to a citizen of Padua (p. 139).

38 C.I.c.10, BMC V, p. 171, present in Smith's collection from 1724; the illuminator is identified by Lilian Armstrong, 'The Hand-Illumination of Printed Books in Italy, 1465–1515'. In J.J.G. Alexander (ed.), *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination 1450–1550*. London, 1994, no. 79. For Jacopo Zeno, his patronage of Vendramin and further literature about his library see A.R.A. Hobson, 'Bookbinding in Padua in the Fifteenth Century'. In Martin Davies (ed.), *Incunabula: Studies in Fifteenth-Century Books Presented to Lotte Hellenga*. London, 1999, pp. 402–4.

39 167. h.10, BMC VI, p. 966.

first cantor of the cappella ducale, later first Maestro di Capella of St Mark's in Venice; he left the books to the monastery of Santa Maria de Virginibus, which was attached to St Mark's.⁴⁰ The names of two other early owners suggest that they have connections with religious houses; 'ad usum Fratris Georgii Mantuani' is surely to be understood in the context of a religious community⁴¹ and the owner's inscription 'Constantini de'Egregiis', identified as a 'capellanus', *fl.* 1543, is found in two works.⁴² An ownership inscription by the Augustinian Canons of S. Bartolomeo in Vicenza is found in an illuminated copy of Gregorius, *Moralia* (1480) with a historiated initial and fine decoration.⁴³

The largest group of books from identifiable religious houses is not from the Veneto, but consists of 15 books with early ownership inscriptions from Milan and its environs.⁴⁴ In the catalogue of 1724 most of these books are listed early under their respective sections of the alphabet, suggesting that they belong to Smith's earliest acquisitions.

Three have inscriptions of the Monastery of S. Maria Incoronata, a house of the Augustinian Hermits in Milan itself. One of these, Justinus, *Epitome* (Venice, 1477), bears an inscription recording its donation by Paulus de S. Genesio (d. 1501), the commendatory abbot of the Camaldolese Hermits of Vallombrosa, known as 'Heleneapolitanus'.⁴⁵

40 *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 36 (Roma, 1988). The books are Ammianus, *De rebus Romanorum gestis* (Rome, 1474), L. Annaeus Florus, *In T. Livium Epitome* [Venice, Printer of Basilius, c. 1471] and Priscianus, *Opera* (Venice, 1472, 169.k.1, BMC IV, p. 54; C.2.b.14, BMC V, p. 187; 169.k.11, BMC V, p. 160).

41 In Cicero, *De oratore* (Milan, Philippus de Lavagnia, 1477, C.1.b.11, BMC VI, p. 705), a copy with an unidentified coat of arms – a sign that it had been donated by a prominent family.

42 In Galeotus Martius, *De homine* (Bologna, [Printer of Barbatia, s.d.], C.13.b.19, BMC VI, p. 813), naming the printer as 'Dominicus de Lapis; and Omnibonus Leonicensus, *De octo partibus orationis* (Venice, Jacobus Rubeus, 1473, C.2.a.3, BMC V, p. 213). His name is also found in Bod-inc. C-459(2), Ant. Cornazzano, *Dell'arte militare* (Venice, 1494, ISTC ic00911000, with a Holkham provenance) and in Cornazzano, *La vita di Cristo* (Venice, 1472, ISTC ic00912000), in the Houghton Library, Harvard, Walsh 1643B.

43 C.10.c.10, BMC V, p. 256.

44 The following distinction between S. Maria Incoronata and S. Maria Bianca is a correction of my statements of 1993 (p. 343) and 2000 (p. 117), see above, n. 22. I am grateful to Stephen Parkin (British Library) for pointing out my error in confusing the two, and for further enlightening discussions.

45 Smith's books from S. Maria Incoronata, Ordinis Fratrum Heremitarum S. Augustini (founded by Francesco Sforza in 1451) are Dante Alighieri, *Divina Commedia* (Venice, Vin-delinus de Spira, 1477, with a note 'ad usum fratris Johannis Jacobi', C.7.c.3, BMC V, p. 248); Justinus, *Epitome* (Venice, Jacobus Rubeus and Albertus Vercellensis, 1477, donated by Paulus de S. Genesio, 167.c.12, BMC V, p. 233); Nonius Marcellus, *Ad filium de sermone*

The largest group, of eight items, once belonged to the monastery S. Maria Bianca of the Augustinian Canons, identifying itself as 'de Casoletto ordinis canonicorum Regularium Sancti Augustini de observancia commorantium extra portam horientalem inclite civitatis Mediolanum'. The location can be identified as Casoretto, now a suburb of Milan. There is much to suggest, however, that Smith did not obtain the books directly from this monastery. In only three of the items this inscription is clearly legible. In the other five a later hand has written over the monastery's name 'Marie' and following words, rendering them practically illegible, although (perhaps) the name 'Martini' can be recognized as part of the overwriting. The books may therefore have changed ownership and moved to another religious house between the fifteenth and the early eighteenth centuries, the former ownership amended where the original inscriptions were most conspicuous. Among these books are two illuminated copies of early editions of Thomas Aquinas, printed by Peter Schoeffer in Mainz in 1467 and 1469. These, according to a lengthy inscription in the volume printed in 1467, were given to the monastery in 1472 by Turcho Balbani, a Milanese, on behalf of his brother Bartolomeo, an Augustinian Canon, with the condition that they were to remain in the monastery after their deaths.⁴⁶ Schoeffer is known to have sold books through agents and these volumes, decorated in an Italian style, evidently crossed the Alps at an early date. The other books are editions of Cicero, Pompeius Festus, Eusebius and another work by Thomas Aquinas.⁴⁷ Other contemporary donations are recorded and remain

(Venice, Octavianus Scotus, 1483, with the note 'ad usum Fratris Theophili de Birago', 169.i.15, BMC V, p. 278). Two other incunabula now in the British Library were donated by Paulus de S. Genesio to the monastery: Rainerius de Pisiis, *Pantheologia* (Augsburg, Günther Zainer, 1474, IC.5473, BMC II, pp. 321–2; the Smith copy, 167.g.6, has no note of provenance); and Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* (Brescia, Jacobus Britannicus, 1485, IB.31121, BMC VII, p. 974, acquired in 1878). A S. Maria Incoronata ownership note is also found in Stephanus ex Nottis, *Opus remissionis* (Milan, Leonardus Pachel, 1500), IB.26699, BMC VI, p. 782, acquired in 1885 at the Culemann sale.

46 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II.2, (Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, 1467, C.15.d.3, donated in 1472 by Turcho and Bartolomeo Balbani, of Milan; BMC I, p. 24); Idem, *Super quarto libro Sententiarum* (Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, 1469, C.15.d.4, BMC I, pp. 25–6). The contemporary donation inscription is fully transcribed in BMC I, p. 24.

47 Other items in the Smith collection with original provenance of S. Maria Bianca, at 'Casoletto' or 'Casoreto', Ordinis Canonicorum Regularium S. Augustini, are: Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* (Mantua, Johannes Schallus, 1479), C.14.b.4, BMC VII, pp. 933–4; the note of ownership is clearly written in red. (In the following five items the name of the monastery is overwritten in a later hand, probably of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and possibly including the name 'Martini', the rest is rendered illegible.): Pseudo-Cicero, *Ad Herennium* (Milan, Antonius Zarotus, 1474), donated in 1480 by Theophilus Mediolanensis, with

legible. We find the same provenance in other incunabula in the British Library and elsewhere.

Another religious house in the region, the convent of S. Maria Annunciata in Varese, was in this period also selling its early books. Four are in Consul Smith's collection, but others are found in printed books once belonging to the Harleian library and in a manuscript in Sir John Soane's Museum in London. Their provenance is identified by an oval library stamp of the seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries with the letters S.M.A.V.⁴⁸

The Harleian ownership of some of the Varese items, and the provenance of the other religious houses in the area found in various collections, indicate that they were selling books from their libraries in the same period, about 1720. This was a time when both Smith and Conyers Middleton (as well as John Gibson) were exploring Italian resources, but whether Smith dealt directly with ecclesiastical libraries selling their treasures or whether he worked through agents has for lack of documentation to remain an open question. In any case, it is beyond doubt that they constituted a significant reservoir of covetable material. It is hard to escape a suspicion that one of the incentives for Smith's systematic rebinding was a penchant for covering his tracks. Several inscriptions identifying former monastic owners in Venice, and one on the first page of the Thomas Aquinas printed by Schoeffer in 1469 – which comes from S. Maria Bianca – are largely erased.

However, Smith had no reason to be reticent about the earlier antecedents of many of his incunabula, which in fact were part of their glory. The

the early shelf-mark '279', C.1.b.15, BMC VI, p. 711; *idem*, (Venice, Thomas de Blavis, 1476), C. 16.i.11, BMC V, 246; Eusebius, *Chronicon* (Milan, Philippus de Lavagnia, s.d.), donated by Theophilus Mediolanensis, with early shelf-mark '283'; C.14.b.5, BMC VI, pp. 703–4; Pompeius Festus, *De verborum significatione* (Milan, Pamfilo Castaldi, 1471), donated by Theophilus Mediolanensis in 1480, 169.i.17, BMC VI, p. 699; Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones* (Rome, Arnoldus Pannartz, 1476), with the note 'Ad usum D. Hieronymi astonenensis'; C.14.c.8, BMC IV, p. 62. An ownership note of S. Maria Bianca in Casoleto is also found in Georgius Benignus, *Dialectica nova* (Florence, 1488/9), 1A.27665, BMC VI, p. 679, acquired in 1894.

48 The items in the Smith collection from Varese are: Flavius Josephus, *De antiquitate judaica* (Augsburg, Joh. Schüssler, 1470), C.13.d.9, BMC II, pp. 327–8; Cyprianus, *Opera* (Venice, Vindelinius de Spira, 1471), C.13.c.8, BMC V, p. 159; Ovidius, *De arte amandi*, etc. (Bologna, Balthasar Azoguidus, 1471), C.6.c.8, BMC VI, p. 798; Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta* (Venice, Vindelinius de Spira, 1471), 169.k.3, BMC V, p. 156. For identification of the provenance see A.G. Watson, 'A Varese library-stamp identified', *The Library*, 5th ser.28 (1973), pp. 147–8. The Varese stamp is also found in Bernardus Parmensis, *Casus longi* (Lyon, Claude Gibolet, 1497), 1B. 42154, BMC VIII, p. 326.

illumination, often of very good, sometimes outstanding quality, and the coats of arms integrated in the decoration of a substantial number of copies throw a light on the milieu of families and individuals, mainly in the Veneto, who first owned these books.

The investigations of Professor Lilian Armstrong have revealed the extent of the activities of mainly Venetian illuminators, often working in conjunction with printing houses, and also the ways in which their works are now dispersed over most of the world's rare book collections, since they became the object for collectors from the eighteenth century on.⁴⁹ It is therefore not surprising to find splendidly illuminated copies among Smith's incunabula. Smith notices them in his catalogues, sometimes extravagantly, the wording repeated in the three successive versions. Illumination of initials is regularly reported as 'cum singulis litteris initialibus deauratis' and 'cum singulis litteris initialibus depictis'. More elaborate decoration may be described as 'cum eleganti miniatura in frontispicio', rising to more ecstatic terms in a Plautus edition, 'cum luculenta miniatura in initio', and, in Petrus Abano, *Conciliator*, which has a striking historiated initial with a fictitious portrait of the author. to 'Imago auctoris a quadam manu celebri coloribus effigiata'. This is expressed even less cautiously in a Tortellius edition as 'in frontispicio micat egregia miniatura, ut existimatur, Andreae Mantegnae'.

There are indeed copies illuminated by now well recognized masters. The Cicero illuminated by Vendramin has already been mentioned. Work by the illuminator known as the 'Putti Master' is found in Plautus *Comoediae* (Venice, Vindelinus de Spira, 1472) and that of the 'Pico Master' in Boccaccio, *Genealogia deorum* (Venice, Vindelinus de Spira, 1472), and in Eusebius, *De praeparatione evangelica* (Venice, Nicolas Jenson, 1470). In similar style is the illumination of the vellum copy of Solinus, *Polyhistor* (Venice, Nicolas Jenson, 1473). This is one of the two instances where Smith acquired a duplicate copy in vellum. The high quality of copies on vellum was obviously a special attraction, and there are no fewer than 16 in the collection. Martin Davies has identified the lavish illumination in the New Testament volume of the Latin Bible printed in 1462 by Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer in Mainz as the work of a prolific illuminator working with printers in Italy who is known as the Barbo Master.⁵⁰

49 Armstrong, 'Hand-Illumination of Printed Books in Italy' (1994), see above, n. 38, pp. 35–47, 163–208, with references to further literature.

50 Martin Davies, 'From Mainz to Subiaco: Illumination of the first Italian printed books'. In Cristina Dondi *et al.* (eds.), *La stampa Romana nella città dei Papi e in Europa*. Vatican City, 2016, pp. 9–41. [Studi e Testi 506.].

There are other splendid copies whose illuminators have not been identified. Two of the most spectacular books in the collection are connected with Giovanni Mocenigo, Doge of Venice from 1478 to the year of his death, 1485. In 1482 the Augsburg printer Erhard Ratdolt, who worked in Venice at that time, dedicated to Mocenigo the first edition of Euclid's *Elementa*, for which he had invented an ingenious way of printing mathematical figures. He celebrated the fact with a dedication to the doge printed in gold (using gold leaf) in several vellum copies, in itself a technical bravura feat. One of the seven extant copies with the dedication in gold was presented to Mocenigo with his miniature portrait facing the golden page.⁵¹ Smith also acquired another book presented to Giovanni Mocenigo, Origenes *Contra Celsum*, printed in Rome in 1481. Smith's copy, printed on vellum, is very lavishly illuminated, with again a small roundel portrait of the doge on the front page. This copy also features gold lettering, but this time applied with pen or brush over the printed type.⁵²

In the absence of early ownership inscriptions in the majority of copies – the successive rebinding by Smith and by the king's binders undoubtedly responsible for their destruction⁵³ – coats of arms are potentially a rich source of information. There are at least 34 different coats of arms in the books in the collection (not including the three items in which Smith had his coat of arms added by a contemporary artist, probably Visentini),⁵⁴ but their identification is a challenge, to date not fully met. A beginning has been made, however, supporting the notion that this is indeed material that remained in Venice for some 250 years, either in religious houses, donated by prominent Venetians, or in the families themselves. The following family names (in alphabetical order) can be associated with the Smith incunabula by identification of the coats of arms: Calbo, Carosi, Conti, Garzoni, Mocenigo, Pasqualigo,

51 C. 2.c.1. BMC V, p. 285. Victor Carter, Lotte Hellinga, Tony Parker, 'Printing with gold in the fifteenth century'. *British Library Journal*, 9 (1983), pp. 1–13, figs 1a, 1b.

52 C. 13.c.10, BMC IV, p. 126.

53 BMC frequently notes binding errors in the Smith copies in the King's Library, probably due to either of the two successive rebinding campaigns of the eighteenth century. A few copies appear to be made-up, but, although there is no decisive evidence, it seems more probable that this happened in the King's Library.

54 All three are major Italian texts: Dante, *Divina Commedia* (Florence, Nicolaus Laurentii, 1481), C.7.e.7, BMC VI, p. 629; Petrarch, *Sonetti e canzoni* (Padua, Bartholomaeus Valdezocchi, 1472), C.4.i.2, BMC VII, p. 904; Simoneta, *La Sforziada* (Milan, Antonius Zarotus, [1481–2]), C.15.c.2, BMC VI, p. 718.

Priuli, Sperone, Spina, Trevisano and Zeno.⁵⁵ The other shields still await identification.⁵⁶

Apart from Giovanni Mocenigo and Petrus de Fossis, only one other Venetian of the time when the books were published can be identified as an individual owner. The Smith copy of Alexander Benedictus, *Diaria de bello Carolino* (Venice, Aldus Manutius, [not before August 1496]), was probably the presentation copy of Admiral Melchior Trevisano (d. 1500).⁵⁷ Names of the sixteenth century are equally scarce. Bartolomeo Lippomano, son of Tomaso (senator, d. 1489) wrote in 1539 a note in the vellum copy of the Virgil printed in 1470 by Vindelinus de Spira. The name of Johannes Baptista de Luzagis, member of a prominent Brescia family, is found in a Sallustius, printed in Milan, Antonius Zarotus, 1474.⁵⁸

Underlying the history of the King's Library, now a treasured national possession, lies a complex history of book collecting in the eighteenth century. Consul Smith's collecting is representative of an early episode that temporarily enriched several English collections, whereas his own was for a long time well rooted in Venice. During his long life he steadily widened its scope and made the transition from mainly local purchases to the international market. For the earliest phase of his activities, his incunabula are the only remaining witnesses. In the traces of their early ownership we can still encounter some of the families and religious houses in the Veneto and Milan that once owned them. We can even get an inkling of their interaction over time, as ownership of books tended to move from individual owners to monasteries and convents. Here they rested undisturbed until bibliophiles became fascinated by uncovering what remains of the beginning of printing.

55 In the same order: Calbo, C.14.c.11, BMC V, p. 185; Carosi, C.14.e.5, BMC VII, p. 929; Conti, C.2.d.8, BMC V, p. 172; Garzoni, C.6.c.2, BMC V, p. 154; Mocenigo, C. 2. c.1, BMC V, p. 285, and C.13.c.10, BMC IV, p. 125; Pasqualigo, C.6.b.1, BMC VI, pp. 599–600; Priuli, C.14.c.2, BMC VII, pp. 933–4; Sperone, C.2.d.8, BMC V, p. 172; Spina, C.2.c.3, BMC VI, p. 895; Trevisano, C.8.h.14, BMC V, p. 555; Zeno, C.1.c.10, BMC V, p. 171. Some of the coats of arms are identified in BMC. Further identifications were made by Mrs Lilian Clark, working as a volunteer in the British Museum Library in the 1950s and 1960s; they can be found in the unpublished card index held in the British Library.

56 I have passed the photographic material and concordances I had assembled over the years to Dr Alessandra Panzanelli. Her expertise will make it possible to add further identifications to the MEI project.

57 BMC V, p. 555.

58 For a list of Smith's incunabula mentioned in this chapter with their occurrence in successive Smith catalogues and their British Library shelf-marks, see Appendix, pp. 488–95.

Appendices

Appendix to Chapter 2 Sales Advertisements for Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century

Most frequently used abbreviations in the bibliographical references:

Burger	Konrad Burger, <i>Buchhändleranzeigen des 15. Jahrhunderts. In getreuer Nachbildung herausgegeben.</i> Leipzig, 1907.
P & E	Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, <i>Distribution of books by catalogue from the invention of printing to A.D. 1800. Based on material in the Broxbourne Library.</i> Cambridge, 1965. [Printed for presentation to members of the Roxburghe Club.]
VE 15	Falk, Eisermann, <i>Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation.</i> 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 2004.
Winteroll	Hans Michael Winteroll, <i>Summae innumerae: Die Buchanzeigen der Inkunabelzeit und der Wandel lateinischer Gebrauchstexte im frühen Buchdruck.</i> Stuttgart, 1987. [Stuttgarter Arbeiten zur Germanistik 193.]

For reasons of space I have provided only ISTC numbers for finding further bibliographical references and locations.

	Advertisements for single items	Stock lists
1469–70	Strasbourg, Johann Mentelin, Aste- sanus de Ast, <i>Summa</i> . 'Volentes emere summam ... Veniant ad hospicium Et habebunt largum venditorem', ms note: Zum Wilhelmum Sautreiber (on BL copy). Burger 7, 8; P & E 6; Winteroll pp. 170–260; VE 15 M-150. ISTC im00497300.	

	Advertisements for single items	Stock lists
c. 1470	<p>Strasbourg, Heinrich Eggestein <i>Biblia latina</i>, 'in hospicio subscripto' ms: in domo Johannis lüpold Circa domum in qua venditur sal. Burger 2; P & E 1; VE 15 E-11. ISTC ie00014200.</p>	
c. 1470 (before September)		<p>Mainz, Peter Schoeffer. List of 20 titles 'Volentes sibi comparare ... veniant ad locum habitationis infrascriptum'. Ms note: '... zum Willden Mann'. Burger 3; P & E 2; VE 15 S-18. ISTC is00320950.</p>
1470	<p>Mainz, Peter Schoeffer Hieronymus, <i>Epistolae</i> (announcement). Burger 5; P & E 4; Winteroll, pp. 118–67; VE 15 S-19. ISTC is00320000.</p>	
1470	<p>Strasbourg, Johann Mentelin Paulus de S. Maria, <i>Scrutinium scripturarum</i> P & E 3, fig. 14; Winteroll, pp. 170–260; VE 15 M-152. ISTC im00497330.</p>	
1471		<p>Augsburg, Günther Zainer List of 7 titles, 4 Latin and 3 German P & E 7; VE 15 Z-1. ISTC iz00015000.</p>

	Advertisements for single items	Stock lists
c. 1471	<p>Strasbourg, C.W. Johannes Nider, <i>Manuale confessorum</i> (cf. Burger 16, Berchorius) VE15 B-103. ISTC ic01008400.</p>	<p>Strasbourg, Johann Mentelin Small handbill, 9 titles: Epistolae Augustini; Fortalitium fidei; Epistolae Hieronymi; Flavius Josephus; Virgilius; Terentius; Scru- tinium scripturarum; Augustinus Confessiones; Valerius Maximus. ‘Veniant ad hospiciu zu dem ...’ (not filled in). Burger 9; P & E 8; VE15 M-153. ISTC im00497350.</p>
c. 1472	<p>Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, Gratianus, <i>Decretum</i>, Gregorius, <i>Decretales</i> ‘Iuris canonici amatoribus’ P & E 10, 13; Winteroll, fig. 8; VE15 S-20. ISTC is00320970.</p>	
1473	<p>Nuremberg, Johann Sensenschmidt & Heinrich Kefer Reynerius de Pisis, <i>Pantheologia</i> ‘Innotescat universis harum literarum inspectoribus’ Reprinted by Berthold Ruppel, Basel, 1477. Burger 12; P & E 12; Winteroll, pp. 262–94; VE15 S-31. ISTC is00443000.</p>	<p>Augsburg, Johann Bämmler List of 8 substantial books in German, including Johannis (Friburgensis), <i>Summa</i>; Alexander Magnus (1472); Nider, <i>24 gulden harpffen</i> (1472), <i>Sieben weise Meister</i> (1473); <i>Lis belial</i> (1473). Burger 11; P & E 11; VE15 B-1. ISTC ib00007500.</p>
c. 1473	<p>Cologne, Johann Schilling Franciscus de Maiorani, <i>Flores S. Augustini</i> Burger 19; P & E 2; VE15 S-5. ISTC is00319650.</p>	

	Advertisements for single items	Stock lists
1473-4		<p>Nuremberg, Regiomontanus (Johannes Müller) Announcement of titles, incl. <i>Astronomicon</i>, plans only partly carried out Burger 15; VE 15 R-11. ISTC iro0091800.</p>
1474	<p>Augsburg, Benedictines Ulrich & Afra Vincentius Bellovacensis, <i>Speculum historiale</i> Proof sheets on vellum. VE 15 B-102. ISTC ia01213800.</p>	
c. 1474	<p>Augsburg, Günther Zainer Reynerius de Pisis, <i>Pantheologia</i> P & E 19; Winteroll, pp. 261-94; VE 15 Z-2. ISTC iz000155500.</p>	<p>Strasbourg, Johann Mentelin Fragment, offering 4 editions: Vincentius, <i>Speculum historiarum</i>; Astesanus de Ast; Isidorus; Guido de Baysio, <i>Rosarium decretorum</i> Burger 13; P & E 14; VE 15 M-154. ISTC im00497370.</p>
c. 1474	<p>Strasbourg, C.W. Berchorius, <i>Liber Biblie moralis</i> 'Veniant ad locum habitationis infrascriptum' (not filled in) Burger 16; P & E 18; Winteroll, pp. 93-116; VE 15 B-104. ISTC ic01008500.</p>	<p>Augsburg, Günther Zainer Long list, Latin works mixed with 15 German items 'ad hospicium infrascriptum'. Burger 14; P & E 20; VE 15 Z-3. ISTC iz00016000.</p>

	Advertisements for single items	Stock lists
c. 1474		<p>Ulm, Johann Zainer 17 works, all printed by Zainer, mixed Latin and 4 German incl, Steinhowel, <i>Chronik</i> ‘Volentes emere libros subscriptos summa cum diligntiatali litera in opido vlm impressos / veniant ad locum habitacionis infrascriptum’. ms address to ‘Domino Matheo’ Burger 17; P & E 15; VE 15 Z-5. ISTC iz00016500.</p>
1475	<p>Lübeck, Lucas Brandis, <i>Rudimentum novitiorum</i> P & E 22; Winteroll, pp. 383–99; VE 15 B-66. ISTC ibo1073550.</p>	<p>Nuremberg, Johann Sensen- schmidt & Andreas Frisner Legal works, incl. Justinian Codex, Panormitanus, Petrus de Monte ‘Non solum dico imprimunt, sed ita imprimunt ut admirandi sunt longe facilius quam imitandi’ Burger 18; P & E 21; Winteroll pp. 343–82; VE 15 S-32. ISTC is00443200.</p>
c. 1476		<p>Augsburg, Günther Zainer 18 works, 14 Latin and 4 German incl. Bible Burger 20; P & E 24; VE 15 Z-4. ISTC iz00016100. Venice, Joh. de Colonia & Joh. Manthen Stock list of 35 editions printed in various Italian towns P & E 25. ISTC ij00311300.</p>

Advertisements for single items	Stock lists
1476–7	<p>Nuremberg, Friedrich Creussner</p> <p>Stock list of 31 editions printed at Nuremberg, Augsburg, Strasbourg and Basel</p> <p>‘Volentes ... veniant ad locum subscriptum’</p> <p>P & E 26; VE15 B-105.</p> <p>ISTC ic00976000.</p>
c. 1477	<p>Basel, Berthold Ruppel</p> <p>Reynerius de Pisis, <i>Pantheologia</i></p> <p>Reprinted from Senschmidt and Kefer</p> <p>Trial impression (?) Burger dated ‘1470’.</p> <p>Burger 4; P & E 5; VE15 R-38 (cf. R-39).</p> <p>ir00365100, cf. ir00365110.</p>
c. 1477	<p>Westminster, William Caxton</p> <p><i>Pica Sarum</i></p> <p>‘If it plese ony man ...to bye ... enpryntid after the forme of this present lettre ... late hym come to westmonester in to the almonesrye at the reed pale...’</p> <p>Burger 21; P & E 27</p> <p>ISTC ic00355700.</p> <p>Milan, Antonius Zarotus</p> <p>Stock list printed for Marco Roma</p> <p>‘Lista di libri stampati’</p> <p>ISTC ir00305300.</p>
c. 1478	<p>Lübeck, Lucas Brandis</p> <p>Stock list of 16 books in Low German. GW M43235.</p> <p>ISTC ie00017200.</p>

Advertisements for single items	Stock lists
1478–9	<p>Venice, Nicolas Jenson</p> <p>Stock list of 32 Latin works, arranged by subject; includes editions from Padua, Milan, Pavia, Treviso, Naples and 8 printed by Jac. Rubeus</p> <p>‘Index librorum venalium Nicolai Jenson gallici impressorum venetiis’</p> <p>ISTC ij00218700.</p>
1478–9	<p>Lübeck, Printer of Fliscus (Lucas Brandis?). Stock list. Printed for a bookseller (in Lübeck).</p> <p>Subjects: Vtriusque iuris; sacra theologia; in arte humanitatis; in arte poesi et arte oratoria; in grammatica pro puorum educatione; Logica; Medicina.</p> <p>‘Hec volumina habentur in littera ut dixi impressa diversis in locis et litteris/puta veneciana/que cunctis excellentior habetur et in legendo plus delectabilis in corrigendo magis emendata.</p> <p>Item in littera Moguntinensi Nurenbergensi Coloniensi Basiliensi ac pluribus alijs.</p> <p>Omnia autem codicum patebunt ibidem.</p> <p>Et habebitur venditor largissimus: ...’ (not filled in).</p> <p>Burger 28; P & E 37; VE 15 B-67.</p> <p>ISTC ibo1073580.</p>

Advertisements for single items	Stock lists
c. 1481	<p>Nuremberg, Anton Koberger List of 22 works distinguished in Theologia (incl. <i>Pantheologia</i>). Sermones incl. Boethius, Antoninus Florentinus, Medicinis, etc., with long Latin introduction, 'ad hospicium subnotatum' Burger 22; P & E 29; Winteroll, pp. 296–337; VE 15 K-18 ISTC ik00028500.</p>
1482	<p>Venice, Joh. Herbolt for the Compania Nicolai Jenson et Socii Three leaves, in Jenson's type, Stock list 89 works 'precipue ex optima officina Nicolai Jenson et Socii' Burger 23; P & E 30 ISTC ij00218800.</p>
<p>Venice, Erhard Ratdolt Euclid, <i>Elementa</i> Announcement of publication. Separate impression of leaf 2 recto (until l. 8 and including planimet- ric figures) and a colophon. Printing of the book had not been completed. 'Imprimetur venetijs per magis- trum Erhardum rotdolt de Augusta' with the additional name of Udalri- cus Craftzhofer of Nuremberg'. Burger 25; P & E 32 ISTC iro0029820.</p>	

	Advertisements for single items	Stock lists
1482	<p>Basel, Bernhard Richel</p> <p>Hugo de S. Caro, <i>Postilla</i></p> <p>On first leaf a preface that may have been used as advertisement.</p> <p>Burger 24 (Leipzig copy lost);</p> <p>P & E 31; Winteroll, 63–91; VE 15</p> <p>R-18,</p> <p>ISTC iroo195600.</p>	
1483–4		<p>Augsburg, Anton Sorg</p> <p>Stock list of 35 works of German literature, including some printed by Joh. Bämle 'Wäre yemants hie der d' da gute teutsche bücher mit diser geschrift gedruckt kauffen wol der mag sich fügen in die herberg als unden an diser zettel verzeichnet ist'.</p> <p>Burger 26; P & E 33; VE 15 S-173.</p> <p>ISTC isoo633995.</p>
1483–4		<p>Augsburg, Anton Sorg</p> <p>Variant setting of previous item</p> <p>VE 15 S-174.</p> <p>ISTC isoo634000.</p>
1484		<p>Venice, [Erhard Ratdolt]</p> <p>Libri venales Venetiis impressi</p> <p>Stock list of works by many Venetian printers,</p> <p>ordered as subjects: in theologia (15, incl. Biblia in charta magna); in logica (2); in humanitate et poetica (16, incl. Classical authors); in iure canonico & civili (4); in astronomia et geometrica (7); in medicina (2)</p> <p>Burger 27; P & E 34</p> <p>ISTC irooo29800.</p>

	Advertisements for single items	Stock lists
1486		<p>Augsburg, Anton Sorg List of 29 books in German. P & E 3; VE 15 S-175. ISTC isoo634500.</p>
Not before 1487	<p>Memmingen, Albrecht Kunne, <i>Syben historien</i> Fragments. VE 15 T-2. ISTC ikooo43500.</p>	
c. 1488		<p>Lübeck, Printer of Fliscus (Lucas Brandis?) Stock list of 16 books in Low German, mostly printed by Brandis or Stephan Arndes. 'Is dat ienigen behegelik is desse nageschrevene boke alle edder ettlke to kopen de mach kamen in de stede edder herberge hir na gescreven he schal vinden enen milden verkoper' (not filled in). Burger 31; P & E 28; VE 15 B-68. ISTC ibo1073600.</p>
1489	<p>Venice, Thomas de Blavis Bonifacius VIII, <i>Liber sextus Decretalium</i> P & E 36; Winteroll pp. 377–82 ISTC iboo697700.</p>	
1491	<p>Antwerp, Gheraert Leeu Advertisement with woodcut for <i>Melusine</i> (Dutch), and other books with woodcuts 'Ende men salse met vele meer andere nieuwe boecken vinden te coope ter plaetzen hieronder gescreven' (not filled in) Burger 29; P & E 38 ISTC iloo110910.</p>	

	Advertisements for single items	Stock lists
1493	<p>Nuremberg, Anton Koberger <i>Liber Chronicarum</i> ‘Commendatio operis novi cronicarum cum ymaginibus temporum ... nuper impressus ... Vale et hunc librum e manibus tuis elabi non sine’. Burger 30; P & E 39; VE15 K-19. ISTC ik00028700.</p>	
After 5. viii.1495		<p>Augsburg, Johann Bämle Stock list, half his own publications, in German P & E 41; VE15 B-2. ISTC ib00007600.</p>
1498 (dubious)	<p>Rome, Eucharius Silber Joh. Annius, <i>Auctores vetustissimi</i>. Inserted in some copies is a list of contents, also found printed in types of J. Hamman, Venice. Cf. GW 2015, Anmerkung. P & E 43 ISTC ia00748000.</p>	
After 1.x.1498		<p>Venice, Aldus Manutius List of 11 Greek publications. ‘Libri graeci impressi usque diem primum octobris M11D’ P & E 45 ISTC im00226700.</p>
c. 1500–1	<p>Paris, Enguillbert, Geoffroy, Jean de Marnef Aristoteles, <i>Ethica ad Nicomachum</i> P & E 42 ISTC im00276500.</p>	

	Advertisements for single items	Stock lists
c. 1500	Paris, Guillaume Guerson de Villelongue Printer's advertisement on fol. 100 ^b	
early 16th century?		Memmingen, Albrecht Kunne On vellum, binders' waste Long list of c. 180 titles in small type 'Libri venales Venetiis Nurembergae alibique impressi' Subjects: Theology, in legibus, in medicinis, in artibus, classical authors, astronomy, geography Burger 32; P & E 47; VE 15 B-106. ISTC ik00044500

Appendix I to Chapter 4

The binder 'Kyriss 160'

The following list is a chronological arrangement of material taken from the following sources, abbreviated as

- Sack: Vera Sack, 'Über Verlegereinbände und Buchhandel Peter Schöffers', *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*-Frankfurter Ausgabe 17 (1971), pp. 1775–94. Also in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 13 (1972–3), cols. 249–88.
- Staub-Yildiz (2008): Kurt Hans Staub and Zeynep Yildiz, 'Gebunden in Mainz in der Werkstatt M mit Krone: Die Einbände im Gutenberg-Museum Mainz, ihr Stempelschmuck und ihren frühen Besitzer', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 2008, pp. 257–71.
- Staub-Yildiz (2009): Kurt Hans Staub and Zeynep Yildiz, 'Einbände der Mainzer Werkstatt M mit Krone (Kyriss 160) in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt und ihre Provenienzen', *Einband-Forschung* 24, 2009, pp. 23–33.
- Staub-Blank (2012): Kurt Hans Staub, Maïke Blank *et al.* 'Aus der und über die Inkunabelsammlung der Martinus-Bibliothek', in Helmut Hinkel (ed.), *Bibliotheca S. Martini Moguntina: Alte Bücher, Neue Funde*. Mainz, Würzburg, 2012, pp. 139–64.

In addition I used

- Annelen Ottermann, *Die Mainzer Karmelitenbibliothek: Spurensuche – Spurensicherung – Spurendeutung*, 2 vols. Berlin, 2016. [Berliner Arbeiten zur Bibliotheks- und Informationswissenschaft 27], pp. 338–40, vol. 2, p. 74, Table xxv.
- Lore Spandel-Kraft, *Die spätgotischen Einbände an den Inkunabeln der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg*. Schöningh, 2000.

For references to catalogues of incunabula the abbreviations conform to those used in ISTC.

Unless noted otherwise, the format is in-folio, without distinction of the dimension within this format.

Composite volumes are placed with the year of publication of the item with the latest date, since obviously it could not have been bound before that date.

The following list is numbered in a single sequence: 1–205. The numbers are followed by a Roman numeral indicating the decades 1465–70, 1471–80, etc.

1/1	17.xii.1465 ISTC ib00976000	Bonifacius VIII, <i>Liber Sextus Decret.</i>	Mainz, J. Fust & P. Schoeffer
2/1	6.iii.1467 ISTC it00209000	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa Theologica</i> 11.2	Mainz, P. Schoeffer
3/1	Another copy of 2/1		
4/1	Another copy of 2/1		
5/1	Another copy of 2/1		
6/1	Another copy of 2/1		
7/1	Another copy of 2/1		
8/1	Another copy of 2/1		
not Kyriss 160	c. 1469 ISTC ib00020000	Joh. Balbus, <i>Catholicon</i>	Mainz, Pr. of <i>Catholicon</i>
9/1	17.iv.1470 ISTC ib00978000	Bonifacius VIII, <i>Liber Sextus Decret.</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer

}

} or) signifies that items are bound
} together in one volume

PW: Printer's waste.

Illum: illuminated

Prov: only the earliest
owners have been noted

Frankfurt a. M. UB,
Sack 15

Prov. Frankfurt, Ludwig v. Marburg z. Paradies,
d. 1502.
Mainz decoration, rubrication

Augsburg StB,
Sack 84

Copenhagen RL,
Madsen 3932

Mainz decoration, rubrication

Michelstadt
Kirchenbibl.,
Staub 143

Paris,
Arsenal,
fol. T. 1316

Nuremberg, GNM,
Hellwig 901
Sack 86

PW: Schoeffer, 1468
Buyer's note by the abbot Gaspar: 1472
Prov: St. Georgenberg-Fiecht,
Tirol, Benedictines
Mainz initial, red, purple penwork
Mainz rubricator

formerly Doheny > Amsterdam
BPH > ?

PW: Schoeffer 1467, 1469
from original binding
Mainz: interlocking initial, purple penwork,
grotesque profiles, flourished initials

Frankfurt a M. UB,
Sack 85

PW: Schoeffer 1473 or 1476
Prov: Frankfurt, Dominicans

Stuttgart WLB,
Inc. fol. 2254

Binder: previously recorded as Kyriss 160;
possibly Heilbronn
EBDB Werkstatt w0071 222

München BSB,
Ink. B-699/2

Prov: Mainz, Dombibliothek
vellum copy

10/I	7.ix.1470 ISTC ih00165000	Hieronymus, <i>Epistolae</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer
11/I	Another copy of 10/I		
12/I	Another copy of 10/I		
13/I	Another copy of 10/I		
14/I	Another copy of 10/I		
15/I	Another copy of 10/I		
16/I	Another copy of 10/I		
17/II	14.vi.1471 ISTC iv00023000	Valerius Maximus, <i>Facta et dicta</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer
18/II	13.viii.1472 ISTC ig00362000	Gratianus, <i>Decretum</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer
19/II	Another copy of 18/II		

}

} or) signifies that items are bound
} together in one volume

PW: Printer's waste.

Illum: illuminated

Prov: only the earliest
owners have been noted

Beromünster,
Stiftsbibl.,
Mattman 61

Mainz decoration, rubrication

München BSB,
Ink H-246

Buyer's note, 31. 12. 1471
Prov: Ratisbon.Joh. Weissenberger,
Canonus
Mainz decoration, rubrication

Reutlingen StB,
Amelung Kat., 46

Mainz decoration, rubrication

Saint-Omer BM

PW: Schoeffer 1470
Prov. Saint-Omer,
Canon Jacques Houchin,
bequeathed by him to his church, 1480/1
Mainz decoration, rubrication

Stuttgart WLB,
Inc. fol. 7530
Sack 59

PW: Schoeffer 1470
Prov: Constanzt, Domkapittel
Mainz decoration, rubrication

Trier, StB
Nolden 1421

PW: Schoeffer 1470
Prov. Benedictinenses Walsdorf
Mainz painting, decoration,
rubrication

Paris,
Musée des Lettres

Formerly in binding Kyriss 160
PW
Mainz painting, decoration, rubrication

Frankfurt a. M. UB,
Sack 95A

Prov. Frankfurt,
Ludwig v. Marburg z. Paradies, d. 1502
Mainz decoration, rubrication

Frankfurt a. M. UB,
Sack 42

Frankfurt, Dominicans
Mainz painting, decoration, rubrication

Göttingen SUB,
g.20 Ius Canon.24/2 Inc

20/II	Another copy of 18/II		
21/II	Another copy of 18/II		
22/II	Another copy of 18/II		
23/II	c. 1470–2? ISTC ig00446000	Gregorius IX, <i>Decretales</i>	Strasbourg, H. Eggestein
24/II	c. 1471–2 ISTC it00006000	Tacitus, <i>Opera</i>	Venice, V. de Spira
25/II	17.i.1473 ISTC ic00171000	R. Caracciolus, <i>Sermones quadragesim.</i>	Cologne, U. Zell
26/II	23.xi.1473 ISTC ig00447000	Gregorius IX, <i>Decretales</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer
27/II	12.iii.1474–76 ISTC ibo1169000	<i>Breviarium Moguntinum</i>	Marienthal, Fratres Vitae Communis
28/II	12.iii.1474 ISTC ibo1169000	<i>Breviarium Moguntinum, Pars aestivalis</i> , 4 ⁰	Marienthal, Fratres Vitae Communis
29/II	10.ix.1474 ISTC ih00039000	Henricus de Herpf, <i>Speculum aureum</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer

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München BSB,
Ink. G-254/3

Vellum copy
Berth. von Henneberg
Illuminated for him Mainz, 1484,
Dombibliothek

Wolfenbüttel HAB,
Borm 1169

Vellum copy
Mainz painting, decoration,
rubrication

Würzburg UB,
Sack 43
Hubay 941/3

PW: Schoeffer 1470
Prov: Mainz, Dombibliothek
Mainz painting, decoration,
rubrication

Washington DC,
Folger Library

Prov. Adolfus Knoblauch,
matric. 1506, Frankfurt/Oder
(corresp. Monique Hulvey)

München BSB,
Ink T-9

Prov: Tønning, Jrot/Inn, Joh. Opolio

Mainz,
Martinus-Bibliothek, Inc. 219
Staub-Blank (2012)

München BSB,
Ink G-332/5

Prov: Mainz, Dombibliothek, vellum copy
Mainz painting, decoration, rubrication

Mainz
Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 84b
Sack 23
Staub-Yildiz (2008), 2

PW: 4⁰ ms from Mainz
Prov: Mainz, family von Cleen
Mainz rubrication, decoration

New York,
H.P. Kraus, Catalogue 193, no. 6
Mainz, Gutenberg Museum Ink. 84b

Darmstadt ULB,
Sack 57
Staub-Yildiz (2009)

PW: Schoeffer 1473
Mainz decoration, rubrication

30/II	Another copy of 29/II		
31/II	26.1.1475 ISTC ij00574000	<i>Corpus iuris civilis, Codex</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer
32/II	Another copy of 31/II		
33/II	14.iv.1475 ISTC ib00436000	Bernardus Claravallensis, <i>Sermones</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer
34/II} } }	c. 1475 ISTC ip00929000	Lud. Pontanus, <i>Singularia</i>	Strasbourg, H. Eggestein
35/II} } }	c. 1475, after 9.v. ISTC ip00028000	Nic. de Tudeschis, <i>Consilia</i>	Strasbourg, H. Eggestein
36/II	1475 ISTC ij00343000	Joh. de Imola, <i>In Clementinas</i>	Venice, J. Rubeus
37/II	9.iv.1476 ISTC il00007000	Lactantius, <i>Opera</i>	Rostock, Fratres Domus Viridi Horti
38/II	10.vi.1476 ISTC ig00365000	Gratianus, <i>Decretum</i>	Basel, B. Richel
39/II} } }	5.vii.1476 ISTC io00008000	Guilielmus de Ockam, <i>Dialogus P. 1–3; Compendium errorum Papae Joh. xxii</i>	Paris, Pr. of Ockam
40/II} } }	c. 1474–5 ISTC ig00400500	Gregorius, <i>Dialogorum libri quattuor</i>	Paris, P. Caesaris

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Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek, Inc. 132 Staub- Blank (2012)	Mainz decoration	
Mainz Gutenberg Museum, StB Ink 2081 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 1	Mainz painting and illumination	
Greifswald Geistl. Min. Catalogue Wilhelmi, v. Rabenau, Dubowik-Belka (1997), no. 377	Prov: Greifswald, Franciscans red + blue lombard initials	
München BSB, Ink B-320.3	Mainz rubrication	
Würzburg UB, Hubay 1765/3 Sack 77 Hubay 2096/3 Sack 88	Buyer's note: Mainz, 1479 Prov: Mainz, Melchior Truchsess v. Pommersfelden, Domherr in Mainz	
Würzburg UB, Hubay 1275, Sack 62 Frankfurt a. M. UB, Sack 66		
Würzburg UB, Hubay 943/2 Sack 44 München BSB, Ink. G.501.1	Buyer's date: Mainz, 1479 Prov: Mainz, M. Truchsess v. Pommersfelden, Domherr in Mainz Prov: Mainz, Dombibliothek	
Ink. G-294		

41/I}	c. 1468	Augustinus,	Strasbourg,
}	ISTC	<i>De doctrina christiana</i>	J. Mentelin
}	ia01228000		
42/II	18.xii.1476	Michael de Dalen,	Cologne,
	ISTC	<i>Casus summarii Decretalium</i>	P. in Altis
	im00531900		de Olpe
43/II	1476	Bonifacius VIII,	Venice,
	ISTC	<i>Liber Sextus Decret.</i>	N. Jenson
	ib00984000		
44/II	1476	Clemens v,	Venice,
	ISTC	<i>Constitutiones</i>	N. Jenson
	ic00728000		
45/II	c. 1476	<i>Articella, seu Opus artis</i>	Padua,
	ISTC	<i>medicinae</i>	N. Petri
	ia01142500		
46/II	31.v.1477	<i>Corpus iuris civilis,</i>	Venice,
	ISTC	<i>Infortiatum</i>	J. Rubeus
	ij00555500		
47/II	30.vii.1477	<i>Biblia latina</i>	Nuremberg,
	ISTC		A. Koberger
	ib00552000		
48/II	21.viii.1477	<i>Corpus iuris civilis,</i>	Mainz,
	ISTC	<i>Novellae</i>	P. Schoeffer
	ij00589000		
49/II	21.xi.1477	<i>Corpus iuris civilis</i>	Venice,
	ISTC	<i>Digestum vetus</i>	J. Rubeus
	ij00547000		
50/II	10.xii.1477	Bonifacius VIII,	Basel,
	ISTC	<i>Liber Sextus Decret.</i>	M. Wenssler
	ib00987000		
51/II	1477	Thomas Aquinas,	Venice,
	ISTC	<i>Summa Theologica P. I</i>	N. Jenson
	it00198000		

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 Ink. A-871.2

Frankfurt a. M. UB,
 Sack 71

Würzburg UB,
 Hubay 490,
 Sack 17

Buyer's date: 1479.
 Prov: Mainz, M. Truchsess v. Pommerfelden

Würzburg UB,
 Hubay 657,
 Sack 26

Buyer's date: 1479.
 Prov: M. Truchsess v. Pommerfelden

Bamberg SB,
 Sack 8

Prov: Bamberg, Benedictines Michelsberg

Bamberg SB,
 Inc.typ.D.I.10
 Sack 31

Prov: Bamberg, Benedictines Michelsberg

Mainz,
 Gutenberg Museum
 / StB,
 Ink. 1208

Köln UB,
 Mev. fol. 43
 Sack 32

Prov: Trier (?)

Bamberg SB,
 Sack 30

Prov: Bamberg, Benedictines Michelsberg

Darmstadt ULB,
 Sack 18
 Staub-Yildiz (2009)
 Mainz
 Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 2293
 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 4

Prov: Mainz, Carmelites
 Mainz painting, decoration,
 rubrication (paragraph marks), decoration
 Prov: Mainz, Karmeliten (Ottermann,
 2016, Table xxv)

52/II	c. 1477 ISTC id00109000	<i>Decisiones Rotae Romanae</i>	Basel, B. Ruppel, M. Wenssler, B. Richel
53/II	not before 1477 ISTC if00253300	<i>Formularium instrumentorum ad usum Curiae Romanae</i>	Cologne, J. Koelhoff the Elder
54/II} } }	2.v.1478 ISTC ic00722000	Clemens v, <i>Constitutiones</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler
55/II} } }	c. 1470–2 ISTC ib00977000	Bonifacius VIII, <i>Liber VI Decretalium</i>	Strasbourg, H. Eggstein
56/II	27.vi.1478 ISTC in00063000	Nic. de Ausmo, <i>Suppl. Summae Pisanellae</i>	Nuremberg, A. Koberger
57/II	31.vii.1478 ISTC ij00518000	<i>Corpus iuris civilis, Institutiones</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler
58/II	19.viii.1478 ISTC ig00450000	Gregorius IX, <i>Decretales</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler
59/II	Another copy of 58/II		
60/II	Another copy of 58/II		
61/II	Sept. 1478 ISTC iv00338000	<i>Vocabularius utriusque iuris</i>	Speyer, P. Drach

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Würzburg UB,
 Hubay 750,
 Sack 37

Buyer's date: 1479
 Prov: Mainz, M. Truchsess v.
 Pommersfelden

Mainz
 Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 2582
 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 5
 Frankfurt a. M. UB,
 Sack 27

Mainz, Gotschalk Eschenbrocker, d. 1515,
 buyer's note 'emi a Contzgen in Paradiso',
 bequeathed to the Mainz Charterhouse
 Mainz and
 Frankfurt,
 Heinrich Jungel aus Nidda, fl. 1493–1504

Sack 16

Würzburg UB,
 Hubay 1521,
 Sack 72

Buyer's note: Mainz, 1479
 Prov: Mainz, M. Truchsess v.
 Pommersfelden

Washington DC,
 Folger Library

Mainz rubrication
 Adolf Knoblauch,
 matric. Frankfurt/Oder, 1506
 M. Hulvey, PBSA 92 (1998), pp. 167–8. Cf.
 23/II

Bamberg SB,
 Inc.typ.P.11.2
 Sack 48

Bamberg, Franciscans

Frankfurt a. M., UB,
 Sack 49

Frankfurt family Knobelouch

Würzburg UB,
 Hubay 972,
 Sack 50

Buyer's note: Mainz, 1479
 Prov: Mainz, M. Truchsess v.
 Pommersfelden

Mainz,
 Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 560
 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 6

PW: broadside, Mainz, Schoeffer, c. 1480.
 Prov: Johannes Andreae (buyer's note)
 Mainz illumination, initial with clowns

62/II	29.xi.1478 ISTC ij00590000	<i>Corpus iuris civilis, Novellae</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler
63/II	Another copy of 62/II (Pt. I only)		
64/II	1476–8 ISTC iu00023000	Baldus de Ubaldis, <i>Lectura super Decretalibus</i>	Milan, C. Valdarfer for P.A. de Castelliono
65/II	1477–8 ISTC ip00046000	Nic. de Tudeschis, <i>Lectura super V libros Decretalium</i>	Venice, Nic. Jenson
66/II	14789– ISTC ij00567000	<i>Corpus iuris civilis, Digestum novum</i>	Basel, B. Ruppel
67/II	26.ii.1479 ISTC ib00226000	Bartolus de Saxoferrato, <i>Super II p. Digesti Veteris</i>	Venice, J. de Colonia, & J. Manthen
68/II	Another copy of 67/II		
69/II	10.iii.1479 ISTC ig00451000	Gregorius IX, <i>Decretales</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer
70/II	Another copy of 69/II		
71/II	25.iii.1479 ISTC ia01241000	Augustinus, <i>De civitate Dei</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler & B. Richel
72/II	6.v.1479 ISTC id00448000	G. Duranti, <i>Speculum judiciale</i> 3 vols.	Padua, J. Herbort

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 owners have been noted

Erlangen UB,
 Sack 33

Prov: Heilsbronn nr. Ansbach, Cistercians

Frankfurt a. M., UB
 Sack 34

Prov: Frankfurt, Carmelites

Mainz,
 Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 2525,
 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 7

pw: Mainz broadsheet, c. 1480

Mainz
 Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 1540
 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 3

Prov: Mainz, Carmelites,
 (Ottermann, 2016, Table xxv)

Mainz
 Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 758
 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 10

Prov: Mainz, Carmelites,
 (Ottermann, 2016, Table xxv)
 Mainz painting, illumination

Erlangen UB,
 Sack 11

Mainz
 Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 579
 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 9

Erlangen UB,
 Sack 51

Prov: Nemmersdorf / Bayreuth,
 Franciscan convent St Jobst,

Providence, RI
 Annmary Brown Memorial Library

Mainz illumination,
 parallel stroke master

Mainz,
 Martinus-Bibliothek, Inc. 3
 Staub-Blank (2012)

Würzburg UB
 Sack 40
 Hubay 808

Buyer's note: Mainz, 1479
 Prov: Mainz, M. Truchsess
 v. Pommersfelden
 Mainz decoration, rubrication

73/II	Another copy of 72/II: Vol. 1 only, vols. 2 and 3 could not be found at time of visit		
74/II	11.vi.1479 ISTC ip00768000	Barth. Platina, <i>Vitae pontificum</i>	Venice, J. de Colonia, & J. Manthen
75/II	3.ix.1479 ISTC ito0539000	Joh. Turrecremata, <i>Meditationes</i>	[Mainz], J. Numeister
76/II	23.ix.1479 ISTC im00239000	Joh. Marchesinus, <i>Mammotrectus</i>	Venice, N. Jenson
77/II	1479 ISTC ij00568000	<i>Corpus iuris civilis, Digestum Novum</i>	Padua, P. Maufer for Z. de Zacharotis
78/II	c. 1479 ISTC id00420000	G. Duranti, <i>Rationale divinorum officiorum</i>	[Strasbourg, G. Husner]
79/II	not after 1479 ISTC id00311000	Dominicus de S. Geminiano, <i>Super sexto Decretalium</i>	Speyer, P. Drach
80/II	not after 1479 ISTC id00421000	G. Duranti, <i>Rationale divinorum officiorum</i>	Strasbourg, G. Husner
81/II	c. 1479 ISTC ih00021500	Henr. de Gorichem, <i>Conclusiones</i>	Reutlingen, M. Greyff
82/II	3.i.1480 ISTC ig00368000	Gratianus, <i>Decretum</i>	Venice, J. de Colonia, & J. Manthen
83/II}	26.iv.1480	Joh. de Imola,	Venice,
}	ISTC	<i>In Clementinas</i>	J. de Colonia,
}	ij00344000		& J. Manthen

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Nuremberg GMN,
 Hellwig 344
 Sack 41

Prov: Bamberg,
 Michelsberg
 Mainz decoration

Neuburg (Donau) StB
 Sack 76

Stuttgart WLB
 Inc. fol.15726
 Sack 91

Frankfurt a. M. UB,
 Sack 69

Frankfurt, Dominicans

Bamberg SB
 Sack 29

Prov: Bamberg,
 Benedictines Michelsberg

Mainz
 Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 1194
 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 8

Prov: Mainz, Gotschalk
 Eschenbrocker, d. 1515,
 left to Mainz Charterhouse
 Mainz decoration, penwork

Würzburg UB,
 Hubay 779
 Sack 38

Buyer's note: Mainz, 1479
 Prov: Mainz, M. Truchsess v.
 Pommersfelden

Bamberg SB,
 Sack 39

Bamberg, Dombibliothek

Darmstadt ULB,
 Sack 56
 Staub-Yildiz (2009)

Dillingen Kr Bibl.
 Sack 45

Augsburg, Domkapittel
 Mainz illumination?

Erlangen UB
 Sack 63

84/II}	c. 1478	Nic. de Tudeschis,	Lyon,
}	ISTC	<i>Super rubrica de translatione</i>	M. Huss
}	ip00070000		
85/II	1480	Petrus de Aquila,	Speyer,
	ISTC	<i>Quaestiones</i>	P. Drach
	ip00446000		
86/II	1477–80	Antoninus Florentinus,	Venice,
	ISTC	<i>Summa theologia,</i>	N. Jenson
	ia00872000	Partes I, II, IV	
87/II	Another copy of 86/II: Pars III		
88/III	10.v.1481	Petrus Lombardus,	Nuremberg,
	ISTC	<i>Sententiarum libri IV</i>	A. Koberger
	ip00481000		
89/III	24.vii.1481	Joh. de Turrecremata,	Vienne,
	ISTC	<i>Quaestiones evangeliorum</i>	E. Frommolt
	it00551000		
90/III	17.viii.1481	Bonifacius VIII,	Speyer,
	ISTC	<i>Liber Sextus Decretalium</i>	P. Drach
	ib00992000		
91/III	19.viii.1481	Gratianus,	Basel,
	ISTC	<i>Decretum</i>	M. Wenssler
	ig00370000		
92/III	13.xi.1481	Joh. Duns Scotus,	Venice,
	ISTC	<i>Quaestiones super Sententias</i>	J. Herbert for
	id00381000		J. de
			Colonia,
			N. Jenson
			& Socii
93/III}	19.xi.1481	Olradus de Ponte,	Vienne,
}	ISTC	<i>Consilia et quaestiones</i>	E. Frommolt
}	io00062390		

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(Erlangen UB)

Sack 90

München BSB,

Ink P-341

Mainz

Gutenberg Museum,

Ink. 2159, 2212

Staub-Yildiz (2008) 11, 12

Prov: Frankfurt,

Joh. Ugelheymer (d. 1502)

Mainz illumination, flourished initials

beginning most tituli,

rubricated

Darmstadt ULB

Staub-Yildiz (2009 and 2008, p. 260)

Prov: Frankfurt, Joh. Ugelheymer

illumination as above

Mainz

Gutenberg Museum,

Ink 2037,

Info. Dr Ottermann

Donaueschingen HB>

Sotheby's, London, 11.7.1994, lot 316

Sack 92

Prov: Villingen, (Baden-Württemberg),

Conventual Franciscans

Frankfurt a. M. UB

Prov: Frankfurt, Bartholomaeusstift

Sack 19

Frankfurt a. M. UB

PW: Mainz ms charters

Sack 46

Prov: Heinrich Jungel aus Nidda

Mainz painting, decoration, rubrication

Mainz

Prov. Mainz, Jacobus Wicker

Gutenberg Museum,

Ink. 2407

Staub-Yildiz (2008), 13

Nuremberg StB

Sack 73

94/II}	c. 1475	Nic. de Tudeschis,	Basel,
}	ISTC	<i>Glossae Clementinae</i>	M. Wenssler
}	ip00040600		
95/II)	24.xii.1480	Ant. Andreae,	Venice,
)	ISTC	<i>Scriptum in artem</i>	O. Scotus
)	ia00590000	<i>veterem Aristotelis</i>	
96/III)	24.xii.1481	Ant. Andreae,	Venice,
)	ISTC	<i>Quaestiones super Metaphysicam</i>	A. de Strata
)	ia00582000		
97/III)	12.xii.1481	Joh. de Magistris,	Parma,
)	ISTC	<i>Quaestiones</i>	D. de Moyllis
)	im00025000		
98/III	1481	W. Rolewinck,	Cologne,
	ISTC	<i>Fasciculus temporum</i>	H. Quentel
	iro0265000		
99/III	c. 1480–1	Antoninus Florentinus,	Venice,
	ISTC	<i>Summa theological</i>	L. Wild [& R.
	ia00873000	vol. iv	de Novimagio]
100/II}	c. 1478	Joh. Herolt,	Cologne,
}	ISTC	<i>Sermones super epistolas</i>	C. Winters de
}	ih00124000	<i>dominicales</i>	Homborch
101/III}	1481	Joh. Gualensis,	[Ulm,
}	ISTC	<i>Summa collationum</i>	Joh. Zainer]
}	ij00331000		
102/III	12.iii.1482	Bonifacius VIII,	Nuremberg,
	ISTC	<i>Liber Sextus Decret.</i>	A. Koberger
	ib00993000		
103/III}	Another copy of 102/III		
}			
}			
}			
}			
104/III}	15.i.1482	Clemens v,	Nuremberg,
}	ISTC	<i>Constitutiones</i>	A. Koberger
}	ic00725000		

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Sack 89

Frankfurt a. M. UB

Sack 5

Sack 4

Sack 68

München BSB

Ink-R-241

Frankfurt a. M. UB

Sack 6

Prov: Frankfurt, Joh. Kap,

Lektor Karmeliten

Mainz,
Martinus-Bibliothek,

Inc. 139

Staub- Blank (2012)

Inc. 140

Mainz painting

Mainz,
Martinus-Bibliothek, Inc. 236

Staub- Blank (2012)

Prov: Joh. von Greiffenclau, Rheingau
(coat of arms painted in initial)

Stuttgart WLB,

Inc. fol. 3603

Sack 20

PW: Schoeffer, 1474

Illum.

Buyer's date: 1482.

Prov: Würzburg, Marcus Hirsvogel, Canon
in Würzburg, Stift Haug

Inc. 3603(2)

105/III	15.iii.1482 ISTC ig00454000	Gregorius IX, <i>Decretales</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler
106/III	Another copy of 105/III		
107/III	26.iii.1482 ISTC ij00548300	<i>Corpus iuris civilis, Digestum vetus</i>	Milan, B & J.A. de Honate for P. de Castelliono & A. de Chaymis
108/III	22.xi.1482 ISTC ij00549000	<i>Corpus iuris civilis, Digestum vetus</i>	Nuremberg, A. Koberger
109/III	23.xi.1482 ISTC ij00578000	<i>Corpus iuris civilis. Codex</i>	Lyon, J. Siber
110/III} } }	c. 1482 ISTC ia01261000	Augustinus, <i>De disciplina Christiana</i> , 4 ⁰	[Cologne, B. de Unckel]
111/I} } }	c. 1470 ISTC ig00239000	Joh. Gerson, <i>Opus tripartitum</i>	Cologne, U. Zell
112/I} } }	c. 1470 ISTC ig00219000	Joh. Gerson, <i>Quaestiones quattuor</i>	Cologne, U. Zell
113/II} } }	c. 1480 ISTC ia01259200	Augustinus, <i>De cura pro mortuis gerenda</i>	Cologne, Pr. Ausgustinus de virginate
114/I} } }	c. 1470 ISTC ito0273200	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa de articulis fidei</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer

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Frankfurt a. M. UB	Sack 52	Prov: Frankfurt, Joh. Kap, fl. 1479–86 Lektor Karmeliten
München BSB	Ink-G-341/6	Miniatures, borders
	Sack 53	Prov: Diessen (Bavaria) Chorherrenstift miniatures
Darmstadt ULB	Staub-Yildiz (2009)	Price in 1483: Aureos vii, alb. xi
Darmstadt ULB	Staub-Yildiz (2009)	
München BSB	Ink C-564/1	Lombards in red and blue rubricated Prov: Diessen (Bavaria), Augustiner Chorherrenstift
Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek,	Inc. 828	
	Staub- Blank (2012)	
	Inc. 826	
Inc. 827		ISTC ig00219000 only <i>De Custodia Linguae</i> }
Inc. 829		
Inc. 830		

115/II}	c. 1475	<i>Ordinarius missae Moguntinus</i>	Marienthal,
}	ISTC		Fratres vitae
}	id00264790		communis
116/II}	c. 1472	Joh. Gerson,	Cologne,
}	ISTC	<i>De remediis</i>	Pr. of Dares
}	ig00266000		
117/I}	1470	W. Rolewinck,	Cologne,
}	ISTC	<i>Sermo in festo praesentatinis</i>	A. ther Hoernen
}	iro02304000	<i>B.M.V.</i>	
118/II}	c. 1472–4	Pseudo-Bernardus Claravallensis,	Basel,
}	ISTC	<i>Speculum de honestate vitae</i>	M. Flach
}	ib00441500		
119/II}	c. 1474	Pseudo-Gerson,	Basel,
}	ISTC	<i>Donatus moralisatus</i>	M. Flach
}	ig00222000		
120/II}	c. 1474	<i>Historia horrenda</i>	Basel,
}	ISTC	<i>Udonis</i>	M. Flach
}	iu00056500		
121/II}	c. 1477–80	H. de Schildese,	Mainz,
}	ISTC	<i>Speculum sacerdotum</i>	Pr. of the
}	is00316000		Prognostication
122/II}	c. 1479–80	<i>Agenda Herbipolensis</i>	Basel,
}	ISTC		M. Wenssler
}	ia00160800		
123/II}	c. 1475	Thomas Aquinas,	Strasbourg,
}		<i>De quattuor causis, etc.</i>	H. Eggstein
124/III}	c. 1483 (?)	Petrus de Rosenheim,	n.p. [Germany],
}	ISTC	<i>Roseum memoriale</i>	Pr. of Rosenheim
}	iro0336000		
125/III}	25.i.1483	Gratianus,	Venice,
	ISTC	<i>Decretum</i>	P. de Piasii
	ig00373000		
126/III}	28.ii.1483	Gratianus,	Nuremberg,
	ISTC	<i>Decretum</i>	A. Koberger
	ig00374000		

<div><div>}</div><div>} or) signifies that items are bound together in one volume</div></div>		<div><div>pw: Printer's waste.</div><div>Illum: illuminated</div><div>Prov: only the earliest owners have been noted</div></div>
<div>(Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek Inc. 831 Inc. 832</div>		
<div>Inc. 833</div>		
<div>Inc. 834</div>		
<div>Inc. 835</div>		
<div>Inc. 835a</div>		
<div>Inc. 836</div>		
<div>Inc. 837</div>		
<div>Inc. 839</div>		
<div>Inc. 840</div>		
<div>Frankfurt a. M. UB Sack 47</div>		<div>Prov: Speyer, Jodocus Kast Plebanus, fl. 1490, 1505 (Heidelberg)</div>
<div>Mainz Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 2163 Staub-Yildiz (2008), no. 14</div>		<div>Prov: Mainz, St Jakob</div>

127/III}	17.v.1483	Horatius,	Venice,
}	ISTC	<i>Opera</i>	J. de Gregoriis
}	ih00448000		
128/III}	6.xii.1482	Persius Flaccus,	Venice,
}	ISTC	<i>Satyrae</i>	B. de Tortis
}	ip00344000		
129/III}	12.vii.1483	Juvenalis,	Venice,
}	ISTC	<i>Satyrae</i>	B. de Tortis
}	ij00649000}		
130/III)	30.viii.1483	Guido de Monte Rochen,	Strasbourg,
)	ISTC	<i>Manipulus curatorum</i>	Pr. of Legenda
)	ig00586000		aurea
131/III)	1483	Jac. de Voragine,	[Reutlingen,
)	ISTC	<i>Legenda aurea</i>	M. Greyff]
)	ij00109000		
132/III	1483	<i>Biblia latina</i>	[Strasbourg,
	ISTC	2 vols.	J. Grüninger]
	ib00577000		
133/III	12.x.1484	Cicero,	Venice,
	ISTC	<i>De officiis</i>	B. Rizus &
	ic00601000		B Celerius
134/III	1484	Bernardinus Parmensis,	Strasbourg,
	ISTC	<i>Casus longi</i>	[Pr. of Jordanus
	ib00457000		de Quedlinburg]
135/III	1485	Livius,	Treviso,
	ISTC	<i>Historiae Romanae Decades</i>	J. Rubeus
	il00244000		
136/III	1485, after 24 Feb.	Petrus Comestor,	Strasbourg,
	ISTC	<i>Historia scholastica</i>	[Pr. of Jordanus de
	ip00463000		Quedlinburg
			(G. Husner)]

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Erlangen UB Sack 61	Prov: Nemmersdorf / Bayreuth, Franciscan convent St Jobs
Sack 74	
Sack 65	
Mainz Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 844 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 15 Ink 844(2)	Prov: donations 1634, thereafter Mainz, Carmelites
Mainz Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 2354a–b Staub-Yildiz (2008), 16, 17	Fol. and 4 ^o Prov: Mainz Charterhouse
Erlangen UB Sack 25	Prov: Nemmersdorf/ Bayreuth, Franciscan convent St Jobs
Frankfurt a. M. UB Sack 13	
Augsburg StB, inc.fol.638 Sack 67	Prov: Augsburg Carmelites St. Anna
Mainz Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 2002 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 18	PW illuminated in Mainz?

137/III}	c. 1479–85	Joh. Melber,	Basel,
}	ISTC	<i>Vocabularius praedicatorum</i> , 40	J. Amerbach
}	im00456050		
138/III}	c. 1485	<i>Vocabularius de partibus</i>	Speyer,
}	ISTC	<i>indeclanabilibus</i> , 40	J. & C. Hist
}	iv00359100		
139/III	13.vii.1486	Guilelmus Duranti,	Strasbourg
	ISTC	<i>Rationale divinorum officiorum</i>	Pr. of Jordanus
	id00430000		de Quedlinburg
			(G. Husner)]
140/III	1486	<i>Biblia latina</i>	Basel,
	ISTC		J. Amerbach
	ib00581000		
141/III	c. 1487–8	<i>Corpus iuris civilis, Institutiones</i>	Basel,
	ISTC		N. Kesler
	ij00530000		
142/III	1487/88	<i>Diurnale Cisterciense</i>	Speyer,
	ISTC		P. Drach
	id00280600		
143/III	22.xii.1489	Baldus de Ubaldis,	Milan,
	ISTC	<i>Super I. et II. Decretalium</i>	U. Scinzenzeler
	iu00023300		
144/III	c. 1488–9	<i>Psalterium</i>	Würzburg,
	ISTC		G. Reyser
	ip01046000		
145/III}	13.i.1490	Bonifacius VIII,	Venice,
}	ISTC	<i>Liber Sextus Decret.</i>	J. and G. de
}	ibo1003600		Gregoriis
146/III}	16.ii.1489	Clemens v,	Venice,
}	ISTC	<i>Constitutiones</i>	J. and G. de
}	ico0738800		Gregoriis
147/III)	7.v.1490	Bartolus de Saxoferrato,	Venice,
)	ISTC	<i>Super prima parte Digesti veteris</i>	A. de Paltasichis
)	ib00225500		
148/III)	23.ix.1490	Bartolus de Saxoferrato,	Venice,
)	ISTC	<i>Super I. parte Digesti novi</i>	A. Torresanus de
)	ib00219300		Asula

<div><div>}</div><div>} or) signifies that items are bound together in one volume</div></div>		<div><div>rw: Printer's waste.</div><div>Illum: illuminated</div><div>Prov: only the earliest owners have been noted</div></div>
Darmstadt ULB Staub-Yildiz (2009)		Prov: Seligenstadt a. M., Benedictines
Mainz Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 2040 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 19		Prov: Henricus Turnich (Mainz?)
Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek, Inc. 109 Staub- Blank (2012)		Rheingau?
München BSB Ink C-652.2		Prov: Altomünster, Birgittenkloster
Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek, Inc. 109 Staub- Blank (2012)		Prov: Kloster Eberbach, Rheingau 16 ⁰
Frankfurt a. M. UB Sack 95		Prov: Frankfurt, Ludwig v. Marburg
Darmstadt ULB Staub-Yildiz (2009)		
Frankfurt a. M. UB Sack 21		
Sack 28		
Mainz Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 2535 Staub-Yildiz (2008), 20		

149/III	8.v.1490 ISTC ij00534700	<i>Corpus iuris civilis, Institutiones</i>	Venice, B. de Tortis
150/III	19.vi.1490 ISTC is00609200	Marianus Socinus de Senis, <i>Tractatus de citationibus</i>	Pescia, Pr. of Canaro for B. and R. de Orlandis
151/III	7.ix.1490 ISTC it00258000	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Opuscula</i>	Venice, H. Liechtenstein
152/III	1.x.1490 ISTC ibo1078000	Sebastian Brant, <i>Expositiones omnium titulorum legalium</i> , 4 ^o	Basel, M. Furter for A. Helmut
153/III	6.xi.1490 ISTC ip00434000	Petrus de Abano, <i>Conciliator differentiarum philos- ophorum</i> , etc.	Pavia, G. de Grassis
154/IV	1491 ISTC ico0236000	Cassiodorus, <i>Expositio Psalterii</i>	Basel, J. Amerbach
155/IV	7.v.1492 ISTC ip00815000	Plotinus, <i>Opera</i>	Florence, A. Miscomini
156/IV	8.viii.1492 ISTC ih00173000	Hieronymus, <i>Epistolae</i> (2 vols.)	Basel, N. Kessler
157/IV	8.xii.1492 ISTC ig00692500	Guilelmus Parisiensis, <i>Postilla super epistolas et evangelias</i>	Hagenau, H. Gran
158/IV	11.ii.1493 ISTC ia01427000	Avicenna, <i>Canon medicinae</i> , Lib.3 only	Venice, B. de Tortis
159/IV	2.4.1493 ISTC it00090000	Terentius, <i>Comoediae</i>	Lyon, A. Lambillion

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 } or) signifies that items are bound
 } together in one volume

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Mainz,
 Martinus-Bibliothek, Inc. 4
 Staub-Yildiz (2012)

Prov: Joh. Von Greiffenclau, Rheingau.
 Mainz illum.

Bamberg SB
 Sack 78

Benedictine abbey Banz, nr. Bamberg

Frankfurt a. M. UB
 Sack 83

Prov: Frankfurt,
 Bartholomaeusstift

Mainz
 Gutenberg Museum,
 Ink. 793,
 Info Dr Ottermann

Mainz
 Gutenberg Museum,
 Ink. 242,
 Info Dr Ottermann

Frankfurt a. M. UB
 Sack 24

Prov: Frankfurt, Dominicans

Wolfenbüttel HAB
 Borm 2187

PW:
 Sixtus IV, Bulla,
 Borm 2483

Frankfurt a. M. UB
 Sack 60

Prov: Frankfurt,
 Bartholomaeusstift

Tübingen,
 Wilhelmsstift,
 Gb 626

Erlangen UB
 Sack 9

Stuttgart, WLB
 Inc. fol. 15425b
 Sack 80

160/IV	16.vi.1494 ISTC ig00472000	Gregorius IX, <i>Decretales</i>	Venice, B. de Tortis
161/IV	20.viii.1494 ISTC ib00260000	Christoph. Barzizius, <i>Introductorium</i>	Pavia, A de Carcano for O. Scotus
162/IV} } }	after 28.viii.1494 ISTC it00452000	Joh. Trithemius, <i>De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis</i>	Basel, J. Amerbach
163/III} } }	9.iii.1486 ISTC ico0968000	Petrus de Crescentiis, <i>Ruralia commoda</i>	Strasbourg, Pr. of Jordanus de Quedlinburg
164/IV} } }	1.ix.1494 ISTC ibo1008000	Bonifacius VIII, <i>Liber Sextus Decretalium</i>	Basel, J. Froben
165/IV} } }	c. 1494 ISTC ico0410000	Jac. de Cessolis, <i>De ludo scachorum</i> , 4 ^o	Toulouse, H. Mayer
166/III} } }	1487 ISTC ipo1023000	Prosper Aquitanus, <i>De vita contemplativa</i>	Speyer, P. Drach
167/III} } }	1485–9 ISTC iso0873000	H. Suso, <i>Horologium sapientiae</i>	Paris, P. Bonhomme
168/III} } }	1486 ISTC ijo0339000	Joh. de Hildesheim, <i>Historia trium regum</i> etc.	Cologne, J. Guldenschaff
169/IV)))	c. 1494 ISTC it00560000	Vivianus Tuscus, <i>Casus longi super Digesto vet.</i>	Freiburg i. Br. K. Piscator (Fischer)
170/IV)))	c. 1494 ISTC it00558000	Vivianus Tuscus, <i>Casus longi super Codice</i>	Freiburg i. Br. K. Piscator (Fischer)
171/IV)))	c. 1494 ISTC ia00034000	Franc. Accursius, <i>Super Digesto novo</i>	Freiburg i. Br. K. Piscator (Fischer)

<div><div>}</div><div>} or) signifies that items are bound together in one volume</div></div>		<div><div>pw: Printer's waste.</div><div>Illum: illuminated</div><div>Prov: only the earliest owners have been noted</div></div>
Frankfurt a. M. UB Sack 54		Prov: Frankfurt, Bartholomaeusstift
Erlangen UB Sack 12		Prov: Speyer (?), Sefrid Pfefferkorn, etc
Frankfurt a. M. UB Sack 87		
Sack 35		
Darmstadt, ULB Staub-Yildiz (2009)		
Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek, Inc. 268 Staub- Yildiz (2012)		
Inc. 267		
Inc. 266		
Inc. 265		
Fulda LB Sack 94		Prov: Comburg, Kollegiatsstift
Sack 93		
Sack 1		

172/IV)))	c. 1494 ISTC ig00556000	Guido, <i>Casus longi super Institutiones</i>	Freiburg i. Br. K. Piscator (Fischer)
173/IV	9.v.1496 ISTC ibo1009000	Bonifacius VIII, <i>Liber Sextus Decret.</i>	Venice, B. de Tortis
174/IV	1.xi.1496 ISTC it00094000	Terentius, <i>Comoediae</i>	Strasbourg, J Grüninger
175/IV	1497 ISTC ih00160000	Hieronymus, <i>Commentaria in Bibliam</i>	Venice, J. & G. de Gregoriis
176/IV} } }	11.ii.1498 ISTC ia00047000	Magister Adam, <i>Summulae</i> , 4 ^o	Cologne, H. Quentell
177/IV)))	c. 1489–93 ISTC it00086500	Terentius, <i>Comoediae</i> , 4 ^o	Strasbourg, J. Prüss
178/IV	2.v.1498 ISTC ip00258000	Pelbartus de Themeswar, <i>Stellarum coronae B.M.V.</i>	Hagenau, H. Gran for J. Rynman
179/IV	19.viii.1499 ISTC is00492000	Bartholomaeus Sibylla, <i>Speculum peregrinarum quaestionum</i>	Strasbourg, J Grüninger
180/IV	28.xi.1499 ISTC ia01277000	Augutinus, <i>Expositio in Pauli epistolas</i> , 4 ^o	Paris, U. Gering & B. Rembolt
181/IV	7.vii.1500 ISTC ij00422000	Joh. de Sacro Bosco, <i>Opus sphaericum</i>	Cologne, H. Quentell

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<div>(Fulda LB)</div> <div>Sack 55</div>		
<div>Frankfurt a. M. UB</div> <div>Sack 22</div>		
<div>Frankfurt a. M. UB</div> <div>Sack 82</div>		
<div>Stuttgart WLB</div> <div>Sack 58</div>		<div>PW: Schoeffer</div>
<div>Frankfurt a. M. UB</div> <div>Sack 2</div>		
<div>Sack 81</div>		
<div>Mainz,</div> <div>Gutenberg Museum</div> <div>Ink. 1157</div> <div>info Dr Ottermann</div>		
<div>Würzburg UB,</div> <div>Hubay 312</div> <div>Sack 10</div>		
<div>Mainz</div> <div>Gutenberg Museum</div> <div>Ink. 1528</div> <div>Staub-Yildiz (2008), 21</div>		
<div>Frankfurt a. M. UB</div> <div>Sack 64</div>		<div>Prov: Frankfurt,</div> <div>Dr Adolf v. Glauburg (d. 1555)</div>

182/IV	7.x.1500 ISTC ij00600500	<i>Corpus iuris civilis, Novellae</i>	Venice, B. de Tortis
183/v	15.v.1502 ISTC ib00609500	<i>Biblia latina cum postillis</i>	Basel, J. Froben for J. Amerbach & J.P. de Langendorff
184-5 186-7	Another copy of 183/v: two copies		
188/v} }	1504 (?)	an unspecified book printed in Frankfurt a. M.	
189/IV} } }	1493 ISTC ij00040000	Jacobus de Clusa, <i>De valore missarum</i> , 4 ^o	Heidelberg, H. Knoblochtzer
190/IV} } }	21.vii.1494 ISTC it00445000	Joh. Trithemius, <i>De laude S. Annae</i>	Mainz, P. Friedberg
191/IV} } }	c. 1494/5 ISTC id00189000	Franc. Diedus, <i>Vita S. Rochi</i>	Mainz, P. Friedberg
192/IV} } }	c. 1495 ISTC ia01098000	<i>Ars moriendi</i>	Cologne, H. Quentell
193/IV} } }	6.i.1497 ISTC ib00036000	Hier. Baldung, <i>Aphorismi compunctionis</i>	Strasbourg, J. Grüninger
194/IV} } }	c. 1497 ISTC ih00272000	Hilduinus, <i>Vita Dionysii Areopagitae</i>	Nuremberg, C. Hochfeder

<div>}</div> <div>} or) signifies that items are bound together in one volume</div>		<div>pw: Printer's waste.</div> <div>Illum: illuminated</div> <div>Prov: only the earliest owners have been noted</div>
<div>Mainz</div> <div>Gutenberg Museum,</div> <div>Ink. 2532</div> <div>Staub-Yildiz (2008), 22</div>		
<div>Frankfurt a. M. UB</div> <div>(6 vols.)</div> <div>Sack 14</div>		<div>pw: Schoeffer, types pre-1481</div> <div>rubr. date 1503,</div> <div>Prov: Frankfurt,</div> <div>Mathias Kryss</div>
<div>Mainz,</div> <div>Gutenberg Museum</div> <div>Ink. 2073, 2623 (2 copies of vol. 3) 2069,</div> <div>1797</div> <div>(2 copies of vol. 4)</div> <div>Staub-Yildiz (2008), 24, 25</div>		
<div>Frankfurt a. M. UB</div>	<div>4⁰</div>	
<div>Ohly-Sack 1554</div>		
<div>Ohly-Sack 2816</div>		
<div>Ohly-Sack 1013</div>		
<div>Ohly-Sack 274</div>		
<div>Ohly-Sack 358</div>		
<div>Ohly-Sack 1468</div>		

195/IV}	20.vii.1498	Albertus Magnus,	Cologne,
}	ISTC	<i>Paradisus animae</i>	H. Quentell
}	ia00294000		
196/IV}	2.iii.1499	<i>Disticha Catonis</i> (German)	Strasbourg,
}	ISTC		J. Prüss
}	ic00319050		
197/IV}	14.ii.1500	Pseudo-Methodius,	Basel,
}	ISTC	<i>Revelationes divinae</i>	M. Furter
}	im00525000		
198/IV}	c. 1500	Nicodemus,	Cologne,
or/v}	ISTC	<i>Evangelium de passione</i>	C. de <u>Zierikzee</u>
}	in00047000		
199/v)	1510	Suetonius,	Strasbourg,
)		<i>De viris illustribus</i> , 40	J. Knoblauch
)			
200/IV)	c. 1492	Petrus Popon,	Leipzig,
)	ISTC	<i>Libellus facetus</i>	M. Landsberg
)	ip00935850		
201/IV)	1494	Th. Gresemundus,	Mainz,
)	ISTC	<i>Lucubрати-unculae</i>	P. Friedberg
)	ig00485000		
202/IV)	1499	Augustinus Datus,	Speyer,
)	ISTC	<i>Elegantiolae</i>	K. Hist
)	id00093750		
203/IV)	after 1.ix.1499	Jac. Wimpheling,	Mainz,
or /v)	ISTC	<i>De hymnorum auctoribus</i>	P. Friedberg
)	iw00035000		
204/IV)	c. 1497–1500	Fr. Petrarca,	Leipzig,
)	ISTC	<i>Ars punctandi</i>	W. Stöckel
)	ip00366500		
205/v	1513	Joh. Stöffler,	Oppenheim,
		<i>Elucidatio</i>	Jacob Köbel

<div><div>}</div><div>} or) signifies that items are bound together in one volume</div></div>		<div><div>pw: Printer's waste.</div><div>Illum: illuminated</div><div>Prov: only the earliest owners have been noted</div></div>
<div>(Frankfurt a.M. UB, Ohly-Sack 55 Sack 3</div>		
<div>Ohly-Sack 838</div>		
<div>Ohly-Sack 1985</div>		
<div>Ohly-Sack 2075</div>		
<div>Frankfurt a. M. UB Sack 79</div>	<div>4⁰ Bound in 1511 (binder's date) Prov.: Frankfurt, Balthasar Geyer, <i>fl.</i> 1532</div>	
<div>Ohly-Sack 2407</div>		
<div>Ohly-Sack 1315</div>		
<div>Ohly-Sack 995</div>		
<div>Ohly-Sack 3028</div>		
<div>Ohly-Sack 2253</div>	<div>According to Sack 79 another five items, not specified</div>	
<div>Mainz, Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 220 A. Ottermann, (2013), p. 19</div>		

Appendix II to Chapter 4

The binder Oisterricher

Additional abbreviations:

EBDB: Einbanddatenbank Berlin.

Sack (Freiburg): Vera Sack, *Die Inkunabeln der Universitätsbibliothek und anderer öffentlicher Sammlungen in Freiburg im Breisgau und Umgebung*, 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1985.

c. 1460	Legal texts	Manuscript	Freiburg i.B. UB, Hs 231 EBDB	
1465 ISTC ib00976000	Bonifacius VIII <i>Liber VI</i> <i>Decretalium</i>	Mainz, J. Fust & P. Schoeffer	Trier, Priesterseminar VT 882, Reichert 29 Sack 16A	
not after 1466 ISTC ib00530000	<i>Biblia latina</i>	Strasbourg, H. Eggstein	Karlsruhe BLB, De 70 EBDB	
25.vi.1472 ISTC ip00423000	Fridericus Petruccius, <i>Disputationes, quaestiones et consilia</i>	Rome, A. Rot	Trier StB, Inc. 2 ⁰ 153 Nolden 2196 Sack 74A EBDB	According to Nolden no early owner known
1472} ISTC} ij00508000} }	Justinianus, <i>Institutiones</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer	Trier StB, Nolden 832 Sack 31A	PW: Fust and Schoeffer, Biblia Latina, (1472?) Prov: Trier, St Simeon, Canons Regular
5.iv.1473} ISTC} ib00981000} }	Bonifacius VIII <i>Liber VI</i> <i>Decretalium</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer	Trier StB, Inc. 2 ⁰ 51 Nolden 583 Sack 16A	Mainz rubrication Prov: Trier, St Simeon, Canons Regular
Another copy			Frankfurt a. M. UB, Ohly-Sack 662 Sack 16B	PW: Schoeffer, 1471 Mainz rubrication, decoration Prov. Frankfurt, Ludwig v. Marburg zu Paradies (d. 1502)

6.iii.1473 ISTC ia01363000	Augustinus de Ancona, <i>Summa de potestate ecclesiastica</i>	Augsburg, J. Schüssler	Karlsruhe BLB, Ei3 (EBDB)	
23.xi.1473 ISTC ig00447000	Gregorius IX, <i>Decretales</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer	Trier StB, Inc. 2 ^o 1938 Nolden 1232a Sack 47A	Mainz rubrication and decoration Trier, Charterhouse St Alban Binder's waste Schoeffer
not after 1473 ISTC ic00170000	Robertus Caracciolus, <i>Sermones quadragesimales</i>	Strasbourg, Pr. of H. Ariminensis	Trier StB. VT 1325 Sack 23A	Prov: Trier, Joh. Leyendecker, professor of theology (d. 1494) who paid 3 fl. > St Simeon, Canons Regular
c. 1474 ISTC ip00203000	Paulus de Sancta Maria, <i>Scrutinium Scripturarum</i>	Strasbourg, J. Mentelin	Trier StB, Inc. 4 ^o 1216 Nolden 2123 (EBDB)	Prov: Trier, Joh, Leyendecker paying 3fl, 9 albae > Charterhouse St Alban
not after 1474 ISTC it00190000	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa contra gentiles</i>	Strasbourg, Pr. of H. Ariminensis	Trier StB, Nolden 1818 Sack 83A	Prov: Trier, Joh. Leyendecker, Paying 3 fl, 4 albae > Charterhouse St Alban
not after 1475 ISTC il00144000	Leonardus de Utino, <i>Sermones quadra- gesimales de legibus</i>	Cologne, C. Winters de Homborch	Trier StB, Inc. 2 ^o 403 Nolden 1818 Sack 66A, EBDB	Prov: Trier, Joh. Leyendecker> Charterhouse St Alban
c. 1476(?) ISTC ip00479100	Petrus Lombar- dus, <i>Sententiarum Liber IV</i>	Strasbourg, Pr. of H. Ariminensis	Darmstadt ULB, Sack 75A Inc. VI/35 EBDB	Cologne, Franciscans (Olivenkloster)
1477-8 ISTC ip00046000	Nicolaus de Tudeschis, <i>Lectura super V libros Decretalium</i>	Venice, N. Jenson	Trier StB. Nolden 2762 EBDB	Chancery of the Prince Elector

1483–4 ISTC ic00129000	Joh. Capreolus, <i>Quaestiones in v libros Sententiarum</i>	Venice, O. Scotus	Trier StB, Inc. 40 1055 Nolden 677–9 EBDB	Dominicans Cologne > Trier, Benedictines St Mathias
1484 ISTC ig00185000	Jean Gerson, <i>Opera</i> , Part 4 only	Cologne, J. Koelhoff the Elder	Freiburg i.B. UB, Sack (Freiburg) 1534 EBDB	Prov: Freiburg im Breisgau, Charterhouse

Appendix III to Chapter 4
Rubrication, Limning, Painting, in Schoeffer Editions 1467–79

	A: Mainz rubrication	B–C: + Flour- ishing, limning	D–E: + Painting	Total	NOT Mainz	Total examined
1467, Thomas Aquinas ISTC		12		12	11	23
1467, Clemens v	2	1		3	3	6
1468, Justinianus	2	7	1	10	3	13
1469, Thomas Aquinas	2	11		13	10	23
1470, Bonifacius	1	1	2	4	2	6
1470, Hieronymus		26	7	33	44 +5 blank	82
1470, Mammotrectus		2		2	1	3

	A: Mainz rubrication	B–C: + Flour- ishing, limning	D–E: + Painting	Total	NOT Mainz	Total examined
1471, Valerius Maximus	1	4		5	10	15
1471, Clemens v	6		3	9	6	15
1471, Thomas Aquinas	4	6		10	8	18
1472 Biblia latina	1	6		7	10	17
1472, Gratianus		2	9	11	14	25
1472, Justinianus	2	5	1	8	3	11
1473, Bonifacius	2	8	4	14	8	22
1473, Augustinus		3	2	5	9	14
1473, Gregorius	4	3	11	18	12	30
1474, Henr. de Herpf	2	4		6	10	16
1475, Justinianus	5	2	4	11	6	17
1475, Bernardus		4		4	7	11
1476, Bonifacius		1		1	4	5
1476, Justinianus	3			3	4	7
1476, Clemens v		3		3	3	6
1477, Decisiones Rotae Romanae		1		1	1	2

	A: Mainz rubrication	B–C: + Flour- ishing, limning	D–E: + Painting	Total	NOT Mainz	Total examined
1477, Justinianus			1	1	4	5
1478, Paulus de S. Maria		2		2		2
1478, Barth. de Chaimis		2		2		2
1479, Gregorius	1	1	1	3		3
				201	198	399

Appendix IV to Chapter 4
Books Not Printed by Schoeffer Apparently Illuminated
in or Near Mainz

For literature quoted see Appendix I and in addition
CLZ: A.D. Renting, J.T.C. Renting-Kuijpers, *Catalogus van de Librije in de St Walburgiskerk te Zutphen*. Groningen, Stuttgart, 2008.

1470, ISTC iao1233000	Augustinus, <i>De civitate Dei</i>	Venice, J. and V. de Spira	Glasgow Hunterian Library, UL, By.1.3 initials drawn in Mainz	
1472–3 ISTC iboo749000 ISTC iboo756000	G. Boccaccio, <i>De genealogia deorum De montibus, silvis, fontibus</i>	Venice, V. de Spira	Jena UB painted initial	
1474 ISTC ibo1169000	<i>Breviarium Moguntinum</i>	Marienthal, Fratres Vitae Communis	Mainz Gutenberg Museum Ink. 84b Staub-Yildiz (2008), 2 rubrication, plain initials	28/II

1475, 24.vi ISTC ij00575000	Justinianus, <i>Codex</i>	Nuremberg, J. Sensenschmidt and A. Frisner	Prov: Zutphen, A. de Herwarden. Zutphen Librije, CLZ 239 decoration and coloured woodcuts	
1476, 23.v ISTC ij00512000	Justinianus, <i>Institutiones</i>	Mainz, P. Schoeffer	Prov: Zutphen, A. de Herwarden. Zutphen Librije, CLZ 253 bound with <i>Novellae</i> , Wenssler, 29.11.1478, CLZ 258	
1477, 1.vi ISTC ij00555500	Justinianus, <i>Infortiatum</i>	Venice, J. Rubeus	Prov: Zutphen, Henr. Kreyneck. Zutphen Librije, CLZ 244	
Another copy			Prov: Zutphen, A. de Herwarden. Zutphen Librije, CLZ 243	
1477, 21.xi ISTC ij00547000	Justinianus, <i>Digestum vetus</i>	Venice, J. Rubeus	Prov: Zutphen, Henr. Kreyneck. Zutphen Librije, CLZ 250	
1477 ISTC ib00987000	Bonifacius VIII, <i>Liber VI</i> <i>Decretalium</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler	Darmstadt ULB Staub-Yildiz (2009) Mainz rubrication, limning, painting	50/II
1477 ISTC ig00366000	Gratianus <i>Decretum</i>	Venice, N. Jenson	Prov: Zutphen, A. de Herwarden. Zutphen Librije, CLZ 230 Mainz 2-colour initial	

1478, 19.viii ISTC ig00450000	Gregorius IX, <i>Decretales</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler	Prov: Zutphen, A. de Herwarden. Zutphen Librije, CLZ 227	
1478, 29.xi ISTC ij00590000	Justinianus, <i>Novellae</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler	Prov: Zutphen, A. de Herwarden. Zutphen Librije, CLZ 258, bound with <i>Institutiones</i> , Schoeffer, 23.v.1476, CLZ 253	
1478, 31.vii ISTC ij00518000	Justinianus, <i>Institutiones</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler	Washington DC Folger Shakespeare Library Information Monique Hulvey	58/II
1478, ix ISTC iv00338000	Jodocus Erfordensis, <i>Vocabularius juris utriusque</i>	Speyer, P. Drach	Mainz, Gutenberg Museum Staub-Yildiz (2008) 6 initials with clowns	62/II
c. 1478, ISTC ih00124000	Joh. Herolt, <i>Sermones</i>	Cologne, C. Winters de Homborch	Mainz, Martinus Bibliothek Staub (2012) Abb. 7,8 painted initials	100/II
c. 1478, ISTC ih00315000	<i>Homiliarius doctorum</i>	Cologne, C. Winters de Homborch	Mainz, Gutenberg Museum, StB Ink 1745 flourished initials, 'clowns', animals info. Dr Staub, with images	
c. 1478–9, ISTC ij00567000	Justinianus, <i>Digestum novum</i>	Basel, B. Ruppel	Mainz, Gutenberg Museum, StB Ink. 758; Staub-Yildiz (2008) 10 painted initials	67/II

Another copy			Prov: Zutphen, Henr. Kreyneck. Zutphen Librije, CLZ 248	
Another copy			Prov: Zutphen, A. de Herwarden. Zutphen Librije, CLZ 247	
1479, ISTC ib00990000	Bonifacius VIII, <i>Liber VI</i> <i>Decretalium</i>	Venice, J. de Colonia, J. Manthen	Greifswald UB catalogue Th. Wilhelmi <i>et</i> <i>al.</i> , 165 painted initials	
1479, ISTC id00448000	Duranti, <i>Speculum</i> <i>judiciale</i>	Padua, J. Herbort	Würzburg UB Hubay 808 Mainz rubrication, limning	73/II
Another copy			Nuremberg, Germ. National Museum Hellwig 344 Mainz limning	74/II
c. 1479, ISTC id00420000	Duranti, <i>Rationale divino-</i> <i>rum officiorum</i>	Strasbourg, G. Husner	Mainz, Gutenberg Museum Staub-Yildiz (2008) 8 initials with penwork	79/II
1477–80 ISTC ia00872000	Antoninus Florentinus, <i>Summa</i> <i>theologica</i> , 3 vols.	Venice, N. Jenson	Mainz, Gutenberg Museum and Darmstadt ULB Staub-Yildiz (2008) 11,12 Mainz initials	87/II
c. 1480 ISTC it00506000	Joh. de Turnhout, <i>Casus breves</i> <i>super totum</i> <i>corpus iuris</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler	Prov: Zutphen, Henr. Kreyneck. Zutphen Librije, CLZ 759	
1481 ISTC ig00370000	Gratianus, <i>Decretum</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler	Frankfurt a.M., UB Mainz painting, limning	91/III

1482 ISTC iao1435000	Portius Azo, <i>Summa super Codice et Institutis</i>	Speyer, P. Drach	Prov: Zutphen, Henr. Kreynck. Zutphen Librije, CLZ 50	
1482 ISTC igoo454000	Gregorius IX, <i>Decretales</i>	Basel, M. Wenssler	München, BSB Ink G-341/6 Mainz painting, miniatures	106/III
1482 ISTC ijoo548300	Justinianus, <i>Digestum vetus</i>	Milan, B and J.A. de Honate, for P.A. de Castellione and A. de Caymis	Darmstadt, ULB, Günderrode 5197. crude Mainz(?) painting on fol. 1	107/III
1483-4 ISTC icoo129000	Joh. Capreolus, <i>Quaestiones</i>	Venice, O. Scotus	Mainz, Gutenberg Museum, Ink 1894 initial with crowned figure, parallel strokes Information Dr Staub, with images	
1490, 8.v ISTC ijoo534700	Justinianus, <i>Institutiones</i>	Venice, B. de Tortis,	Mainz, Martinus Bibliothek Staub <i>et al.</i> (2012), Abb. 2 initial with Mainz decoration	148/III

Appendix to Chapter 5

Census of Copies of the Catholicon

Within the four groups (Vellum, Bull’s Head, Galliziani and Tower & Crown paper), the locations are listed in alphabetical order

Legenda

- Prov: provenance, or early ownership
- ‘Formerly’ refers to more recent ownership
- De R: Seymour de Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence (1445–1467)*. Mainz, 1911. [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft 8–9.]
- Captions in the grammatical part
- Rubrication, i.e. paragraph marks and Lombards
- Imp: imperfect

10 copies on vellum

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek Prov.: Mainz, Benedictines St Jakobsberg De R: 90.33	X	Mainz	Not Mainz Complicated designs
Bernkastel-Kues, Nikolas Hospital De R: 90.24	X (Powitz)	Not seen	
Besançon BM Prov: Denis Vaucher, chanoine de Dôle De R: 90.18	X	Mainz Altern. red/ blue Lombards	Not Mainz
Boston PL Prov: contemp. notes in German Formerly: Gotha, second copy (imp.) De R: 90.40	X	Mainz Altern. red/ blue Lombards	Not Mainz Fine decorated initials

10 copies on vellum (cont.)

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
Dresden SLUB Prov: Trier, Benedictines St Maximin, De R: 90.47	X	Mainz Altern. red/ blue Lombards	Not Mainz Historiated initial, border
London BL, G.1 1966–7 Prov: Frankfurt a. M., Dominicans Formerly: Thomas Grenville De R: 90.1	X	In gramm.: Mainz altern. red/ blue Lombards In alphabet: Not Mainz?	Not Mainz Historiated initial on [a]1 ^a , painted border, elaborate painted initials, painted marginal extensions with gold flourishes including painted flowers and satyrs' heads
Madrid BN Prov. Avila, cathedral	X	Mainz Altern. red/ blue Lombards	Not Mainz Floral border. Painted initials, probably French: daubed with yellow. Headlines
Munich, BSB Prov: Polling (Bavaria), Canons Regular De R: 90.51	X Not all filled in	Mainz Altern. red/ blue Lombards; guide-letters; lengthened para-graph marks, arrows	Not Mainz Incl. white creature, probably not all, but some similarity to Mainz style
New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library Prov: Mainz, Charterhouse (?) Formerly: Munich duplicate sale 1858, Solar, Crawford ¹ De R: 90.106	X	Mainz Altern. red/ blue Lombards; lengthened para-marks, arrows	Not Mainz Single colours with white shapes

1 The report of its acquisition by Bernard Quaritch at the auction Félix Solar – in Paris, November 1860, on behalf of James Ludovic, 26th Earl of Crawford – is related by Nicolas Barker,

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
Paris, BnF (Vélins 528–529) Prov: 'Minimes de Passy' De R: 90.11	X Not all filled in	Mainz Altern. red/ blue Lombards; guide-letters	Mainz Interlocking initials with white creatures, loose purple pen-work, profiles

16 copies on Bull's Head paper

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
Chantilly, Musée Condé De R: 90.17	X	Mainz Red only; guide- letters	Not Mainz
Chicago, Newberry Library Prov: Rethel (Lorraine), Charterhouse Formerly: Sunderland De R: 90.64	X	Mainz Lengthened para-marks, arrows; cf. Beinecke copy	Mainz? Simple interlocking initials
Dallas, Southern Methodists University, Bridwell Library Formerly: Pembroke De R: 90.8	X Not seen		Not Mainz (from exhibition catalogue)
Frankfurt a.M., UB Prov: Frankfurt am Main, Carmelites De R: 90.30	X	Mainz Altern. red/ blue Lombards; guide- letters	Mainz Loose style, purple pen-work, profiles

Bibliotheca Lindesiana London, 1978, pp. 185–8. Margaret Stillwell probably erred when locating the Crawford copy in Florence, Biblioteca della Signora Finaly. See the list of 74 copies in her *Gutenberg and the Catholicon of 1460: A bibliographical essay with an original leaf of the Catholicon*. New York, 1936.

16 copies on Bull's Head paper (cont.)

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
Gotha, Landes-und Forschungsbibliothek Prov. Altenburg, Augustinian Canons, Berger Kloster? De R: 90.39	X	Mainz	Not Mainz
The Hague, MMW, 2 A 2 De R: 90.21	X	Mainz Red only	Not Mainz Single colours with white shapes
Holkham Hall De R: -	X	Mainz Red only; guide letters	At the beginning Mainz Interlocking, red only; later not Mainz. Unfinished?
Manchester, JRL One extra leaf on Galliziani paper with the same decoration. Prov: Koblenz, Fratres Minores? De R. 90.6	X		Mainz Initial X crossed with tree trunk, cf. Fust & Schoeffer device
Oxford, Bodleian Quire [h] on Galliziani paper, same scribe, rubrication as elsewhere in the copy Prov: Eberhardsklausen, Eifel, nr. Trier, Canons Regular De R: 90.4	X	Mainz Altern. red/ blue Lombards; guide- letters, daubed with yellow	Not Mainz Trier?
Paris, BnF, Rés.g.X.20 former shelfmark Rés. X894. Made-up copy with 14 leaves on Galliziani paper, different rubrication, decoration. Made up from the copy at the Brera, Milan, De R:90:12.	X	Mainz Altern. red/ blue Lombards; guide letters	Not Mainz

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
<hr/>			
Zedler, <i>Catholicon</i> , p. 34: Mainz, Dom Prov: Mainz, Dom (cf. A. Würdtwein, <i>Bibliotheca Moguntina</i> , 1787) De Ricci 90. 88 ²			
Paris, Bibl. Sainte Geneviève Imp., wanting leaf 1 De R: 90.15		Mainz. Altern. red/blue Lombards; guide- letters	Not Mainz. Not all filled in
St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, 9.9.2.15 Formerly: Lübeck SB De R: 90.41	X	Mainz Altern. red/ blue Lombards in gramm. part; red only in alphabet part	Not Mainz Interlocking, also single colour with white shapes
St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, 9.1.13.12 Formerly: Galitzin De R. 90.56	X	Mainz	Not Mainz Painted initials
Stuttgart, WLB Prov: Heilbronn, Stadtbibliothek De R: 90.35	X	Not Mainz	Not Mainz Decorated border
Toronto, Fisher Library Formerly: Pommersfelden De R: -	X	Mainz Altern. red/ blue Lombards	Not Mainz Interlocking initials, infills with green, cf. Bridwell copy

² I am grateful to Dr F.S. Pelgen, at the time Gutenberg Gesellschaft, Mainz, for confirming that the copy that Würdtwein described in his *Bibliotheca Moguntina* (1787) was a copy at the Dom in Mainz; and to Mr Jean-Marc Chatelain, Réserve, BnF, for explaining that 'Rés. X894 does not represent another copy, but is an obsolete shelfmark.

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
Washington D.C., LC, Rosenwald Formerly: Duke of Sussex, Rosenbach De R: -	X	Mainz Red only; Mainz in gramm. part, not Mainz in alphab. part	Not Mainz Interlocking, also single colour with white shapes

27 copies on Galliziani paper

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
Augsburg SB De R: 90.52	—	Mainz Red only	Mainz? Some Mainz initials
Basel UB Prov: Wilhelmus Textoris, 1471, bought for Basel University for 13 fl. Rhen. De R: 90.36	Scribe 1 as in Vellum / Bull's Head	Not Mainz	Not Mainz
Berlin StB Prov: Wrocław/ Breslau, Hospital of St Matthias (1641) De R: 90.45	X	Mainz Red only	Mainz
Bloomington (1N), Lilly Library Formerly: St Petersburg, Imperial Library De R: 90.55	Not seen		Illuminated, historiated initials (exhibition catalogue 1967)
Braunschweig, SB De R: 90.42	X (cf. copies Göttingen, Parma)	Not Mainz	Not Mainz

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard, Houghton Library Formerly: Alfred Huth De R: 90.10	X	Mainz Red only	Mainz Interlocking initials Some profiles
Chatsworth, Devonshire Trust Prov: Neuss, Canons Regular De R: 90.9	X Scribes 1 and 2 of vellum, Bull's Head copies	Mainz Red only	[a] ^{1a} : historiated initial with 'monsters', fine border, hunting scenes and animals, unfinished In alphabet part single colour initials, not Mainz
Genoa, Durazzo Collection De R: 90.57	X	Rubricaton date 1472 (not Mainz)	Not Mainz Single colour with white shapes
Göttingen, UB De R: 90.38	X (not all)	Not Mainz	Not Mainz Elaborate painted initials
Grenoble, BM Prov: Lorenz Blumenau, before 1490, bound for him at the Grande Chartreuse De R: 90.19	Not seen		
The Hague, MMW, 129 B 6 De R: 90. 22	X Not numbered	Not Mainz	Not Mainz
Kiel, UB Prov: Bordesholm (Schleswig-Holstein), Augustinian Canons De R: 90.44	X Independent text, only from Part 3	Mainz Altern. red/blue Lombards	Mainz The loose limner

27 copies on Galliziani paper (cont.)

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
London, BL, C.14.e.1 Formerly: King George III De R: 90.2	Captions not numbered, independent text	Not Mainz Lombards red only	Not Mainz Fine initials, infills with much green. Most are single colour or complicated interlocking. Most with pen-work flourishes. In alphabet F, G, H only outline.
Madrid, Real Ac. de Historia (imperfect) De R: 90. 60	X	Mainz? red Lombards; guide- letters	Red only, not Mainz, except on fol. [a]1 ^a
Mainz, Gutenberg Museum Prov: Pope Pius VI De R: 90.29	X 15 captions missing	Not Mainz	Not Mainz
Moscow UB (formerly Leipzig, Buchgewerbemuseum) De R: 90. 46	Not seen		
New York, PML De R: 90: 63	X	Not Mainz	Not Mainz Single colour with white shapes
New York, PL Prov: Louvain, St Martinus Formerly I.F.X.J.G. Borluut de Noorddonck, Ambroise Firmin Didot, John Jacob Astor De R: 90.62	X not numbered	Not Mainz Mainly red; guide- letters	Not Mainz [a]1 ^a elaborate painted border, painted initial

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
Nuremberg, Germ. Nationalmuseum (imperfect) Zedler, <i>Catholicon</i> , p. 34: Comes Hercules Silva De R: 90.50	Not seen		
Paris, BnF, Rés. X.145 with eight leaves on Bull's Head paper. De R: 90.13	X Scribe 1 of vellum/ Bull's Head copies	Mainz Red only, guide- letters	Not Mainz
Paris, Chambre des Députés De R: 90.14	Not seen		
Paris, Musée des lettres Prov: Polling (Southern Bavaria), Canons Regular (?) Formerly: Beriah Botfield, Longleat De R: 90.97 (=90.71?)	–	Not Mainz	Not Mainz Single colour with white shapes, fine pen-work
Parma, Palatina	X	Not Mainz	Not Mainz
Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense	–	?	Not Mainz
San Marino (Cal), Huntington Library	–	Not Mainz	Not Mainz
Wiesbaden, LB Prov: Marienstatt (Westerwald), Cistercians De R: 90.28	X (Not all)	–	Not Mainz

27 copies on Galliziani paper (cont.)

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
Williamstown, Chapin Library Prov: 'Cisterciens de Val-Notre-Dame près Pontoise'(De Ricci) Formerly: Lord Amherst of Hackney De R: 90.31	Not seen		

27 copies on Tower and Crown paper, all with cancel fol. 169 ([r]5)

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
Aix en Provence, Méjanes De R: 90.20	Not seen		
Bonn, ULB Prov: Koblenz? De R: 90.26	—	—	—
Cambridge, UL De R: 90:5	Some	Mainz	Mainz The loose limner
Darmstadt, ULB Prov: Philipp Freyse, Decanus St Peter, Mainz, <i>d.</i> 1485 Formerly: Gotthelf Fischer De R: 90.32	—	Mainz Red only; guide-letters	Mainz Painting, 'Parallel stroke master'; gold column divider, flourishes painted on strips of vellum affixed to paper
Gniezno, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne Prov: Dom, Chapter Library De R: 90: 49	Not seen		Cancellans fol. 169 ([r]5) on Galliziani paper

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials
Hino, Meisei University Formerly: Sotheby's 27.9.88, lot 13 (British Rail Pension Fund)		Possibly Mainz	Initials not Mainz
Hiroshima, University of Economics, Formerly: Otto Schäfer	—	Not Mainz	Not Mainz
Karlsruhe, BLB Prov: Villingen (Baden- Württemberg), Franciscans INKA 11000963 De R: 90.34 (with different provenance)	—	Mainz Altern. red/blue Lombards; guide-letters	Mainz Initials with monsters, pen-work profiles
Koblenz, Görresgymnasium De R: 90.27	—	—	Not Mainz Very little decoration
Kraków, UB De R: 90.54	Not seen		
London, BL, IC. 302 Formerly: Rev. Cracherode De R: 90.3	Numbered, 20 wanting, include scribe of vellum/ Bull's Head copies	Mainz	Mainz The loose limner, pen-work profiles

27 copies on Tower and Crown paper, all with cancel fol. 169 ([r]5) (cont.)

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials	
Milan, BN De R: 90.58	X	Mainz	Mainz, on fol [a] 1 ^a	
Naples, BN De R: 90.59	X Not all filled in	Mainz Altern. red/blue Lombards	Mainz The loose limner, pen-work profiles	Cancellans fol. 169 ([r]5 on Galliziani paper)
New York, PL Formerly: Munich duplicate sale 1858, Culemann, James Lenox De R: 90.61	X	Mainz Altern. red/blue Lombards	Mainz The loose limner, pen- work profiles	
Oxford, The Queen's College De R: 90.7	–	–	No hand-finishing at all	
Paris, BnF, Rés. Smith-Lesouëf 76 De R: - CIBN B-13	Only on fol. [a] 1 ^a and parts 2 and 4 of grammar			
Paris, Arsenal De R: 90.16	X Not all filled in	Mainz	Mainz	
Princeton NJ, UL, Scheide Library Formerly: Wodhull One quire on Galliziani paper. De R: 90.107	X Not all filled in	X	Mainz painted flourish on [a] 1 ^a , initials, the loose limner, profiles	

	Captions	Rubrication	Initials	
Providence R1, Brown UL, Annmary Brown Memorial Library Formerly: M.M. Sykes De R: 90.65	X Many not filled in	Mainz Altern. red/blue Lombards; guide-letters	Mainz The loose limner	
Sandomiersz (S.E. Poland), Seminary	Not seen			
Trier, Dombibliothek Formerly: Christoph Graf von Kesselstatt De R: 90.25	X Not numbered	Not Mainz	Not Mainz	
Trier, SB Prov: Trier, St. Simeon, Canons Regular	Only on fol. [a] 1 ^a	Mainz Altern. red/blue Lombards; guide-letters	Mainz The loose limner, profiles; some painted flourishes	22 sheets, including quires [a] and [h] and [L] on Bull's Head paper
Vienna, ÖNB De R: 90.53	X 33 wanting	Mainz Altern. red/blue Lombards	Mainz The loose limner, pen- work profiles	
Wolfenbüttel, HAB De R: 90.43	Only on a1 ^a	Mainz Red only	Probably not Mainz	
Wrocław, EDA	Not seen			
Wrocław U Prov: Lubiąż (Leubus), Lower Silesia, Cistercian Abbey De R: 90.48	Not seen			

Unknown paper or vellum: Sárospatak College (northern Hungary; not listed in Sajó-Soltész).

The following items in De Ricci's list 90.1–65 have not been identified, but are probably among the copies listed above:

90.23 ('Dominicains de Dusseldorf'). On paper.

90.37: Donaueschingen, Court Library (unless this is the single leaf); Sotheby's, 1.7.1997, lot 41.

Another copy, on vellum, that 'disappeared' is the copy that on 5 October 1474 was donated by the Prince Elector to the Heiliggeistkirche of the university in Heidelberg. See E. Winkelmann, *Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg*, vol. 11. *Regesten*. Heidelberg, 1886. I am grateful to Professor Elmar Mittler who drew my attention to the Elector's gift.

Not included are fragments and single leaves recorded in:

The Hague, MMW (vellum), Frankfurt, SUB (vellum), London, Sotheby's, Donaueschingen, 1.7.1994, lot 41 (T and C), New York, PML (vellum), New York, Columbia (T and C), Nuremberg, GNM, Paris, BnF (vellum, one leaf), Riga NL (vellum, one leaf), Stockholm KB, Trier SB (T and C, one leaf, Bull's Head), Vatican City, BAV, Inc. S. 241 bis (formerly part of Cod. Pal. lat. 672). Sheehan B-6 cites both shelf-marks for the single leaf (on paper without watermark). Leaves from a Galliziani copy were issued in 1936 as a leaf-book with an essay by Margaret B. Stillwell, see above n.1. These leaves came from a made-up and imperfect Catholicon-copy that had belonged to Sir Hans Sloane and was sold by the British Museum as a duplicate in 1805. I am most grateful to John Goldfinch for this information. Goldfinch identified Sloane as a previous owner who had bought the book in 1705 probably already imperfect and made up with leaves of the grammatical part printed by Adolf Rusch in Strasbourg; the 22 leaves remaining after Stillwell's leaf-book, all printed by Rusch, were donated to the British Library in 2015.

Appendix to Chapter 6

Fragments of Netherlands Prototypography with provenance notes

The fragments listed here are separated into 'Used' and 'Unused', and arranged within that distinction by text and printing type. Within each section the items or sets of fragments found in a single binding are arranged chronologically according to the (usually approximate) dating associated with the document in which they were found. Where no literature is quoted, the information on provenance was provided by curators at the time when I assembled the documentation.

I *Unused fragments (printers' waste?)*

a Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*

a.1 *Type 1 (= Speculum Type)*

1. ILC 140

Present location: New York, Union Theological Seminary.

Bifolium, printed on both sides, not rubricated and apparently not folded and cropped for binding. Paste-down in MS 14, in a Cologne binding datable 'not before 1463', on a collection of three tracts by Albertus Magnus written in Cologne by Cornelius Itter (cognomine Sundergot), with four colophon dates in 1463; Needham surmised that the tract volume was bound not long after it was written, although the binder is not recorded as active before 1470 > Leander van Ess (before 1838).

One of the stamps illustrated by Needham may be identified as EBDB 5012590 of Werkstatt w000169 (Cologne, Stadtbuchbinder, active c. 1470–91).

Paul Needham, *Leander van Ess*, 1996 (see p. 205, n. 2) and *ibid*, 111. 1, illustrated p. 103 (detail) and 163.

2. ILC 131

Present location: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ChL.1615.

Belonged to S.L. Sotheby, of unknown provenance.

Curt F. Bühler, 'New Coster fragments of the *Doctrinale*', *Ghjb* 1938, pp. 59–68.

a.2 *Type 5 (= Saliceto Type)*

3. ILC 106

Present location: Darmstadt, Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek, Inc. 111/3.

Two bifolia; formerly paste-down in binding of ms. 537, Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones de tempore*, dated 1423, in a Cologne binding datable c. 1474–5, which has one border tool in common with no. 1 in this list > Johanniter (ss. Johannes et Cordula), Cologne; EBDB Werkstatt w007363. I am grateful to Dr Kurt Hans Staub for discussion of this fragment and sending full documentation. This binding was discussed by Paul Needham, *Leander van Ess*, 1996 (see p. 205, n. 2), pp. 106–7.

4. ILC 109

Present location: Cambridge University Library, Oates 3297.

Senator Culemann (Hannover, his sale, cat. lot 44), of unknown provenance.

b Aelius Donatus, *Ars minor*

b.1 *Type 1* (= *Speculum Type*)

5. ILC 823

Present location: Cambridge University Library, Oates 3292.

Bifolium, from contemporary blind-stamped binding (much worn) on Joh. Nic. de Milis, *Repertorium Juris* (Louvain (Leuven), Joh. de Westfalia, 1475, fol.), Oates 3700, ISTC im00571000 > Culemann (Hannover, lot 513 in his sale, together with no. 30 in this list).

6. ILC 793

Present location: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Ink. Nr. 601.

Fragment of two bifolia, not rubricated. Paste-down from contemporary blind-stamped binding, identified as EBDB Werkstatt w003625 ('Süddeutschland'), on Lambertus de Monte, *Copulata super octo libros Aristotelis iuxta doctrinam doctoris Thomae de Aquino cum textu*. [Cologne, Heinrich Quentell, not after 1488, fol.], ISTC im00831500, Heidelberg UB Ink. Nr. 1149. The binding was also identified by Schwenke-Schunke, vol. 1, p. 78, vol. 2, p. 134, as by a Cologne binder linked to the Charterhouse St Barbara. Earliest owner's note: Sum Caspari Dornbluck Friburgensis Phi[...?] (S. XVII).

7. ILC 816

Present location: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 150 C 48 [1].

According to J.H. Hessels, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, eleventh ed. (see p. 214, n. 26) two distinct editions, one unused, one rubricated. According to a ms. note by J.W. Holtrop, taken from the binding of Dionysius Carthusiensis, *Exhortationes novitiorum*, Deventer, Richard Pafraet, 1491, ISTC id00244000 (copy KB 168 G 72). The early owner of this book was the Praemonstratensian Abbey at Tongerlo (nr. Antwerp). Rebound in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

b.2 *Type 6*

8. ILC 852

Present location: Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Gattermann 344–6.

Three sheets of the same conjugate leaves printed on one side (pages 10^b, 13^a), found in a limp parchment binding on Franciscus Maiorani, *Sermones* (Brussels, Fratres Vitae Communis, c.1481–4, fol.), ISTC im00094500 > Jan Willem Janszoon, priest in

Zoeterwoude (ownership inscription), brother, from 1484 commander of the Commandery of St Jan, Haarlem, d. 1514 > Düsseldorf, Kapuzinerkloster.

P. Schwenke, 'Neue Donatfunde'. *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 22 (1905), pp. 532–5. HPT, vol. I, p. 8.

9. ILC 851

Present location: Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, Jaspers 21.

Two fragments from binding *Die Duytsche Souter* (Delft, H. Eckert van Homborch, 1498, 8^o), ISTC ip01072000; the fragments are not rubricated and the space for an initial is left blank. Discovered by Johannes Enschedé in 1740, and donated by him to the City of Haarlem.

II *Used fragments (binders' waste), of known provenance*

c Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*

c.1 *Type 1 (= Speculum Type)*

10. ILC 125

Present location: Mainz, Gutenberg Museum, Ink. 110.

Strips, with rubrication and a red initial. From the binding of HS 322 in the Stadtbibliothek, Mainz, a collection of manuscripts of devotional texts in diverse hands, in German and Latin, fifteenth century, one with the date 1454, > Mainz Charterhouse (inscriptions, not later than c. 1500). The original binding was replaced in 1960.

A. Tronnier, 'Ein Costerfund in Mainz'. *Gbbj* 1926, pp. 144–80.

11. ILC 117

Present location: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 168 G 72.

Three leaves, paste-down taken from binding on *Gemma Vocabulorum*, Deventer, Richard Pafraet, 1495, 4^o (ISTC iv00332000) > 'Richardus de arca nustica de xij patriarchi, In Venlo, ad s. Nicolaum' (inscription).

12. ILC 112

Present location: Düsseldorf, Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek, Gattermann 23.

Two conjugate leaves, rubricated, from binding on Jean Gerson, *Opera* (vol. 4, Strasbourg, Heinrich Flach, 1502, fol.), Gattermann 443, vols 1–3, ISTC ig00189000 > contemporary binding identified as Cistercian Abbey at Altenberg (Odenthal, Nordrhein-Westfalen).

13. ILC 119

Present location: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ChL. 1616.

From the binding on Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* (Paris, Jean Petit, 1508, 4^o) and Philippus Beroaldus, *De felicitate* (Paris, Thielman Kerver for Jean Petit, 1500, 4^o), ChL. 1518a, ISTC ib00485000; bound at the Priory Groenendaal in the Sonienbos nr. Brussels.

C.F. Bühler, *Gbb* 1938, see above, no. 2.

c.2 *Type 5 (= Saliceto Type)*

14. ILC 145

Present location: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.

From undated binding, partly pigskin, partly red goatskin, on ms. Helmstedt D. 377, fol., dated 1412, 'ipso die beati Godehardi episcopi Hildensemensis, per manus Arnoldi de Molendino'. (See O. von Heinemann, vol. 1, 442) > diocese Hildesheim? > Julius or Heinrich Julius, Duke of Braunschweig, before 1613 > Helmstedt University > Wolfenbüttel HAB (1817).

15. ILC 98

Present location: Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek. Not in Gattermann.

Two leaves, rubricated and with decorated initial, from the volume ms. C.24 containing manuscript in German, Marquardus de Lindau, *Die hystorie der Kinder von Ysrahel* (dated 1462) > Kreuzbrüderkonvent zu Marienfrede.

16. ILC 151

Present location: Nijmegen, Universiteitsbibliotheek (Wittem collection).

From the binding on *Statuta ecclesie Coloniensis* (Cologne, Joh. Guldenschaff, 1478, fol.), ISTC is00731000 > Wittem, Redemptorists.

17. ILC 153

Present location: Dublin, Trinity College, Abbott 112, Press A.5.20.

Paste-down in contemporary blind-stamped binding on Bartholomaeus de Chaimis, *Confessionale* (Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, 1478, 4^o), ISTC ib00157000, location of binding possibly Strasbourg, see p. 223, n. 41 with a no longer legible contemporary owner's note and also containing ms. fragments of Donatus.

18. ILC 97

Present location: London, British Library, IB.47023, BMC ix, pp. 5–6.

From the Cologne binding c. 1500–10 by the workshop Kyriss 96 on Gregorius, *Decretales* (Basel, Joh. Amerbach & Joh. Froben, 1500, fol., ISTC ig00479000) > Trier, Abbey St. Maximin > Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Inc. 2171 8^o. The fragment was taken out of the binding and bought by the British Museum in 1890 from J. Hess, Ellwangen. The offsets of the fragment and a snippet of parchment remained in the volume in Trier. Dr K. Koppe, Trier, identified the offsets as matching the leaf in the British Library. I am most grateful to him for sharing this discovery, which I could confirm.

19. ILC 110

Present location: Leiden, Museum De Lakenhal (on deposit).

From the binding (c. 1515) on a list of orphans in the Heilige Geest Gasthuis (Utrecht).

G.A. Evers, 'Een incunabel ergens laten'. *Oud-Utrecht* 23 (1950), pp. 68–72.

20. ILC 154

Present location: Gorinchem, Gemeente Archief.

From the 'kaartboekje' (without date) of the Monastery Den Hem nr. Schoonhoven.

21. ILC 152

Present location: Mainz, Universitätsbibliothek, B5223.

Two paste-downs with rubrication and a red initial in contemporary panel binding on Petrus Lombardus, *Textus magistri sententiarum*, Paris, 1518, 8^o, shelf-mark 1949 K9297. Remains of an ownership inscription on the title-page end with '... mond', suggesting a place name in Flanders, Brabant or Limburg. Binding probably Cologne or possibly Flemish (see p. 222, n. 40).

J. Benzing, *Gedenkschrift*, 1962, identified the binding as Parisian. See, however, Otto Mazal, *Europäische Einbandkunst*, 1990 (see above, n. 39), no. 57 (as suggested by Dr Kurt Hans Staub).

d Aelius Donatus, *Ars minor*

d.1 *Type 1* (= *Speculum Type*)

22a–b. ILC 832–3

Present location: Rottenburg, Priesterseminar, cat. Hummel-Wilhelmi (1993), nos. 622–3.

Two fragments from contemporary (local?) blind-stamped binding (not in Kyriss) on Nic. de Lyra, *Postilla* (Strasbourg, Joh. Mentelin, before 1472, fol., Ink. 456, vols I and II, ISTC in00133000) > Kollegiatstift St Moritz, Ehingen (Rottenburg).

23. ILC –; ISTC id00326850

Present location: Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, Sack (Freiburg), 1279. Eight fragments, strips, of leaf 8, rubricated, taken from Hs 86 including grammatical works and dated Zürich, 1473; binding of similar date. The offset of the conjugate leaf 1 (removed) is visible on the inside of the lower board.

Sack, 1973 (see p. 205, n. 1), col. 1504–7, with reproduction.

24. ILC –; ISTC id00326000

Present location: Bloomington IN, Indiana University Library, The Lilly Library.

Two conjugate leaves, rubricated, taken from the (Flemish?) binding of Joh. de Tur-recremata, *Flos theologiae*, Deventer, Richard Pafraet, 1484, ISTC it00552000, together

with two leaves in type 5, see no. 36 below in this list > Affligem (Benedictine Abbey), 1642. Appears as no. 22 in *The first twenty-five years of printing, 1455–1480: An exhibition*. Bloomington IN, The Lilly Library, 1967.

d.2 *Type 5 (= Saliceto Type)*

25. ILC 789

Present location: Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Gattermann 342.

Two leaves, rubricated, from ms. codex B68 including patristic texts (Eusebius, Augustinus, Cyrillus), middle S. xv; one leaf remained in the manuscript > Kreuzbrüderkonvent, Düsseldorf.

26. ILC 810

Present location: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek.

In binding on Hs. St Blasien 11, a volume containing two German texts in ms. Second half fifteenth century, and a charter of Schlettstadt, 1450; binding of the Upper Rhine area.

G. Kattermann, *Ghb* 1939, pp. 102–8.

27. ILC. 846

Present location: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 150 C 66.

17 strips formerly protecting quires in Ms 70 E 23, second volume of a collection of Latin sermons by Conradus Soccus de Brundelsheim, written in Muiden, vol. 1 dated 1467; in contemporary binding > Mariaklooster, Weesp.

28. ILC 805

Present location: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 150 C 49.

Leaf from a binding on treatises printed by Ulrich Zell > Sion convent, Cologne (inscription).

29. ILC 801

Present location: Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek (on deposit), Jaspers 16.

Two fly-leaves from Account book 1474, Kerkmeesters Grote Kerk (St. Bavo), Haarlem, reputedly bound by Cornelis de boekbinder.

30. ILC 762

Present location: Cambridge University Library, Oates 3299.

Two leaves, paste-downs from the binding on Joh. Nic. de Milis, *Repertorium Juris* (Louvain (Leuven), Joh. de Westfalia, 1475), Oates 3700, 1STC im00571000 > Senator Culemann (Hannover, lot 513 in his sale together with no. 5 in this list).

31. ILC 804

Present location: Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek (on deposit), Jaspers 18.

Two fly-leaves from Rent book 1476, Kerkmeesters Grote Kerk, (St. Bavo), Haarlem.

Discovered by Gerard Meerman.

32. ILC 821

Present location: Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, Jaspers 20.

Two leaves, rubricated, from *Cartularium Kennemerland* 1330–1477 > Joh. Enschedé 1750 > donated in 1867 by the Enschedé family to the City of Haarlem. Cf. ILC 815 at the Museum Enschedé in Haarlem, two leaves with the same provenance.

33. ILC 787

Present location: Cologne, Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek, Fragment no. 10.

From the binding on *Biblia latina* (Nuremberg, Anton Koberger, 1478, fol. 1STC ib00557000).

34. ILC—; 1STC id00324420

Present location: Ljubljana, National and University Library.

From a contemporary blind-stamped binding on Matth. Silvaticus, *Liber pandectarum medicinae* (Vicenza, Hermann Liechtenstein, c. 1480, fol., 1STC is00513000) > Vitus Rumppler, Burgschleinitz, Lower Austria (ms. notes in Silvaticus) > Petrus Seebach (c. 1500–64, Bishop of Ljubljana) > his son Joannes Baptista Seepach (1546–1613, inscription) > Cornjigrad (Oberburg), Episcopal Residence (catalogue 1655) > Lyzealbibliothek, Laibach (Ljubljana), (1798).

P. Simoniti, 'Ein weiteres Costerianum', *Gbf* 1974, pp. 47–51.

The layout and some of the tools on the binding similar to bindings by 'Meister Mathias', *fl.* 1456, illustrated by Otto Mazal, *Einbandkunde: Die Geschichte des Bucheinbandes*. Wiesbaden, 1997, Plate 13. Mazal notes (p. 129) that Mathias worked for the university in Vienna and for monasteries in Lower Austria, as did a successor to whom the binding may also be ascribed. See also p. 223 and n. 42.

35. ILC—

Present location: Mainz, Gutenberg Museum, StB Ink 1231.

A strip from binding, on Augustinus, *Opuscula* (Venice, Octavianus Scotus, 1483, 4^o, 1STC ia01216000). There is no trace of rubrication in the little that is left. Bound in a contemporary blind-stamped binding by the Cologne binder Kyriss 71 > Mainz, Charterhouse.

Binding identified by Dr K.H. Staub in 2005, referring to Lore Sprandel-Krafft, *Die spätgotischen Einbände an den Inkunabeln der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg*. Würzburg 2000, Tafel 28, Nr 193 (AW 17).

36. ILC 839

Present location: Bloomington IN, Indiana University Library, The Lilly Library.

Two conjugate leaves, rubricated, taken from the (Flemish?) binding of Joh. de Tur-recremata, *Flos theologiae*, Deventer, Richard Pafraet, 1484, ILC 2120, ISTC it00552000, together with two leaves in type 1, see above no. 24 in this list > Affligem (Benedictine Abbey), 1642. No. 22 in: *The first twenty-five years of printing, 1455–1480: An exhibition*, Bloomington IN, The Lilly Library, 1967.

37. ILC 845

Present location: Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek, HS. 162.

Two leaves, some red initials, paste-downs in binding on Hs 162 with *Gesta Romanorum*, dated 1463, binding possibly Groningen, late fifteenth century > Mr Bertold Ierghes > Martini Church, Groningen.

J.M.M. Hermans, 1978 (see p. 221 and n. 37).

38. ILC 827

Present location: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink. 18.F.4 (2).

From a Paris binding, c. 1500, by Karolus de Quercu, on *Biblia latina* (Lyon, F. Fradin & J. Pivard, 1497, fol., ISTC ib00602000) > 'fr. Alvarus Osorio emit Parisiis' (inscription) > conventus S. Stephani Salmantino provincie Hispanie > Hofbibliothek, Vienna, probably in the sixteenth century.

Otto Mazal, *Europäische Einbandkunst*, 1990, no. 62. Information on the provenance was provided by the late Mr G. Wilhelm, see p. 221 and n. 38.

39. ILC 841

Present location: Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek.

Two conjugate leaves, rubricated, from binding on Ms. Praed. 168, dated 1503, bound in a contemporary binding in the Dominican monastery in Frankfurt > Nikolaus Epstein OP (d. 1506).

Ohly-Sack 10039A. Sack, *Unbekannte Donate* (1973, see p. 205, n. 1), col. 1501–2.

40. ILC 830

Present location: Haarlem Stadsbibliotheek, Jaspers 24.

Eight strips twisted to cord, from Account book, Kerkmeesters Grote Kerk (St. Bavo), 1514 > Jacob Koning (his sale, catalogue lot 23). (See above, Fig. 6.1).

41. ILC 831

Present location: Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, Jaspers 23.

One strip twisted to cord, from Account book, Kerkmeesters Grote Kerk (St. Bavo), 1514 > Jacob Koning (his sale, catalogue lot 23).

42. ILC 809

Present location: Augsburg, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Einbl. vor 1500, Nr 68.

Hubay (Augsburg) 720 (719^a).

Two strips taken in 1997 from a volume including Montaigne, Lyon (not before 1510), Erasmus, Louvain (Leuven), 1521, etc., with provenance Jesuit College, Augsburg.

Information Gerard van Thienen.

43. ILC 762, second copy.

Present location: New Haven, Connecticut, Yale Center for British Art, Book leaf collection.

One leaf, formerly Paul Mellon, Upperville, VA, from Collection Beit, Speyer, earlier provenance unknown. (The note attached to this fragment, stating that it was taken from the 1474 account book of the Grote Kerk in Haarlem, is to be taken as generally applicable to Donatus fragments rather than to this particular one.)

44. ILC 886

Present location: Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek. Alblas-van Someren 214.

Four leaves of French *Donatus* from *Cartularium*, Heilige Geest Gasthuis, Utrecht, assembled and bound not before the middle of the sixteenth century.

Cf. G.A. Evers, 'Een incunabel ergens laten'. *Oud-Utrecht* 23 (1950), 68–72.

d.3 *Type 4 (= Pontanus Type)*

45. ILC 740

Present location: Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Roos 80.

Three leaves from a contemporary binding, probably Groningen, on four tracts in 4^o by Joh. de Garlandia, *Aequivoca*, *Synonyma* (Cologne, Heinrich Quentell, c. 1486–7, Roos 85–6, ISTC ig00072700, ig00083500) and *Composita verborum*, *Verba deponentialia* (Deventer, Richard Pafraet, c. 1483–5 and 1488–92 respectively, Roos 116–17, ILC 1029, 1049, ISTC ig00076500, ig00087400).

46. ILC 744

Present location: Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Gattermann 338–9.

Fragment of one leaf, rubricated, from bindings on editions Basel 1561, Wittenberg 1562, but recycled from earlier binding.

Appendix to Chapter 7

Bibliographical Descriptions of the Four Works Discussed in this Chapter

Saliceto collection 1, [a b]¹². fol., 24 leaves

ISTC is00029500, GW M39452, BMC IX pp. 4–5, C.14.b.10.

Campbell 1493, ILC 1904, Polain (B) 1837, with illustration of leaf [b]3^a, Pellechet-Polain 5628 (5619), CIBN G-541.

Copies: Brussels BR (imperfect, wanting two leaves); Chantilly, Musée Condé; Chatsworth; London, BL; Manchester JRL; Moscow SL; Paris, BnF.

Imperfect copies and fragments: Berlin SPK; Cambridge, Trinity College (leaves [a]2–12); Glasgow UL, Hunterian (leaves [a] 2–12, [b] 1–2)

For the Saliceto copies at Darmstadt ULB, Stuttgart WLB, Tübingen UB, and Princeton, the Scheide Library, see below, Saliceto II.

The status of the copy formerly at Leipzig, Buchmuseum, now at Moscow, has not been determined. A fragment of binder's waste of two leaves printed on vellum is set in different typesetting. London BL, IB. 47020. See pp. 261–2, 270.

Summary Contents

fol. 2 ^a –8 ^b ([a]2 ^a –[a]8 ^b)	Guillelmus de Saliceto, De salute corporis
8 ^b –12 ^a ([a]8 ^b –[a]12 ^a)	Johannes de Turrecremata, De salute anime
12 ^b –14 ^a ([a]12 ^b –[b]2 ^a)	Pius II, Epistola retractatoria
15 ^a –23 ^a ([b]3 ^a –[b]11 ^a)	Pius II, Pro laude Homeri; Ilias latina (Iliados Epitome)
23 ^b –24 ^a ([b]11 ^b –[b]12 ^a)	Epitaphia

Contents, as in the copy British Library, C.14.b.10

[a]1	<i>blank</i>
[a]2 ^a	In pñti codice cōtinētur duo singulares et putiles tractatus quoz pñm ⁹ est de salute corporis. Hunc edidit excellētissim ⁹ ac pbatissim ⁹ medicīe doctor dñs guill̃s de saliceto. Alterū ṽro qui est de salute aīe. miro quodā a diuino magis q̃ humano artificio cōposuit

- Reuerendissim⁹ p̄r dñs Cardinalis de turre ||
 cremata ordinis p̄dicatoꝝ sacre pagine doctor eximius. ||
 Titulus primi horū tractatū. || Ad inclitū alfonsū arra-
 gonie ⁊ cicilie regē tractatus de salute || corporis editus
 bononie per insignē virū dñm guillermū de || saliceto
 medicine doctorem famosissimū. Incipit feliciter. ||
 [S³] Alus corporis potissimē cōsistit in cōseruacōe
 sanitatis ||... l. 36: ... illā febrē ēē pestilencialē. ⁊ ideo ||
 [a]8^b, l. 17 Explicit opus tripartitū de salute corporis ... l. 19: Incipit
 tractatus qui ītitulatur salus aīe al̄s stabilimentū || fidei
 catholice. editus per reuerēdissimū pr̄z dñm Cardinale
 || de turrecremata ordinis p̄dicatoꝝ eximiū sacre pagine
 doctorē || Et diuiditur in septē particulas scdm̄ q̄ ibi
 sunt septē rōnes || seu argumēta efficacissima veritatē
 huius fidei stabilientia. ... l. 25: [D⁴] Ocet nos diuīā
 scriptura. ... l. 34: ... moīs.pbauit ||
 [a]12^a, l. 32 Explicit tractatus de salute anime. || Editus per
 Reuerendissimū pr̄m dñm Cardinalem de turre ||
 cremata. ordinis p̄dicatoꝝ. eximiū sacre pagine
 professorem. ||
 [a]12^b Pij scdī pōtificis maxī cōtra luxuriosos ⁊ lasciuos ad
 karolū || cypriatū Tractatus de amore Incipit felī.
 PROLOGVS || [T²]ractus de amore olim sensu piterq̄
 etate iuuenes cū || nos scripsisse recolim⁹ karole fili ...
 l. 5: ... vehemēter excruciat. Quippe||... l. 36: ... que
 peccet ||
 [b]1^a credit secreta latere. ... ostētacionē ||
 [b]1^b sciē. s3 ... l. 8: PRVDENCIVS. ... l. 17: ARCHITRENIVS. ...
 l. 23: IUVENALIS. l. 28: LACTANCIVS. ... l. 34: ... hrē
 bonitatē. ||
 [b]2^a SENECA. in epl̄is. ... l. 34: sed in sinu meretricis est nata.
 [space] Explicit. ||
 [b]2^b blank
 [b]3^a Pij secundi pōtificis maximi pro laude homeri ||
 prefacio in homerum poetarum maximum. || ... l. 16:
 Virgilius.|| ... l. 21: Ouidius.|| ... l. 24: Idem. ||... l. 27:
 Alexandreis. || O fortuna viri superexcellētior omni ... ||
 ... l. 35: ... fama triumphos ||

- [b]₃^b Pius secundus pontifex maximus. || Argumenta. locos.
versus. totumqꝫ poema || ... l. 15: Idem. || ... l. 35: ...
superstes erit ||
- [b]₄^a Meonij homeri greci poetarum maximi opus || insigne
cui yliada titulus inscribitur e greco in || latinū versa.
Incipit feliciter. || [I³] Ram pande michi pelide diua
superbi || Tristia qui miseris iniecit funera graīs || ...
l. 35: ... per auras ||
- [b]₁₀^a, l. 33 Explicit yliada homeri poetarū maximi. || Pro cuius
faciliori intellectu est aduertendū q ꝫ intēcio homeri in
precedēti poemate est describere||
variant: The final line, apparently reset, reads in the
copy British Library, G.8814: intēcio homeri in hoc
opere est describē troianā
- [b]₁₀^b historiam a ꝑmo bello vsqꝫ ad mortē hectoris || ... l. 29:
Franciscus petrarcha. || Homerū grecoꝝ lumē ... l. 35: ...
cōdicionēs hoīm q̄litatesqꝫ ||
- [b]₁₁^a claro adeo lucidoqꝫ eliquio ... l. 6: ... IDEM l. 10: ...
LAERCIVS. ... l. 16: DIOGENES. ... l. 21: IUSTINIANVS
... l. 26: ... STACIVS ... l. 33: Eneas siluius. || l. 35: ...
Explicit. ||
- [b]₁₁^b Hectoris troiani virorū || strēnuissimi. Epitaphium. ||
Defensor patrie iuuenum fortissim⁹ hector || ... l. 13:
Eiusdem. || ... l. 15: Achillis greci. || ... l. 26: Eiusdem.
|| ... l. 29: Anthenoris. || ... l. 32: Alexandri. || ... l. 34: ...
ampla nimis ||
- [b]₁₂^a Homonee doctissiē ... l. 5: Actor loquitur. || ... l. 8:
Homonea. || ... l. 17: Athimetus. || ... l. 26: Homonea. ||
... l. 34: ... proroget vlterius.
- [b]₁₂^b *blank*

Pontanus collection, [a¹⁶ b²⁸ c¹⁶]. fol., 60 leaves

ISTC ip00926000, GW M34978, BMC IX, p. 4.

ILC 1794, CIBN P-572, Oates 3294

Copies: Cambridge UL, Manchester JRUL 19250, Paris BnF (with a duplicate of leaf
[b]₂₀, with variants in typesetting on the verso: proof?), New York, PML, Princeton,

Scheide Library, Providence RI, Brown University, Annmary Brown Memorial Collection. The Hague, KB, 168. E. 3, Utrecht UB (electronic facsimile available online).

Imperfect copies and fragments: Berlin, SPK, five bifolia, see above, p. 269, no.6.; London, BL, 1B 47016 (one leaf, presumably binder's waste); Westminster Abbey, parts of nine bifolia and two single leaves, see above, p. 273, n.79. The Hague RL, 150.C. 57 (fragment), MMW (fragment), Utrecht UB (one leaf, [a]2, binder's waste, Alblas-van Someren 502, see p. 268, no. 4, n.67.

For the fragment recorded at Tübingen see below, Saliceto (II).

Summary Contents

fol. 1 ^a ([a]1 ^a)	<i>blank</i>
2 ^a –39 ^a ([a]2 ^a –[b]23 ^a)	Ludovicus Pontanus de Roma, <i>Singularia in causis criminalibus super V Decretalium</i> , Lib. v
2 ^a –3 ^a ([a]2 ^a –[a]3 ^a), l. 5	Prefatio
3 ^a –3 ^b ([a]3 ^a , l. 6–[a]3 ^b)	Prologus
4 ^a –39 ^b ([a]4 ^a –[b]23 ^b)	text <i>Singularia</i>
40 ^a ([b]24 ^a)	Aeneas Silvius, <i>Epitaphium Ludovici</i>
40 ^b –41 ^a ([b] 24 ^b –[b]25 ^a)	Ludovicus Pontanus, <i>Apologetica invectiva in theologos</i>
41 ^a –45 ^a ([b]25 ^a –[c]1 ^a)	Ludovicus Pontanus, <i>Tractatus de presumptionibus</i>
45 ^b , ll. 1–29 ([c]1 ^b , ll. 1–29)	<i>Descriptio iudicii paradisi</i> ('De mulieribus pravis', cap. I)
45 ^b , l. 30–46 ^b ([c]1 ^b , l. 30–2 ^b)	Carmen 'Vidimus effigiem lascivi amoris' ('De mulieribus pravis', cap. II)
47 ^a –49 ^a , l.26 ([c]3 ^a –[c]5 ^a , l. 26)	'De mulieribus pravis', cap. III
49 ^a , l. 27–50 ^a ([c]5 ^a , l. 27–[c]6 ^a)	Final section of Pius II, <i>Epistola retractatoria</i>
50 ^b –51 ^a ([c]6 ^b –[c]7 ^a), l. 26	Unidentified: Pius II (?), <i>Descriptio vani amoris</i> ; inc.: 'Nonsic profecto est'
51 ^a , l. 27–57 ^b ([c]7 ^a , l. 27–[c]13 ^b)	pseudo Pius II, <i>Epitaphia</i> etc.
57 ^b –60 ^a ([c]13 ^b –[c]16 ^a)	Quotations from the Fathers and other authorities
60 ^b ([c]16 ^b)	<i>blank</i>

An in-press variant is noted on leaf [a]15^a. In the copies at Cambridge UL and the Scheide Library, the first two lines plus two letters and a point on l. 3 have been missed out. In these two copies the page begins with the sentence 'Sꝫ quero qđ de veneficio'. a sentence that is found (with another contraction) on l. 3 in all other known copies as 'Sꝫ qꝛo qđ de veneficio'. Since the page is set with the regular 26 lines, two lines are printed as ll. 25–26 which are found in all other copies as ll. 1–2 of [a]15^b. In the Cambridge UL and Scheide copies they are also found at the top of the verso page.

No variants are detected in the conjugate page [a]2^b. Gerard van Thienen noted that the paper of sheet [a]2/15 in the uncorrected copies (CUL and Scheide) has a watermark p with quatrefoil; this is from a paperstock different from the watermark found for this sheet in all other copies (anchor, which is the dominant watermark in this quire). The sheet must therefore have been the first printed in the print run.

J.W. Holtrop noted (*Monuments typographiques*, 1868, p. 27), variant setting of the headings on p. [c]1^b in the copy then in the Enschedé collection, now in the Annmary Brown Memorial Library, e.g. l. 13: Aliud eiusdem / Eiusdem, l. 15: Epitaphium Achillis greci / Achillis greci, etc. I have not noted it in the many other impressions of this page.

Page [c]6^a has the same typesetting as page [b]2^a in Saliceto (1), except the final words, which are 'Explicit' in Saliceto (1), followed by a blank page. In Pontanus, and also in Saliceto (11) (page [b]3^a) and Homerus (Bifolium 1, 2^a), they are replaced with 'hec lactancius'. For arguments that half of the sheets [c] 6/11 and [c] 5/11 are of the same impression, see p. 256.

From leaf [c]1^b (45^b) the contents of each page, including the final words, are specified, since these pages were issued in various combinations.

Contents as in the copy London BL, 167.h.13 and Utrecht UB, Rariora qu 93

[a]1	<i>blank</i>
[a]2 ^a –2 ^b	Prefatio in singlāribus domini ludouici de roma. [A]2 ² pud omnes sane mentis hoīes ...
[a]3 ^a –3 ^b	Incipiūt singlāria ... l. 6: Prologus
[a]4 ^a	Singulariū dñi ludouici de roma liber quintus et vltimus
[b]24 ^a	Eneas siluius poeta senensis pro laude ... l. 2: ludouici de roma ... l. 3: Epitaphium. l. 4: Si mille aut totidem repuaisses usqꝫ virorum Pestis. adhuc poteram parcere seua tibi ...
[b]24 ^b	In quosdā thōlogos ... l. 2: ... apologetica iūectiua. l. 3 : ludouicus de roma ... Sūt qđā ex eo nūo ...

- [b]25^a, l. 7 Incipit tractat⁹ de presūptionib⁹ || scdm̄ dmū ludouicū de roma.
- [c]1^b Pij secūdi pōtificis maximi. de mlrib⁹ prauis || et eaz pñicioso dāp-
natoqꝫ fugiēdo ꝑsorcio ad no || bilē virū karolū cipatū Tractat⁹ incipit
felr. || Descripcio iudicij paridis Capl̄m̄ p̄mū. || Tres dee ad paridem.
|| ... l. 29: Descripcio lasciuī amoris Capl̄m̄ scdm̄. || ... l. 34: ... crura
pedes ||
- [c]2^a Ac humerisl. 34: ... Vrit amor ||
- [c]2^b Accipe lasciuī ... l. 34: sꝫ de ꝑuis mlrib⁹ exēpla ibiūgam⁹ ||
- [c]3^a Exempla de mlrib⁹ prauis. Capl̄m̄ terciū. || [P²]Rima p̄mi vxor ade
p⁹ p̄mā hoīs creacio || nē p̄mo pccō p̄ma soluit ieiunia. ... l. 34: ꝛ coīs
diūsitatū suaz malicia ||
- [c]3^b Deyamira chyrinthiū ... l. 34: ... Et r̄quisit⁹ qua ||
- [c]4^a Rñdit qꝫ inimicū ... l. 34: ... operā dare non posse ||
- [c]4^b Metellus mario ... l. 34: ... applaudūt ceci ||
- [c]5^a Phebus qꝫ sapiē radi⁹ toci⁹ orbis p̄miciauit || ambitū. vt merito noīe
solis sol⁹ illustraretur || ifatuatus ē amore leuchotoes. l. 27: Cōcordat
lactāci⁹ ī instōnib⁹ ita dicēs. || Aspice l. 32: ... Quot⁹ quisqꝫ phōꝫ
iūenitur || qui sit ita morat⁹ ita aīo et vita institut⁹ vt || racio postulat.
qui disciplinā non ostentacionē ||
- [c]5^b sciē. f legē vite putet. ... l. 8: PRVDENCIVS. ... l. 17: ... AR-
CHITRENIVS. ... l. 23: IUVENALIS. ... l. 28: LACTANCIVS. ... l. 34: ...
hrē bonitatē.||
- [c]6^a (var.) SENECA. in epl̄is. ... l. 34: sed in sinu meretricis est nata. hec
lactancius.||
- [c]6^b Pius secundus pontifex maximus. || Non sit ꝑfecto est de nrē. t. phiē
veris || professorib⁹. Non sit petrus paulusqꝫ ꝛ reliqui || q̄mitiui
apl̄i.... l. 12: Bernardus clareuallensiū pater. || Mira loquor
sꝫ digna fide. ... l. 29: Alexandreis libro quinto. || O felix mortale ...
l. 34: ... fallax gloria rerum ||
- [c]7^a Mortales oculos ... l. 11: Bruno carthusiensiū pater. || ... l. 26: Explicit
... vani descriptio amoris. || Ēiusdē pij scdī ... epitaphijs viroz || illus-
triū ... tractatus. || ... l. 29: ... PROLOGVS. ||
- [c]7^b fasciculū collectur⁹. ... l. 11: Epitaphiū dñi ꝛ salvatois nrī ... l. 18: ...
godefrigi ducis de bilion. ||... l. 28: ... regis balduini ... l. 34: ... hoc
tumulo ||
- [c]8^a Epitaphiū publii virgilij maronis. ||... l. 6: ... Marci tullij ciceronis. || ...
l. 10: ... cathonis porcij.|| ... l. 17: ... didonis affricane. || l. 20: ...
pallantis. || ... l. 23: ... Julij cesaris. || ... l. 30: ... Octauiani. || ... l. 34: ...
alta ptās ||

- [c]8^b Tant⁹ in orbe sui. ... l. 3: ... herculis. || ... l. 7: ... pictoris cuiusdam ...
l. 13: ... petri de allyaco || cardinalis cameracensis. || ... l. 21: ... petri
comestoris. || ... l. 26: ... laurentij valle. || ... l. 31: ... lucrecie romane ||
... l. 34: ... fauisse tyranno ||
- [c]9^a Ante virū sanguis. ... l. 4: ... pentasilee regine amasonū. || ... l. 9: ... na-
sonis ... l. 14: Aliud eiusdem. || ... l. 17: ... pacunuij poete. || ... l. 22: ...
Apij plauti. || ... l. 27: ... leonardi aretini. || ... l. 31: ... francisci petrarce.
|| ... l. 34: ... in arce ||
- [c]9^b Epitaphiū pueri generosi de tratia || ... l. 9: ... guarini veroneñ. || ...
l. 14: mediolaneñ. || ... ll. 19–20: ... ladislai || bohémie atq; vngarie
regis. || ... l. 34: ... inuida coniugium ||
- [c]10^a Epygrama vrbis rome. || ... l. 6: Aliud in laudem ipsius vrbis. || ... l. 15:
Epitaphium annei lucij senece. || ... l. 22: ... bernardi clareuallenē ... l.
29: Epygrama sancte marie virginis. || ... l. 32: Epytaphium cuiusdam
romani || iurisconsulti per eneā siluium. || l. 34: ... romanior
vllus ||
- [c]10^b Ante fuit. ... l. 12: Idem pro siluio ⁊ victoria suis geitorib⁹. || ... l. 15:
Eiusdem de preceptis decalogi. || ... l. 32: Idem vexatus a podraga. || ...
l. 34: ... podraga fuge ||
- [c]11^a Ac si membra ... l. 3: Idem ad poetam quendam. || ... l. 6: Responsio
ipsius poete. || ... l. 9: Idem pius ad turbam poetarum. || ... l. 12: Idem
in festo purificacōis scē marie. ... l. 29: Epitaphium cuiusdam exulis.
|| ... l. 33: ... elizabeth ipudice mulieris. || Hic iacet elizabeth. Si bene
fecit habet ||
- [c]11^b Hectoris troiani virorū || strēnuissimi. Epitaphium. || Defensor patrie
... l. 13: Eiusdem. || ... l. 15: Achillis greci. || ... l. 26: Eiusdem. ... l. 29:
Anthenoris. || ... l. 32: Alexandri. || ... l. 34: ... ampla nimis || [c]12^a
Homonee doctissiē ... l. 5: Actor loquitur. || ... l. 8: Homonea. || ... l. 17:
Athimetus. || ... l. 26: Homonea. || ... l. 34: ... proroget vltorius. ||
- [c]12^b Epitaphium Neuij poete. || ... l. 10: Responsio. || ... l. 18: ... Eugenij
pape q̄rti. || ... l. 34: ... sua cara tulit ||
- [c]13^a Susceptiq; memor meriti ... l. 3: ... Nicholai pape || ... l. 17: ... Andre-
ole genitricis || ... l. 32: ... iugurte numidie regis. ... l. 34: ... habeat
requiem. ||
- [c]13^b Epygramma iocosum. || ... l. 7: Epygrāmma serium. || ... l. 10:
Epygrāma dei altissimi. || ... l. 14: Cōcordat bñard⁹ libro de
ꝑsidacōe. || ... l. 22: Augustinus. || ... l. 34: ... reuocz me. Ita ||
- [c]14^a ingrediam ... l. 3: Hilarius pictauensis. || ... l. 21: Idem in libro de
tritrate. || ... l. 34: ... Hoc credendo incipe ||

[c]14 ^b	pturre psiste ... l. 7: Ambrosius. ... l. 34: ... Hijs alijsqz
[c]15 ^a	multis ostendit ... l. 3: De deo absolute ꝑsidato. Bernard ⁹ ... l. 12: De deo patre. Dyonisi ⁹ ariopagita. ... l. 20: De deo filio. Jeronimus. ... l. 34: Porro de tprē
[c]15 ^b	aduent ⁹ ... l. 7: Joseph ⁹ ... l. 20: De deo spūsancto. Thomas aquin ⁹ l. 34: ... ĩterpollatio
[c]16 ^a	De hac siquidē dīlcōne ... l. 7: Aristotiles. 11: Augustinus. l. 15: Plato. ... l. 18: Ambrosius. ... l. 22: Auerroys. ... l. 25: Gregorius. ... l. 28: Porphirius. ... l. 31: Jeronimus. ... l. 34: ... Explicit
[c]16 ^b	<i>blank</i>

Saliceto collection II [a b]¹⁰ [c]² [d-e]¹, fol., 24 leaves

In the Stuttgart copy the bifolium [c]² is inserted in quire [b] between [b]2 and [b]3; [b]10 is followed by two single leaves, [d]¹ [e]¹.

This copy is taken as model for the following description.

Campbell, third Supplement ((1889), 1493. Not distinguished from Saliceto (I) in ISTC is00029500.

Bertalot, *Collectanea Olschki* (1921). Peter Amelung, *Hellings-Festschrift*, no. 59. Their descriptions of the copy at Stuttgart WLB conform to the copy at the Scheide Library, with differences in the textual sequence due to later binding. The Tübingen and Darmstadt copies have one defect in common, and the Darmstadt copy has an additional error (see below, p. 484).

Copies: Darmstadt, ULB; Princeton NJ, Scheide Library; Stuttgart, WLB; Tübingen, UB.

Summary Contents

fol. 1 ^a –7 ^b ([a]1 ^a –[a]7 ^b), l. 18	Guillelmus de Saliceto, De salute corporis
7 ^b , l. 19–11 ^a ([a]7 ^b –[b]1 ^a)	Johannes de Turrecremata, De salute anime
11 ^b –12 ^b , 15 ^a ([b]1 ^b –[b]2 ^b , 3 ^a)	Pius II, Epistola retractatoria
13, 14, 15 ^b ([c]1–2, [b]3 ^b –4 ^a , l. 25	‘De mulieribus pravis’
16 ^a –22 ^b ([b]3 ^a , l. 27–[b]10 ^b)	Pius II, Epitaphia, Epygrammata
23 ^a –24 ^a ([d]1 ^a –[e]1 ^a)	Quotations from the Fathers and other authorities
24 ^b ([e]1 ^b)	<i>blank</i>

Quire [a] and the first two leaves of quire [b] are in the same typesetting as quire [a]¹² of the Saliceto collection (1), but in this version there is no blank leaf preceding the text and no blank page at the end of the Turrecremata tract, page [a]^{12b} in Saliceto (1). Cf. the charts showing conjugacies, above, pp. 248–9. As shown above, the composition of the final further leaves of the book is complicated. The composition of the second quire in the Stuttgart copy was clearly described by L. Bertalot; the textual sequence indicates that this copy is correctly bound, the sheet c² inserted between [b]² and [b]³. In the copies in Darmstadt and Tübingen, sheet c² is folded round the three middle sheets of the quire ([b] 3–6). In the copy in the Scheide Library, sheet c² is bound in at the end. The leaf numbering in Tübingen's digital version assumes the presence of a blank leaf at the beginning and skips the number 15 after [c]^{1b}. Therefore 24 leaves with text are reproduced, not 26. The copy has, however, a complication, in that the sheet [a]³/8 is formed by gluing together two sheets, each printed on one side. See the description of this problematic copy in INKA 17001284 and in Gerd Brinkhus, Ewa Dubowik-Baradoy, *Inkunabeln der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, der Fürstlich Hohenzollernschen Hofbibliothek Sigmaringen und des Evangelischen Stifts Tübingen*. Wiesbaden, 2014, nos. 996, 1419. There it is designated as possibly proofsheets or trial sheets.

The copy in Darmstadt shows a further deviation, due to production errors. They were meticulously described by Arthur Wyss (*Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1888, see p. 251, n. 39). in quire [a]¹², two conjugate pages ([a]^{1b} and [a]^{12a}) were accidentally printed again as the conjugates [a]^{2b} and [a]^{11a}. The mistake was repaired by gluing [a]^{2b} to [a]^{3a} (left blank) and [a]^{10b} to [a]^{11a}, also left blank, the same as in the Tübingen copy. In Darmstadt quire [a] therefore misses two pages of text. In quire [b] the first leaf of the inserted bifolium [c] is placed after [b]², but is then followed by leaves [b]⁸, [c]², [b]³, [b]³/8 originally being conjugates. It is possible that this is due to yet another variant of imposition, but the action of a binder's knife comes in for suspicion.

Contents as in the copy Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek

[a] ^{1a} –[b] ^{1a}	In pñti codice ... sacre pagine professorem = Saliceto (1), [a] ^{2b} –12 ^a
[b] ^{1b}	Pij scđi pōtifcis ... ad karolū cypriatū ... = Saliceto (1), [a] ^{12b}
[b] ^{2a}	credit secreta latere ... = Saliceto (1), [b] ^{1a}
[b] ^{2b}	sciē. sz legē = Saliceto (1), [b] ^{1b} and Pontanus, [c] ^{5b} .
inserted [c] ^{1a} (var.)	ll. 1–11: IERONIMVS ... ethicū ē ll. 12–34: pūgūt. Fili. ethicū est. ... suaꝝ malicia = Pontanus, [c] ^{3a} , ll. 12–34
[c] ^{1b}	Metellus ... applaudūt ceci = Pontanus, [c] ^{4b}
[c] ^{2a} (var.)	ll. 1–26: Phebus ... p̄t fascinari = Pontanus, [c] ^{5a}

	l. 27: De ipso quoq̃ salomone legitur in decretis m.c. salomon.xxxij. q. v. Salomon imoderato vsu atq̃ assiduitate-muliez ... l. 34: ... turba cōiugū pellicūq̃ testatur
[c]2 ^b (var.)	Hijs quoq̃ validissimis tū gentiliū tū nrārū lrāz testiōnijs nō de nichilo venit ī mentē stul tissimū paridis troiaī iudiciū qđ seq̃tur adijte. ll. 4–28, <i>contents as</i> Pontanus, [c]1 ^b , ll. 5–29 <i>in different typesetting</i> , l. 29: F. PETRARCHA. Qui cathedrarios primū phōs ille p̃prisi rei nom̃ iposuit. ... l. 34: ... p̃mi vtutis ipio rebellāt
[b]3 ^a (var.)	SENECA ... l. 34: ... hec lactancius. = Pontanus, [c]6 ^a and = Saliceto (1), [b]2 ^a : except end, l. 34.
[b]3 ^b	Pius secundus pontifex maximus. Non sic p̃fecto est de nrē. t. phiē veris professorib ⁹ fallax gloria rerum = Pontanus, [c]6 ^b
[b]4 ^a –8 ^b	Mortales oculos ... ampla nimis = Pontanus, [c]7 ^a –11 ^b
b]9 ^a	Homonee ... vltorius. = Pontanus, [c]12 ^a and Saliceto (1), [b]12 ^a
[b]9 ^b	Epitaphium Neuij ... sua cara tulit = Pontanus, [c]12 ^b
[b]10 ^a	Susceptiq̃ ... habeat requiem = Pontanus, [c]13 ^a
[b]10 ^b	Epygramma iocosum. ... reuoc̃z me. Ita = Pontanus, [c]13 ^b
[d]1 ^a (var.)	ll. 1–2: ingrediaṁ ... = Pontanus, [c]14 ^a , ll. 1–2; ll. 3–34: De deo absolute ... Porro de tprē = Pontanus, [c]15 ^a , ll. 3–34
[d]1 ^b	aduent ⁹ ingrediaṁ ... aduent ⁹ cristi ... iterpollatio = Pontanus, [c]15 ^b
[e]1 ^a	De hac siquidē ... Explicit = Pontanus, [c]16 ^a
[e]1 ^b	<i>blank</i>

Pseudo-Homerus collection

ISTC ih00304800 = ih00304900, GW 12906 = 12907, ILC 1200 = 1201, Oates 3295, Campbell, *Annales* 1417 = 1416, Günther (Leipzig) 3080.

Copies: The Hague, MMW, KB; Leipzig, Buchmuseum (1 leaf).

Possible other copies: Cambridge UL, Oates 3295; London BL, G. 8814

The remains of this book survive as 17 unbound leaves in the Museum Meermano Westreenianum ('MMW'), The Hague, consisting of a quire of eight leaves, three bifolia and three single leaves. At The Hague, KB, another copy of the same eight-leaf quire [a] plus a single leaf survive. Both copies were extensively described by J.W. Holtrop, first in 1856 in his catalogue of the incunabula in The Hague ('BRH', see p. 234, n. 11), and in 1868 in his *Monuments Typographiques*, pp. 33–4, with specification of

the contents of the quire of eight leaves, the three bifolia and three single leaves. The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* describes the quire in the Royal Library (and the copy in Cambridge UL, Oates 3295) as an edition distinct from the MMW-copy, based on the misunderstanding that the first leaf of the quire is blank. This is not so – the late Gerard van Thienen's notes on the distribution of watermarks confirm that none of the extant copies begin with a blank leaf. There are therefore no grounds for distinguishing them as separate editions. It remains unclear from his descriptions on what grounds M.F.A.G. Campbell initiated this distinction.

In the MMW copy the quire of eight leaves and the following two pages have the same typesetting, with the same imposition as the corresponding leaves in the Saliceto (I) collection; they are therefore in bibliographical terms a separate issue. The single variant from Saliceto (I) occurs at the end of leaf [a]8^a, l. 35: 'intēcio homeri in hoc opere est describē troianā ||'. The copy in Cambridge UL, Oates 3295, has here the same setting as Saliceto (I), 'intēcio homeri in precedēti poemate est describere'. The Cambridge copy may therefore more correctly be considered as a fragment of Saliceto (I), rather than part of the 'Homerus' issue. The paper in the relevant sheets of Saliceto I and in the Homerus copies all belongs to the same stock.

One of the bifolia listed here shows an imposition not found elsewhere. On 'bifolium I', the second recto page with the final section of Pius II, *Epistola retractatoria*, is in this version backed with an epitaph. The sequence proposed here accepts that the surviving text is defective, and may even have been out of order from the beginning. Bifolium I was probably folded around Bifolium II, both followed by Bifolium III and the loose leaves.

Summary Contents

fol. 1 ^a –9 ^b ([a]8 ^a –[b]1 ^b)	Pius II (?), <i>Pro laude Homeri</i> , ps-Homerus, <i>Ilias latina</i> (Epitome)
on bifolia and single leaves	Fragments of 'De mulieribus pravis' final section of Pius II, <i>Epistola retractatoria</i> Fragments of Epitaphia

Contents as in the The Hague, Museum Meermanno

[a]1 ^a –8 ^a	Pii secundi ... pro laude homeri ...
[a]8 ^a , l. 33	Explicit yliada homeri ... l. 35: ... in hoc opere est describè troianā = Saliceto (I), [b]3 ^a –10 ^a , except variant [a]8 ^a , l. 35

variant: BMC IX, p. 5 notes that in the copy G. 8814 the penultimate line of [a]4^a the word 'stermit' reads 'steruit'.

[a]8 ^b	historiam ... q̄litatesq̄ = Saliceto (I), [a]8 ^b
bifolium I, 1 ^a	claro adeo ... refecta seges. Explicit. = Saliceto (I), [b]11 ^a
bifolium I, 1 ^b	Hectoris troiani ... ampla nimis = Saliceto (I), [b]11 ^b
bifolium II, 1 ^a	IERONIMUS. ... suarꝝ malicia = Saliceto (II), [c]1 ^a
bifolium II, 1 ^b	Metellus ... applaudūt ceci = Saliceto (II), [c]1 ^b , Pontanus, [c]4 ^b
bifolium II, 2 ^a	Phebus ... testatur = as Saliceto (II), [c]2 ^a
bifolium II, 2 ^b	Hijs quoq̄ ... ipia rebellāt = as Saliceto (II), [c]2 ^b
bifolium I, 2 ^a	Seneca ... est nata. [<i>space</i>] Explicit. = Saliceto (II), = [b]3 ^a , Pontanus, [c]6 ^a and cf. Saliceto (I), [b]2 ^a
bifolium I, 2 ^b	Epitaphium Neuij poete. ... cara tullit = Saliceto (II), [b]9 ^b , Pontanus, [c]12 ^b
bifolium III, 1 ^a	Epitaphiū publii virgilij maronis. ... alta ptās = Saliceto (II), [b]4 ^a , Pontanus, [c]8 ^a
bifolium III, 1 ^b	Tant ⁹ in orbe ... tyranno = Saliceto (II), [b]4 ^b , Pontanus, [c]8 ^b
bifolium III, 2 ^a	Ante virū ... in arce = Saliceto II, [b]5 ^a , Pontanus, [c]9 ^a
bifolium III, 2 ^b	Epitaphiū pueri ... coniugium = Saliceto (II), [b]5 ^b , Pontanus, [c]9 ^b
single leaf 1 ^a	Susceptiq̄ memor ... requiem. = Saliceto (II), [b]10 ^a , Pontanus, [c]13 ^a
single leaf 1 ^b	Epygramma iocosum. ... Ita = as Saliceto (II), [b]10 ^b , Pontanus, [c]13 ^b
single leaf 2 ^a	ingrediañ ... Porro de tprē = Saliceto (II), [d]1 ^a ; cf. Pontanus, [c]14 ^a –15 ^a
single leaf 2 ^b	aduent ⁹ ... iterpollatio = Saliceto (II), [d]1 ^b , Pontanus, [c]15 ^b
single leaf 3 ^a	De hac siquidē ... ꝑfirmařt. [<i>space</i>] Explicit = Saliceto (II), [e]1 ^a , Pontanus, [c]16 ^a
single leaf 3 ^b	<i>blank</i>

Appendix to Chapter 13

The table below gives details of the incunabula, almost all in the British Library, mentioned in this chapter and their occurrence in successive Smith catalogues. In BMC provenance from Joseph Smith is not recorded.

The numbering in the catalogue of 1724 follows its alphabetical order.

For the 1737 catalogue a consecutive sequence of numbers is here supplied.

Title ISTC no	Copy	Cat. 1724	Cat. 1737	Cat. 1755	Early owner
Ammianus, <i>Historiae</i> . Rome, G. Sachsels, Barth. Golsch, 1474 ia00564000	169.k.1 BMC IV, 54	A.19	8	p. CCXCIII	Petrus de Fossis, left to Venetian monastery (inscription)
<i>Attila flagellum dei</i> . Venice, G. & F. di Pietro, 1472/3 ia01177500	Bod-inc A-482	A.21	18	—	
Pietro Andrea di Bassi, <i>Fatiche d'Ercolo</i> . Ferrara, Aug. Carnerius, 1475 ib00280000	86.k.10 olim 167.e.3 BMC VI, 606	B.6	35	p. XXXIX	
Alexander Benedictus, <i>Diaria de bello Carolino</i> . Venice, Aldus Manutius, c. 1496 ib00320400	C.8.h.14 BMC V, 555, on vellum	D.2	85	p. XLV	Trevisano family (coat of arms) Admiral Melchior Trevisano? (d. 1500).
<i>Biblia latina</i> . Mainz, Joh. Fust & P. Schoeffer, 1462 ib00529000	C.6.d.15 BMC I, 23	B.1	28	p. LII	
Flavius Blondus, <i>Roma triumphans</i> . Brescia, Barth. Vercellensis, 1482 ib00704000	167.h.10 BMC VII, 966	B.9	32	p. LX	Est monasterij [...] veis (partly erased)

Title ISTC no	Copy	Cat. 1724	Cat. 1737	Cat. 1755	Early owner
Giovanni Boccaccio, <i>Genealogia deorum</i> , etc. Venice, V. de Spira, 1472 ib00749000	C.5.d.1/ 1–2 BMC V, 162	B.5	33–4	p. LXI	
Cicero, <i>Epistolae ad familiares</i> . [Venice], Joh. de Spira, 1469 ico0504000	C.5.c.9 BMC V, 152–3 on vellum	C.23	66	p. CXVI	
Cicero, <i>Epistolae ad familiares</i> . Venice, Joh. de Spira, 1469 ico0505000	169.k.16 BMC V, 153	C.24	67	p. CXVII	
Cicero, <i>Epistolae ad familiares</i> . Venice, N. Jenson, 1471 ico0508000	C.1.b.19 BMC V, 169	C. 25	68	p. CXVII	
Cicero, <i>Epistolae ad familiares</i> . Milan, A. Zarotus, [before April 1472] ico0511000	167.f.8 BMC VI, 699	C. 28	71	p. CXVII	
Cicero, <i>Epistolae ad familiares</i> . Milan, Ph. de Lavagnia, 1477 ico0518000	C.1.b.20 BMC VI, 704	C.26	69	p. CXVII	
Cicero, <i>Epistolae ad familiares</i> . Venice, F. di Pietro, 1480 ico0519800	167.d.4 BMC V, 222	C.27	70	p. CXVII	
Cicero, <i>Tusculanae disputationes</i> . Venice, N. Jenson, 1472 ico0631000	C.1.c.10 BMC V, 171 on vellum	C.16	59	p. CXVIII	Jacopo Zeno coat of arms illumination

Title ISTC no	Copy	Cat. 1724	Cat. 1737	Cat. 1755	Early owner
Cicero, <i>De oratore.</i> Venice, V. de Spira [c.1470] ico0657000	C.1.b.12 BMC V, 155	C.21	64	p. CXV	
Cicero, <i>De oratore.</i> Milan, Ph. de Lavagnia, 1477 ico0659000	C.1.b.11 BMC VI, 705	C.20	63	p. CXV	Ad usum Fratris Georgii Mantuani
pseudo-Cicero, <i>Rhetorica nova ad Herennium.</i> Milan, A. Zarotus, 1474 ico0676000	C.1.b.15 BMC VI, 711	C.17	60	p. CXV	S. Maria Bianca, Casoreto, donated by Theophilus Mediolanensis
pseudo-Cicero, <i>Rhetorica nova ad Herennium.</i> Venice, T. de Blavis, 1476 ico0679000	C.16.i.11 BMC V, 246	C.18	61	p. CXV	S. Maria Bianca, Casoreto, donated by Theophilus Mediolanensis
Joh. Crastonus <i>Lexicon graecum.</i> Milan, Accursius, n.a. 1478 ico0958000	c.5.C.4 BMC VI, 754	L.8	131	Pasquali, Appendix	Petrus de Montag- nana gave it to Augustinian Canons of S. Giovanni in Verdara, Padua. Askew copy
Cyprianus, <i>Opera.</i> Venice, V. de Spira, 1471 ico1011000	C.13.c.8 BMC V, 159	C.2	79	p. CXL	S. Maria Annunciata, Varese (stamp)
Dante, <i>Commedia.</i> Venice, V. de Spira, 1477 id00027000	C.7.c.3 BMC V, 248	D.4	81	p. x	S. Maria Incoronata, Milan
Dante, <i>Commedia</i> Florence, de Laurentiis, 1481 id00029000	C.7.e.7 BMC VI, 629	D.6	83	p. x	coat of arms of Joseph Smith added

Title ISTC no	Copy	Cat. 1724	Cat. 1737	Cat. 1755	Early owner
Diogenes Laertius, <i>Vitae philosophorum.</i> Venice, N. Jenson, 1475 id00220000	167.d.6 BMC V, 175 (imperfect)	L.7	128	p. CXLVIII	family of Gaspar Postea S. Maria de Raffionosi > Monasterium S. Nicolai
Guilm. Duranti, <i>Rationale divinatorum officiorum.</i> Mainz, Fust & Schoeffer, 1459 id00403000	–	D.1	87	p. CLVI (scored through)	‘perpulcher’ possibly Maffeo Pinelli > Spencer > JRL
Euclides, <i>Elementa.</i> Venice, E. Ratdolt, 1482 ie00113000	C.2.c.1 BMC V, 285	E.4	90	p. CLXI	Giovanni Mocenigo, Doge of Venice, d. 1485, with dedication to him printed in gold and his miniature portrait
Eusebius, <i>Chronicon.</i> Milan, Ph. de Lavagnia, c. 1474–6 ie00116000	C.14.b.5 BMC VI, 703–4	E.3	94	p. CLXIV	S. Maria Bianca, Casoreto, donated by Theophilus Mediolanensis, 1480
Eusebius, <i>De evangelica praeparatione.</i> Venice, N. Jenson, 1470 ie00118000	C.14.c.2 BMC V, 167	E.1	92	p. CLXIII	Priuli family (coat of arms)
Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica.</i> Mantua, Joh. Schallus, 1479 ie00127000	C.14.b.4	E.2	93	p. CLXIII	S. Maria Bianca, Casoreto, donated by Theophilus Mediolanensis, 1480

Title ISTC no	Copy	Cat. 1724	Cat. 1737	Cat. 1755	Early owner
Pompeius Festus, <i>De verborum significatione</i> . Milan, P. Cataldi & A.F. Zarotus, 1471 if00141000	169.i.17 BMC VI, 699	F.1	95	p. CLXXIII	S. Maria Bianca, Casoreto, donated by Theophilus Mediolanensis, 1480
L. Annaeus Florus, <i>Epitomae rerum Romanarum</i> . [Venice, Pr. of Basilus, c. 1471–2] if00232000	C.2.b.14 BMC V, 187	F.5	99	p. CLXXVII	
Galeottus Martius, <i>De homine</i> . Bologna, Pr. of Barbatia, [not after 1474] ig00042000 GW M21447 assigns the edition to 'Printer of Galeottus Martius'.	C.13.b.19 BMC VI, 813 imperfect	M.5	145	p. CCXCIX	Constantini Egregii (inscription) Capellanus of ss Quirico & Julina, Caverzano, fl. 1543 (inscription in IA. 22514, BMC V, 384)
Gregorius, <i>Moralia</i> . Venice, R. de Novimagio, 1480 ig00430000	C.10.c.10 BMC V, 256 on vellum (imperfect)	G.2	103	p. CCVII	Augustinian Canons of S. Bartolommeo, Vicenza
Flavius Josephus, <i>De antiquitate Judaica</i> . [Augsburg], Joh. Schüssler, 1470 ij00481000	C.13.d.9 BMC II, 327–8	F.6	116	p. CCXLV	S. Maria Annunciata, Varese (stamp)
Justinus, <i>Epitomae</i> . [Venice, Joh. Rubeus & A. Vercellensis, after 1487] ij00618500	167.c.12 BMC V, 233	L. 10	124	p. CCLI	S. Maria Incoronata, Milan donated by Paulus de Genesio

Title ISTC no	Copy	Cat. 1724	Cat. 1737	Cat. 1755	Early owner
Omnibonus Leonicens, <i>De octo partibus orationis.</i> Venice, J. Rubeus, 1473 il00173000	C.2.a.3 BMC V, 213	O. 3	150	p. CCLXVI	Constantini Egregii (inscription) Capellanus of SS Quirico & Julina, Caverzano, fl. 1543 (inscription in IA. 22514, BMC V, 384)
Nonius Marcellus, <i>De proprietate latini sermonis</i> , etc. Venice, Oct. Scotus, 1483 in00269000	169.i.15 BMC V, 278, cf. V, 261	M.3	140	p. CCXCIII	S. Maria Incoronata, Milan Smih's date '1478' supplied from another edition?
Origenes, <i>Contra Celsum.</i> Rome 1481 io00095000	C.13.c.10 BMC IV, 126 on vellum	O.1	153	p. CCCXXXVIII	Giovanni Mocenigo, doge of Venice (coat of arms, portrait)
Ovidius, <i>De arte amandi</i> , etc. Bologna, B. Azoguidus, 1471 io00126000	C.6.c.8 BMC VI, 798, pt. III of made-up set of Opera	O. 6	156	p. CCCXLII	S. Maria Annunciata, Varese (stamp in pt III)
Petrarca, Francesco <i>Canzoniere e Triumfi.</i> Padua, Barth. de Valdezoccho & M. de Septem Arboribus, 1472 ip00373000	C.4.i.2 BMC VII, 904	P. 27	165	p. CCCLXIII	Smith's coat of arms, drawn by Visentini
Petrus de Abano, <i>Conciliator.</i> Mantua, Joh. Vurster & Th. Septemcastrensis, 1472 ip00431000	C.14.e.5 BMC VII, 929	A. 6	1	p. I	shield with initials P.C.
Plautus, <i>Comoediae.</i> Venice, V. de Spira, 1472 ip00779000	C.6.c.13 BMC V, 160	P. 17	172	p. CCCLXXVI	

Title ISTC no	Copy	Cat. 1724	Cat. 1737	Cat. 1755	Early owner
Plautus, <i>Comoediae</i> . Milan, U. Scinzenzeler, 1490 ip00781000	C.3.c.14 BMC VI, 765	P. 18	173	p. CCCLXXVI	
Plinius the Elder, <i>Historia naturalis</i> . Venice, N. Jenson, 1472 ip00788000	C.2.d.7 BMC V, 172	P. 8	175	p. CCCLXXVII	monogram HIS coat of arms
Plinius the Elder, <i>Historia naturalis</i> . Venice, N. Jenson, 1472 'aliud exemplar' ip00788000	C.2.d.8 BMC V, 173	P. 9	176	p. CCCLXXVII	
Priscianus, <i>Opera, De octo partibus orationis</i> , etc. [Venice, V. de Spira], 1472 ip00961000	169.k.11 BMC V, 160	—	188	p. CCCLXXXIX	Petrus de Fossis monasterii S [...] Venecijs
Rainerus de Pisis, <i>Pantheologia</i> . Augsburg, G. Zainer, 1474 iro0006000	167.g.6 pt. II only BMC II, 321–2 (copy not in BMC)	—	196	p. CCCXCVI	
Sallustius, <i>Opera</i> . Milan, A. Zarotus, 1474 is00058500	C.2.b.6 BMC VI, 711	S. 13	203	Appendix p. LVII	Giovanni Battista dei Luzagis (Brescia)
Simoneta, <i>Commentarii ... Francisci Sfortiae</i> . Milan, Ant Zarotus, [1481–2] is00532000	C.15.c.2 BMC VI, 718	S.5	210	p. CCCXLIV	painting by Visentini
Simoneta, <i>La Sforziada</i> (Italian). Milan, Ant. Zarorotus, 1490 is000534000	167.e.9 BMC VI, 721	S.6	211	p. CCCCLV	Bookplate Jacobus Contarinus, fl. 1663

Title ISTC no	Copy	Cat. 1724	Cat. 1737	Cat. 1755	Early owner
Solinus, <i>Polyhistor</i> . Venice, N. Jenson, 1473 isoo615000	C.5.b.2 BMC V, 173 on vellum	S.2	212	p. CCCCXLVII	
Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa II.2</i> . Mainz, P. Schoeffer, 1467 itoo209000	C.15.d.3 BMC I, 24	T.1	227	p. CCCCLXX	S. Maria Bianca, Casoreto
Thomas Aquinas, <i>Super IV libro Sententiarum</i> Mainz, P. Schoeffer, 1469 itoo168000	C.15.d.4 BMC I, 25	T.2	226	p. CCCCLXX	S. Maria Bianca, Casoreto donated by Enrico Balbani
Thomas Aquinas, <i>Quaestiones</i> Rome, A. Pannartz, 1476 itoo180000	C.14.c.8 BMC IV, 62	T.3	228	p. CCCCLXX	S. Maria Bianca, Casoreto
Tortellius <i>Commentaria</i> . Venice, N. Jenson, 1471 itoo395000	C.5.d.8 BMC V, 170–1	T.4	229	p. CCCCLXXVI	historiated initial ascribed by Smith to Mantegna
Valerius Maximus <i>Facta et dicta</i> Venice, V. de Spira, 1471 ivooo24000	169.k.3 BMC V, 156	V.7	232	p. CCCCLXXXIII	S. Maria Annunciata, Varese (stamp)
Virgilius Maro, <i>Opera</i> . Venice, V. de Spira, 1470 ivoo150000	C.6.c.2 BMC V, 154 on vellum	V.9	241	p. D	Bartolomio Lipoma- no, filio de Tomaso (Tomaso, Venetian senator, d. 1489)

Index of Books Printed before 1501

when not listed in Appendices
Abbreviated short-titles in ISTC order

ISTC

ia00053200	Adolphus, Episcopus Moguntinus, [<i>Response to letter</i>]	[Mainz, Fust & Schoeffer, 1462], Bdsde	76
	Aeneas Silvius, <i>see</i> Pius II		
ia00104200	Aesopus, <i>Fabulae</i> , transl. Laurentius Valla	[Netherlands Prototypography], no date, 4 ⁰	233-4
ia00129500	<i>Aesopus moralisatus cum commento</i>	Antwerp, Leeu, 1488, 4 ⁰	340-1, 347-52
ia00209450	Albertanus Brixiensis, <i>De arte loquendi et tacendi</i> (Dutch)	[Gouda, van Ghemen], c. 1486, 4 ⁰	334
ia00286000	Albertus Magnus, <i>De muliere forti</i> , etc.	Cologne, Quentell, 1499, 4 ⁰	354n4
ia00366500	Alcock, John, <i>Mons perfectionis</i>	Westminster, de Worde, 1497, 4 ⁰	331
ia00440780	Alexander de Villa Dei, <i>Doctrinale</i> Pt. I (' <i>Opus minus</i> ')	[Gouda, van Os?], 1488, 4 ⁰	331
ia00478100	Alliaco, Petrus de, <i>Le jardin de dévotion</i>	Bruges, Mansion, 1476, fol.	302, 306
ia00479600	____, <i>Meditationes</i> (French)	[Ghent (?), Aubert for Caxton?], c. 1474-5, fol.	289-91
ia00872000	Antoninus Florentinus, <i>Summa Theologiae</i>	Venice, Jenson, c. 1477-80, fol.	97
ia01140300	<i>Art and craft to know well to die</i>	[Westminster, Caxton, 1490], fol.	362-3, 368
ia01227000	Augustinus, Aurelius, <i>De arte praedicandi</i>	Mainz, Fust & Schoeffer, [not after 1467], fol.	77
ia01228000	____, ____	[Strasbourg], Mentelin, c.1468, fol.	99
ia01240000	____, <i>De civitate Dei</i>	Mainz, Schoeffer, 1473, fol.	35
ia01241000	____, ____	Basel, Wenssler [and Richel], 1479, fol.	35
ia01261000	____, <i>De disciplina christiana</i>	[Cologne, de Unckel, c. 1482], 4 ⁰	99
ib00020000	Balbus, Johannes, <i>Catholicon</i>	Mainz, [Printer of the <i>Catholicon</i>], c. 1469, fol.	29, 126-203, 355, 357, Figs. 5.2, 5.4, 5.10-15, 11.1
ib00021000	____, ____	Augsburg, Zainer, 1469, fol.	179

ISTC

ib00022000	____, ____,	[Strasbourg, the R printer, after 1475]. fol.	179
ib00023000	____, ____,	[Strasbourg, the R printer, 1475–77], fol.	180n22
ib00024000	____, ____,	Strasbourg, Pr. Jordanus de Quedlinburg, not after 1482, fol.	360
ib00025000	____, ____,	Nuremberg, Koberger, 1483	360
ib00095900	Baptista Mantuanus, <i>De vita beata</i>	Alost, Dirk Martens, 1474, 4 ^o	44n8
ib00131000	Bartholomaeus Anglicus, <i>De proprietatibus rerum</i>	[Cologne, Printer Flores Augustini (for Caxton)], c. 1472, fol.	290n5
ib00142000	____, ____ [Dutch]	Haarlem, Bellaert, 1485, fol.	337–8
ib00143000	____, ____ [English]	[Westminster], de Worde, c. 1496, fol.	337–8
ib00157000	Bartholomaeus de Chaimis, <i>Confessionale</i>	Mainz, Schoeffer, 1478, fol.	77
ib00269000	Barzizius, Gasparinus, <i>Orthographia</i>	[Paris, Gering, Crantz, Friburger, 1470/1], 4 ^o	65n45
ib00280000	Bassi, Pietro Andrea di, <i>Le fatiche d'Ercole</i>	Ferrara, Carnerius, 1475, 4 ^o	381n26
ib00436000	Bernardus Clarevallensis, <i>Sermones</i>	Mainz, Schoeffer, 1475, fol.	35, 76
ib00526000	<i>Biblia latina</i>	[Mainz, Gutenberg], c. 1455, fol.	42, 124, 130, 140, 175, 195
ib00527000	____,	[Bamberg, Printer of the 36-line Bible], not after 1461, fol.	133, 195
ib00529000	____,	Mainz, Fust & Schoeffer, 1462, fol.	23, 76, 103, 105, 124, 130
ib00533000	____,	[Strasbourg, Eggestein], c. 1469, fol.	25
ib00536000	____,	Mainz, Schoeffer, 1472, fol.	76, 115, 119, 185
ib00625000	____, German	[Strasbourg, Eggestein], not after 1470, fol.	160
ib00711000	Boccaccio, Giovanni, <i>De casibus virorum illustrium</i> (French)	Bruges, Mansion, 1476, fol.	288, 302, 306
ib01235800	____, <i>De duobus amantibus</i>	Mainz, Schoeffer, c. 1470, 4 ^o	77
ib00976000	Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max, <i>Liber VI Decretalium</i>	Mainz, Fust & Schoeffer, 1465, fol.	77, 103, 115, 355, 357
ib00978000	____, ____,	Mainz, Schoeffer, 1470, fol.	77, 115
ib00981000	____, ____,	Mainz, Schoeffer, 1473, fol.	77, 115, 118–9
ib00985000	____, ____,	Mainz, Schoeffer, 1476, fol.	77, 115

ISTC

ibo1031000	<i>Book of hawking, hunting, blasing of arms</i>	Westminster, de Worde, 1496, fol.	332-3
ibo1073580	Stocklist, printed for a bookseller at Lübeck (?)	[Lübeck, Printer of Fliscus (Brandis?), 1478-9]	37-8. Fig. 2.3
ibo1318000	Burlaeus, Walter, <i>De vita et moribus philosophorum</i>	[Cologne, Printer of Flores (for Caxton)], c. 1472, fol.	290n5
ic00060000	Calixtus III, Pont. Max. <i>Bulla Turcorum</i> (Latin)	[Mainz, Gutenberg], c. 1457, 4 ⁰	133, 140
ic00060100	____, ____ (German)	[Mainz, Gutenberg], c. 1457, 4 ⁰	133, 140
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ic00908000	<i>Cordiale quattuor novissimorum</i> (French)	[Bruges, Mansion for Caxton], c. 1475, fol.	289–91, 308, 322, Fig. 8.3
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Colour Illustrations



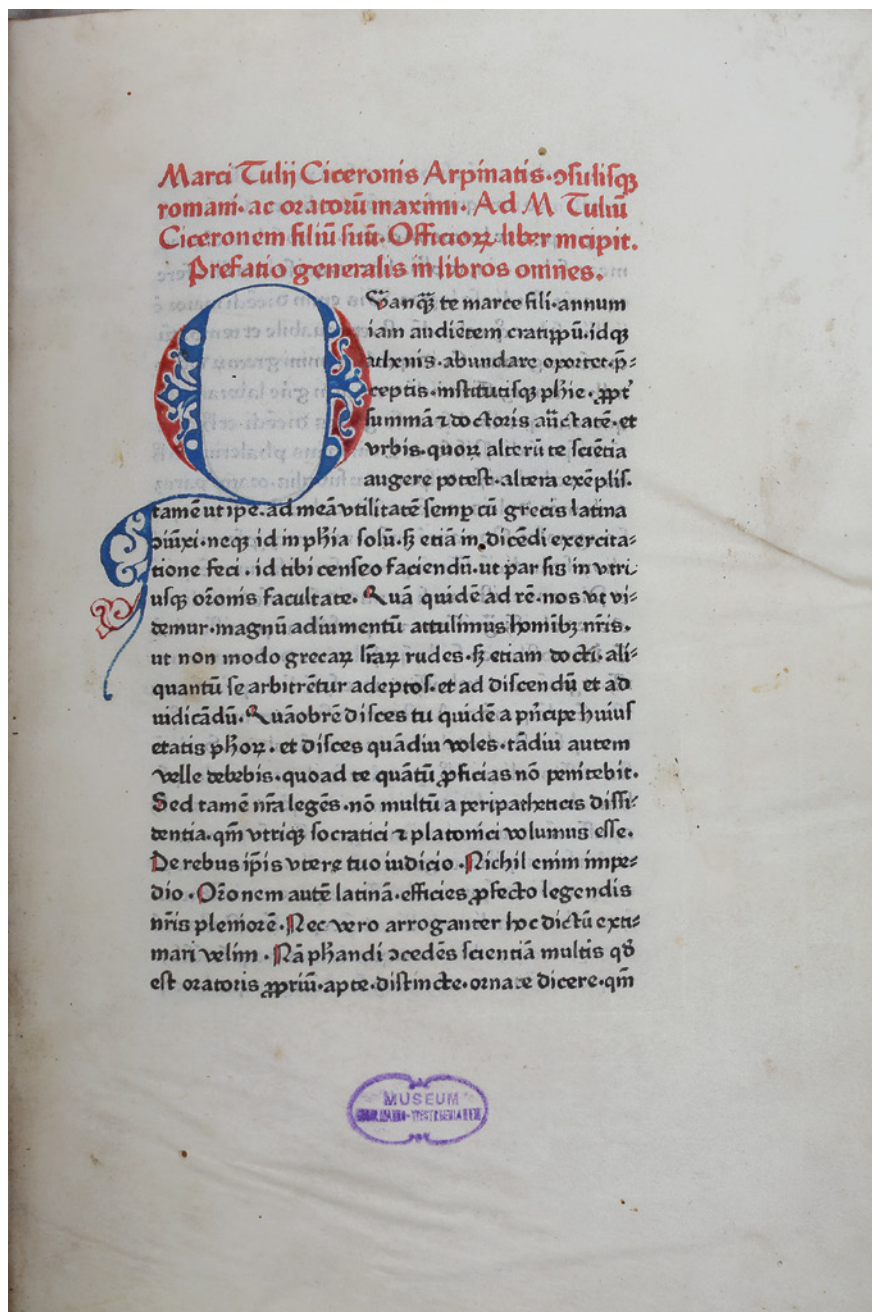


FIGURE 3.3 *Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer owned from 1459 the first printing types with long-lasting qualities, probably made by Schoeffer. Their Type 5 (title, printed in red) and Type 3 (text) are shown here in M.T. Cicero, De officiis. Paradoxa, 1466. THE HAGUE, MUSEUM MEERMANNOWESTREENIANUM, 004 B 022, FOL. [A]1^a.*



FIGURE 4.4
Decorative motifs incorporated in initials recur from about 1470 in Mainz incunabula. Monsters and the clowns with pointed hats shown here appear to be the work of an individual hand.

THOMAS AQUINAS, *SUMMA THEOLOGIAE* II. 2, MAINZ, PETER SCHOEFFER, 8 NOVEMBER 1471. WÜRZBURG, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK INC. F.42, FOL [A]¹ (DETAIL).



FIGURE 4.5
Initials, as here, are occasionally decorated with exuberant profiles – apparently the work of an individual illuminator: Hieronymus, *Epistolae*, Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, 7 September 1470. PRIVATE COLLECTION (DETAIL).



FIGURE 4.6 Many copies of Hieronymus, *Epistolae* printed by Peter Schoeffer (1470) have a historiated initial, depicting the saint in fine Mainz painting.
WÜRZBURG, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK, I.T.F.9, FOL. [A]5^a (DETAIL).



FIGURE 5.2 *The opening page of the Mainz Catholicon. This copy on vellum, once owned by the Dominican friars in Frankfurt am Main, is illuminated with fine painting that does not conform to the styles recognized as Mainz painting.*
LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, G.11966 FOL. [A]^{1a}. © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED 2017.

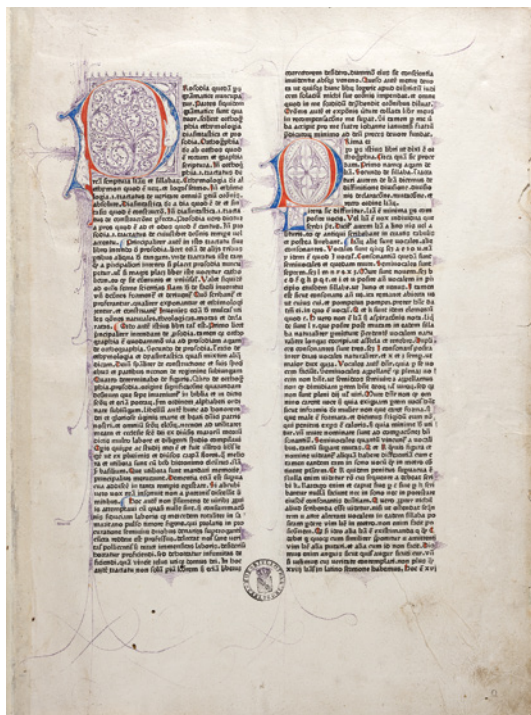


FIGURE 5.12
Monsters are found decorating initials in a few copies of the Catholicicon.

KARLSRUHE, BADISCHE
 LANDESBIBLIOTHEK, BA 107,
 FOL. [A]1^a (DETAIL).

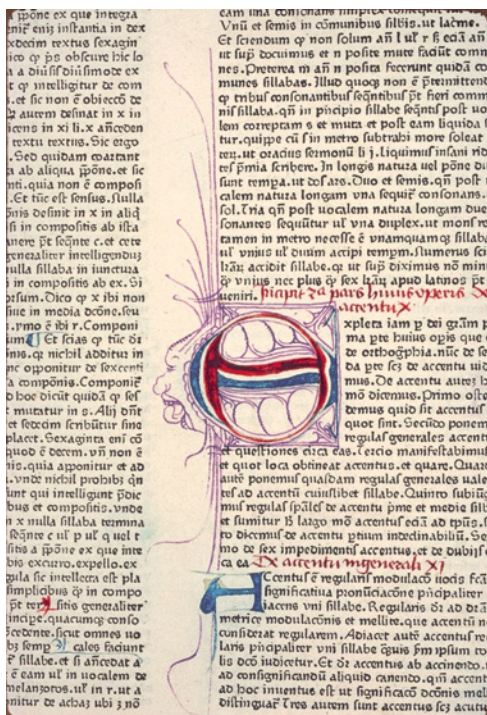


FIGURE 5.13
Initials decorated with pen-work profiles are also found in copies of the Catholicicon.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, LENOX
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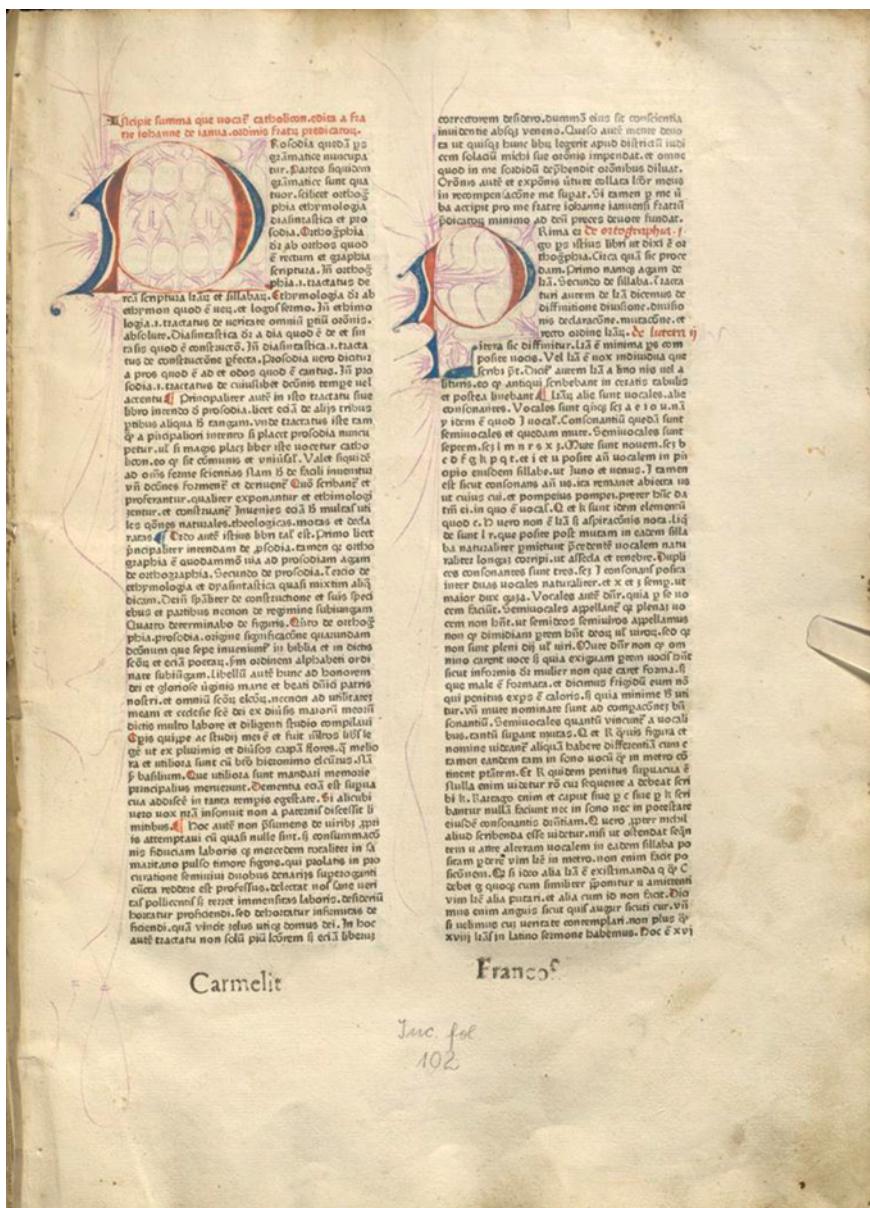


FIGURE 5.14 This opening page of the *Catholicicon* is in a copy on Bull's Head paper, decorated in the 'loose' Mainz style.

FRANKFURT AM MAIN, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK. OHLY-SACK 352, FOL.

[A]^{1a}.

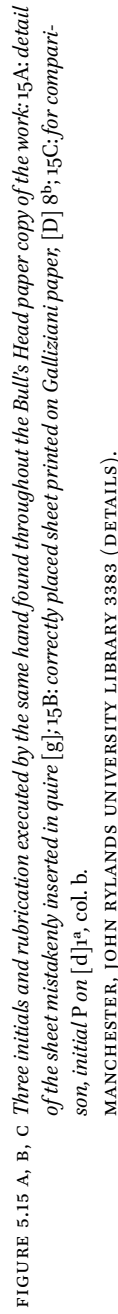


FIGURE 5.15 A, B, C. Three initials and rubrication executed by the same hand found throughout the Bull's Head paper copy of the work: 15A: detail of the sheet mistakenly inserted in quire [g]; 15B: correctly placed sheet printed on Galliziani paper; [D] 8^b; 15C: for comparison, initial P on [d]^{1a}, col. b.

MANCHESTER, JOHN RYLANDS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY 3383 (DETAILS).

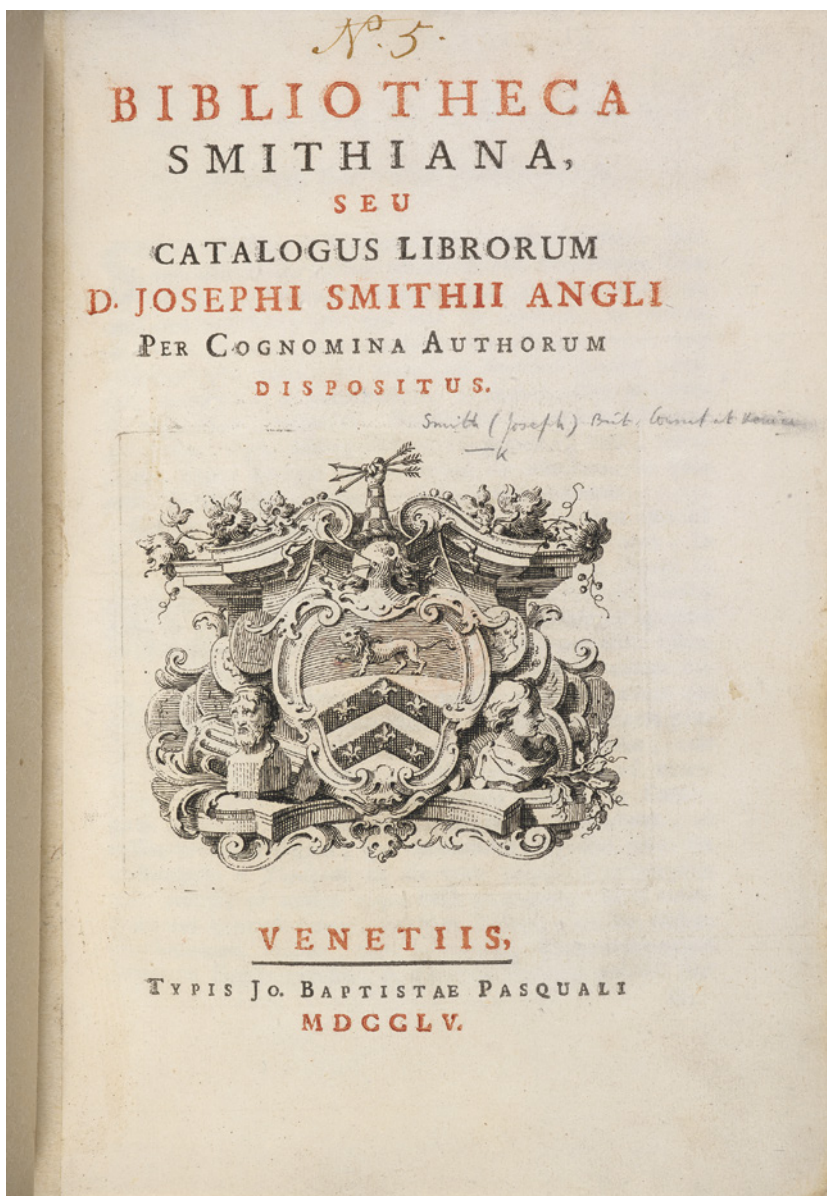


FIGURE 13.1 *In 1755, Joseph Smith (known as Consul Smith) published a catalogue of his enormous collection of printed books under the title Bibliotheca Smithiana. He had assembled this library in Venice over a period of more than 30 years. International in character, it also included a collection of some 250 mainly Italian incunabula; these had already been recorded in two separate catalogues. The engraving on the title-page displays his coat of arms.*

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